

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

BY

EDWARD THORNTON, Esq.,

AUTHOR OF "INDIA, ITS STATE AND PROSPECTS"

VOLUME V.

LONDON:

WM. H. ALLEN AND Co.,

7, LADENHALL STREET.



29/
ARCI

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No

13819

Date

31.10.60

Call No.

954.082

Vol (+5)

260

ACCE

CALL

D.G.A. 7

J. L. COX & SONS,
PRINTERS TO THE HONOURABLE EAST-INDIA COMPANY,
74 & 75, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME V.

CHAPTER XXVI.

On determination of Marquis of Hastings to retire from Government of India, Mr. Canning appointed to succeed him—Marquis of Londonderry dies, and Mr. Canning declines appointment of Governor-general—Lord Amherst chosen—Arrives in Calcutta some months after departure of Marquis of Hastings, Mr. Adam having exercised office of Governor-general in intermediate period—New Governor-general inheritor of disputes—Storm gathering in Burman Empire—Origin of that Empire—Wars between Ava and Pegu—Conquests of Alompra, who laid foundations of Burmese Empire—Disputes between Company and Burmese—Hostile proceedings of the latter Power—General Erskine dispatched from Calcutta—Burmese withdraw—Concession made to them, and its effects—Mission of Colonel Symes to Ava—Refugees from Arracan fly into Chittagong—Their incursions into the Burmese Territories—Captain Canning dispatched on Mission to Ava; returns without reaching it—Company's Government take measures to prevent refugees giving further offence to Burmese, but refuse to give them up—Surrender of the offenders demanded by Rajah of Ramree—Marquis of Hastings de-

clines to comply, and states his reasons—Burmese Government abstain from pressing claim—Governor-general concludes that no hostile designs are entertained, and discontinues preparations for defence—Cession of Ramoo, Chittagong, Moorshedabad, and Dacca demanded by Burmese—Answer of Governor-general—Proceedings of Burmese in Assam—Outrages committed on Company's Servants—Measures taken for resistance—Island of Shapooree occupied by British—Dispute respecting its possession—British party at Shapooree attacked and driven away by Burmese—Insolence of the Rajah of Arracan—Account of the Island of Shapooree, and its situation—Island re-occupied by the British—Remonstrance addressed to Government of Ava—Acquisition of Manipur by Burmese—Prince of Manipur invades Cachar—Rajah of Cachar flies to Sylhet, solicits British protection, and offers an acknowledgment of dependence—Offer and request refused—Rajah applies to exiled Princes of Manipur, and by their aid re-conquers Cachar—Is expelled by his Allies, who acquire possession of the whole country—Rajah of Manipur expelled by Burmese; flies to Cachar and obtains share of it—Disputes arise in Manipur, which is invaded by Burmese—Expelled Princes seek British aid, which is afforded—Force advanced from Dacca to Sylhet and posted on Frontier—Burmese enter Cachar in three divisions; one of them attacked and defeated by Major Newton—Major Newton retires and Burmese advance—Burmese attacked with partial success—Communications with a view to settlement of Disputes—Determination of British Government not to make any compromise with regard to Shapooree—Treacherous conduct of the Burmese towards the Commander of a pilot schooner lying off Shapooree, and part of his crew—Shapooree formally re-occupied by the Burmese—British Government issue declaration of War, and public Proclamation—Communication from the Viceroy of Pegu—Plan of Operations determined on by

29
ARC

ACCE

CALL

D.G.A.

British Government—Force dispatched against Assam—
 Its progress—Enemy retreat before it—Large Force pre-
 pared at Bengal and Madras to act against Maritime Pos-
 sessions of Burmese—Sir Archibald Campbell appointed
 to chief command—Expedition arrives off Rangoon—
 Troops landed, Town occupied—Communications between
 British and Burmese Authorities—Brilliant affair at Ke-
 mendine—Further gallant and successful attempts against
 the Enemy — Successful attack on Camp and fortified
 Stockades of the Enemy — Difficulties and discourage-
 ments of the British Army—Attack on Negrais and Che-
 duba—General Action, Enemy defeated—Another Action,
 in which British Land and Sea Forces engaged with equal
 success—Attacks on Enemy at Kyloo, Syriam, and a Fort
 near Dalla—Further attack on Enemy at Kyloo and Than-
 tabain — Expedition against Marteban — Expedition
 to Coast of Tenasserim — Capture of Tavoy and
 Mergui—Progress of War in Assam and Arracan
 — Destruction of Captain Noton's detachment at
 Ramoo — Apprehensions entertained in consequence—
 Events in Cachar—Mengee Maha Bundoola, Burmese
 General in Arracan, withdrawn from that country and
 placed in command of Army opposed to Sir Archibald
 Campbell ; approaches British Force and throws up En-
 trenchments ; disturbed by detachment under Major-
 General Sale—Burmese attacked and defeated in general
 action—again attacked and defeated—Rangoon set on fire—
 Burmese attacked and defeated ; their Works carried—
 successful attack on Boats of the Enemy—Enemy dis-
 lodged from Fort at Thantabain—Preparations for ad-
 vancing on Prome—Force divided into two Columns, with
 one of which Sir Archibald Campbell proceeds—Failure
 of second Column at Donobew—Sir Archibald Campbell
 returns with his Column—Renewed attack and capture of
 Donobew—Advance of the British Army—Overture for
 Negotiation—British Army in sight of Prome—Possession

taken of Prome; found to be on fire—Operations on the Frontier—Assam cleared of the Enemy—Surrender of Rungpore to the British arms—Attempt to march British Force through Cachar and Manipur—Failure of attempt—Object accomplished by undisciplined body under Gumber Singh—Proceedings in Arracan—Capital of Arracan attacked and taken—Design of junction between Army of Arracan and that of Sir Archibald Campbell found impracticable—Prevalence of Disease in Army of Arracan—Negotiations—Hostilities resumed—English meet reverses at Watty-goon—Burmese defeated by combined attack of British Naval and Military Force—Enemy again defeated—Their Flight—Difficulties of the March of the British—Negotiations for Peace—Treaty agreed upon—Armistice concluded—Ratification of Treaty not received; Hostilities recommenced—Melloon attacked and carried by the British Force—Further Overture for Peace from Ava—Defeat of the Enemy under Nawung Thuring (Prince of Sunset)—Proceedings in Pegu—Peace concluded with Ava—Terms—Defence of the War by the Government of Bengal—Remarks—Treaty with Siam—Mutiny at Barrackpore; its origin and suppression—Remarks and Opinions of various Officers on the Character of the Native Army—Disputes as to succession to Throne of Bhurtpore—Differences between British Government and Sir David Ochterlony as to interference—British Government determines to interfere—Vast Force prepared for attack on Bhurtpore under command of Lord Combermere—Siege—Humanity of the British Commander—Assault and Capture—Defences destroyed—Other Fortresses surrender—Authority of lawful successor to the Throne established—Disputes with Rajah of Colapore—Cession of Malacca, Singapore, and Dutch Possessions on Continent of India, in exchange for Bencoolen—Arrangements with Malay Princes—Treaty with King of Oude—Arrangements with Nagpore—Lord Amherst's Tour to the Upper Provinces,

and departure from India—Mr. Butterworth Bayley left
in discharge of Duties of Governor-general ... Pp. 1 to 175

CHAPTER XXVII.

Lord William Bentinck—Reference to his Lordship's removal from the Government of Fort St. George—His desire to return to India—His application for the office of Governor-general on Mr. Canning's resignation—He obtains the appointment on retirement of Lord Amherst—Death of Mr. Canning, and Dissolution of his Ministry previously to departure of Lord William Bentinck—He sails in February, 1828—Events of his Administration—Disturbances in Baraset occasioned by Tittoo Meer—Efforts and success of Mahometan Reformers—Conduct of Hindoo Zemindars—Outbreak of Riot—Affrays with European Magistrates and local Troops—Termination of Disturbance—Remarks and suggestions—Obstacles to good government in India arising from the necessity of employing Native Agents—Reference to guarantee of possession of Queda to the Siamese—Origin of the Right of the East-India Company to Prince of Wales Island and Province Wellesley, and of its connection with the King of Queda—Invasion and subjugation of the Territories of the King of Queda by the Siamese—Flight of the King; his movements—Remarks—Siamese expelled from the capital of Queda—King of Queda compelled to remove to Malacca—British Resident at Singapore aids Siamese in recovery of Queda—His Conduct disapproved by Bengal Government—Siamese regain possession of Queda—Just Observations of Court of Directors on the subject—Dispute with Pangholoo of Nanning—Disturbances in Chota Nagpore and Palamow—Suppression of them—Remarks on State of India—Events in Coorg—Flight of the Rajah's sister and her husband into British territories—

Guilty passion of the Rajah for his Sister—His atrocious Life
 —His military preparations—Mission of Mr. Cassamajor to
 Coorg—Communications with Rajah—Mr. H. S. Graeme
 appointed to succeed Mr. Cassamajor—His Instructions—
 Continued offensive conduct of the Rajah—Two natives
 dispatched to Coorg on behalf of the British Government
 —One of them forcibly detained—Remonstrance—Go-
 vernor-General arrives at Madras, addresses Letter to
 Rajah of Coorg—arrives at Bangalore—War resolved upon
 —Lieutenant Fraser appointed to succeed Mr. Graeme;
 accompanies Expedition—Mercarrah occupied by British
 Force—Rajah surrenders himself—Coorg annexed to the
 British dominions—Evidence discovered of the Crimes of
 the Rajah—Flight and Death of his Dewan—Provision
 made for the Rajah—Contrast of his fate with that which
 he might have expected from a Native Conqueror—Re-
 marks on the Incorporation of Coorg with British Terri-
 tories—Ratification of Treaty with Rajah of Colapore—
 Conclusion of Treaty with Rajah of Khypoor—Arrange-
 ments with Hyderabad in Scinde—Misgovernment of
 Oude; Governor-General authorized from Home to assume
 management of its affairs, but abstains—Internal arrange-
 ments of British India—Enforcement of frugality—Fluc-
 tuations of public opinion—Constant anxiety of the
 Authorities of the East-India Company to prevent unne-
 cessary expenditure, and mitigate the burdens of the
 people of India—Measures of retrenchment—History of
 the Half-batta Question—Lord William Bentinck enforces
 orders from Home for reduction—Commander-in-Chief
 opposes; gives publicity to his opinion; resigns command
 of the Army—Apprehensions entertained by Members of
 Council—Probable motives of the Governor-general—
 Excitement caused by reduction—Memorials complaining
 of it transmitted—Further measures of Lord William
 Bentinck—Interference in the Civil Service—Refutation
 of his remark on the subject—Rule of service exhibited

by him, and annulled by orders from Home—Observations on Economical Reform—Remarks on the Emoluments of the Civil and Military Services in India—System of official Espionage established by Lord William Bentinck and speedily abolished—He abolishes the use of Corporal Punishment in the Native Army—Observations—He abolishes the Practice of Suttee—Quits India—Remarks on his Administration and Character Pp. 176 to 236

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Expiration of Privileges of East-India Company—Change of Circumstances; progress of Free Trade Opinions—Parliamentary Inquiry into Foreign Trade of the United Kingdom—Inquiry into the respective positions of the British and the Americans in China; opinions of various witnesses thereon; remarks—Restriction as to tonnage—Petitions for Free Trade—Motion of Mr. Whitmore on the Trade with India and China—Question of Renewal of Privileges of East-India Company introduced into both Houses of Parliament, and Select Committees appointed—Hostility of Mr. Huskisson to the Company—His attempt to annihilate their Privileges defeated by Mr. J. C. Melvill—Report on the China Trade—Interview of the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the East-India Company with the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough; communication then made—Minute of Committee of Correspondence thereon approved and adopted by Court of Directors—Change in Administration; Earl Grey becomes Premier—Various Proceedings in Parliament—Interview of Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of East-India Company with Mr. Grant, President of the Board of Commissioners; results—Divers Proceedings in Parliament—Attack on the Company's Commercial Solvency—Able services of Mr. Melvill in repelling Attack—Reference to

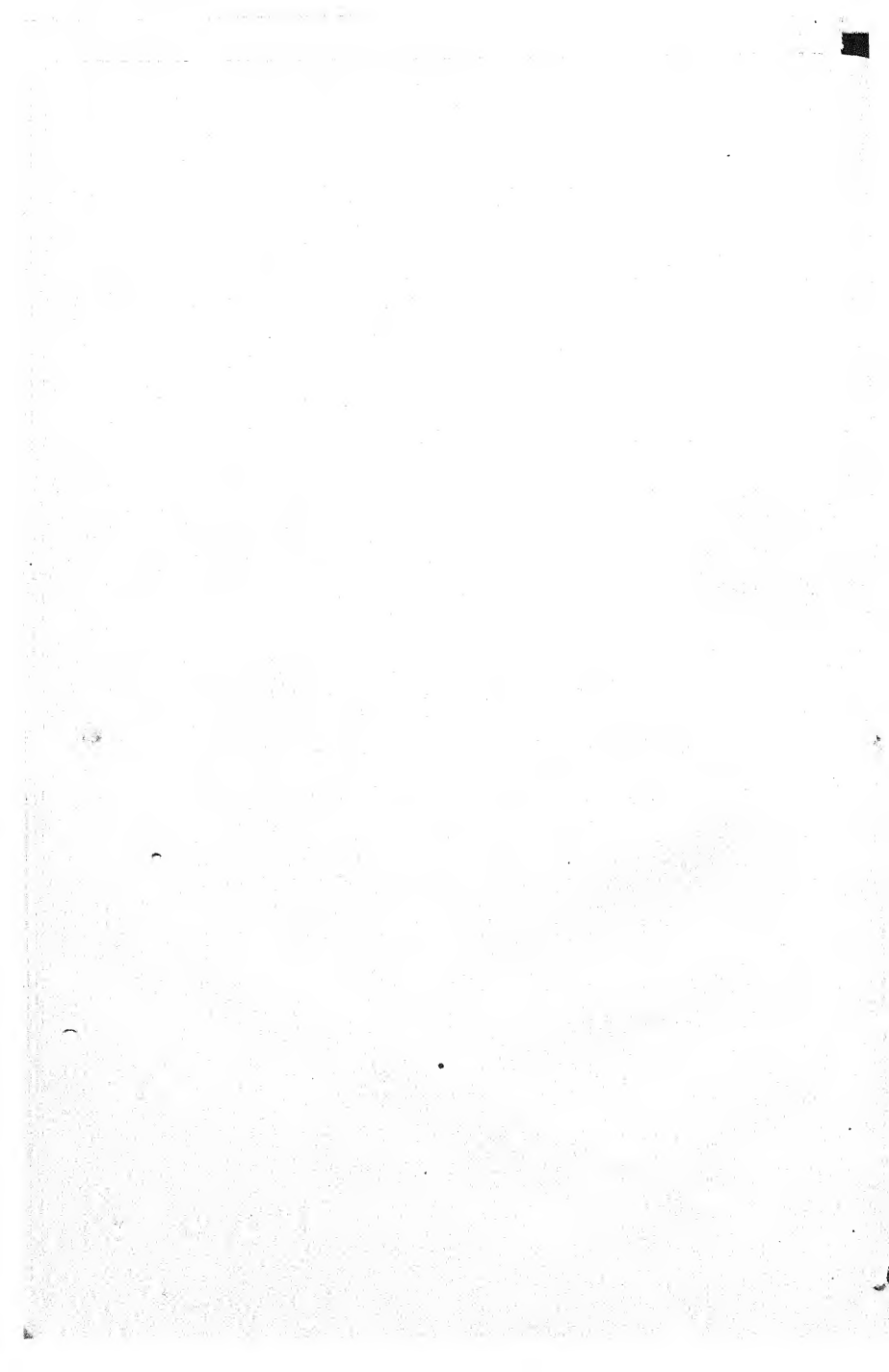
Professional Accountant selected by the Board of Commissioners, who reports in favour of the Company—Communication of the Views of Government as to the Terms of a new Arrangement with the Company—Discussion of various points between Court of Directors and Board of Commissioners—General Court; motion made to accept generally proposals of Ministers, but with certain modifications; numerous amendments; protracted discussion; original motion carried—Ministers yield certain points, but peremptorily refuse to increase the Guarantee Fund, or to adopt any measure for ensuring publicity in cases where irreconcilable differences might arise between the Court and the Board—Court of Directors recommend adoption of proposed Ministerial Bill—General Court concur—Parliamentary proceedings; Mr. Grant, in Committee of whole House, moves Resolutions embodying chief points of proposed arrangement—Resolutions passed; carried up to House of Lords; adopted by their Lordships—Progress through House of Commons of Bill founded on Resolutions—It passes—Proceedings in House of Lords—Discussion in Court of Directors ending in Resolution to recommend acceptance of the Ministerial measure—General Court; motion for adopting recommendation of Court of Directors carried—Bill passes the Lords and receives the Royal Assent—Concluding remarks ... Pp. 237 to 362

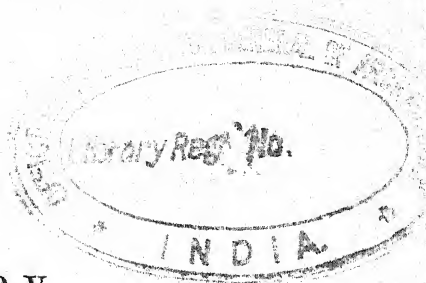
APPENDIX.

Dissent of Chairman of East-India Company (C. Marjoribanks, Esq.) and Deputy-Chairman (W. Wigram, Esq.) referred to in page 314 ... Pp. 365 to 369

Letter from Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of East-India Company to President of India Board, dated 9th May, 1832, respecting certain claims on Native Princes and

Report of Committee of Correspondence on the Nozeed Claim, 27th Sept., 1831	Pp. 379 to 392
Petition of East-India Company to House of Lords against passing an Act to compel the Company to discharge the alleged claim of Mr. Hodges on the Zemindar of Nozeed	Pp. 392 to 403
Letter from Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the East-India Company to President of the India Board, dated 28th February, 1833, respecting the claim of Mr. Hutchinson on the Rajah of Travancore	Pp. 404 to 409
Report of Committee of Correspondence on the same subject, 11th April, 1832	Pp. 410 to 423
Extracts from Letter of Secretary to East-India Company to Secretary to India Board, 1st March, 1833, respecting Claims of Lucknow Bankers on Sovereign of Oude	Pp. 424 to 445
Extracts from various Letters and Papers relating to the Abolition or Retention of Councils at the Subordinate Presidencies	Pp. 446 to 459
Extract from Letter from the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone to the Secretary to the India Board, 5th August, 1832, on the advantages of the existing systems of the Home and Local Governments of India	Pp. 459 to 461





HISTORY

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WHEN the Marquis of Hastings determined to retire from the government of India, Mr. Canning, then at the height of his sparkling reputation, was appointed to succeed him. He accepted the appointment; but great as were both the dignity and the emolument, it was one not entirely accordant with Mr. Canning's wishes. An unexpected event made a sudden change in the aspect of the political world at home. The death of the Marquis of Londonderry opened the Foreign Office to the aspirations of the newly appointed governor-general, and he declined the dignity to which he had so recently been called. Lord Amherst was thereupon selected as the successor of the Marquis of Hastings. His lordship arrived at Calcutta on the 1st of August, 1823, some months after his

CHAP. XXVI.

A. D. 1823.

CHAP. XXVI. the office of governor-general having, in the intermediate period, been exercised by Mr. Adam, the second member of council.

Like the Marquis of Hastings, Lord Amherst found himself the inheritor of disputes of considerable standing, which time had ripened to a fulness, just bursting into war. The Burman empire was the quarter where the coming storm was gathering. That empire had been formed by the union of several states, which at no distant period had a distinct political existence. One of them, Ava, appears to have been a dependency of the neighbouring country, Pegu. This relation was after a time inverted. The Burmans, who inhabited Ava, revolted, and subsequently subjected Pegu to their dominion. This state of things, however, was not permanent. About the middle of the eighteenth century the scale was again turned. After a war attended by much bloodshed, and marked by acts of great ferocity, the Peguers followed up a series of successes, by obtaining possession of Ava, the Burman capital, with its sovereign, and the greater part of his family. The entire subjugation of the country succeeded.

The duration of the Peguer dominion was short. A man, named Alompra, of obscure birth, and who commenced warfare, it is said, at the head of only one hundred followers, roused his countrymen to resist the invaders, and, after defeating bodies of the Pegu force in several actions, marched suddenly upon the capital, the inhabitants of which, upon his

happened towards the close of the year 1753. In CHAP. XXVI. the following year, an army and a fleet of boats sent by the Peguers against Ava were totally defeated by Alompra. The war continued for some years, and the Peguers were assisted by the French from Pondicherry; but victory continued to follow the standard of Alompra. The capital of Pegu surrendered to his arms, and though, in a revolt which followed, the Burman viceroy was expelled, the presence of Alompra speedily put an end to the insurrection, and gave increased stability to his rule. Alompra reigned but eight years, but in that time he laid the basis of a great power, enlarged at later periods by the acquisition of considerable territory on the Tenasserim coast at the expense of Siam, by the subjugation of Arracan, previously an independent state, the annexation of Manipur, and the transfer of Assam to a Burman chief.

Although the British government had given the rising power of the Burmese no cause for offence, it was invariably treated by them with great haughtiness and injustice. As early as the reign of Alompra, acts of violence were perpetrated on the Company's servants, and appear to have passed unresented. In 1794, some robbers from Arracan having taken refuge in the British district of Chittagong, the Burman prince, without any demand of the surrender of the fugitives, or any previous notice, marched a body of five thousand men into the Company's territories, supported by a reserve of twenty

CHAP. XXVI. man general sent a letter to the British judge and magistrate, declaring that he should not withdraw until the delinquents, in pursuit of whom he had entered the British territories, were given up to him; and he proceeded to fortify his position by stockades. A military force, under General Erskine, being dispatched from Calcutta, some communication took place between the commanders of the two armies; the result of which was, that the Burmese should withdraw, upon an understanding that the subject of complaint should be subsequently investigated. The alleged robbers were given over to the Burmese for punishment—a fate which they probably deserved; but the concession, after so atrocious a violation of national rights, was neither dignified nor wise; it served only to feed the arrogance of the Burmese authorities, and to induce a belief that the surrender of the criminals was to be attributed to fear of the consequences of a refusal. A mission to Ava, under Colonel Symes, followed, but it did not assist the British government in making any progress in the favour or confidence of the Burmese.

The ill feeling which existed was kept alive by the excursions of a considerable body of refugees from Arracan, who, on the subjugation of that country by the Burman power, had fled into Chittagong. These persons made occasional sallies into the Burmese territories for purposes of plunder or revenge.

ean, but it ended in the defeat of those by whom it was undertaken, and their return to their retreat in the British dominions. To exonerate the British government from the suspicion of participating in these attempts, or of affording them any degree of encouragement, another mission was determined on, and Captain Canning was dispatched to Ava to afford explanation. The British envoy, however, did not reach the place of his destined duties. He was unable to proceed beyond Rangoon, and, after being exposed to much both of insult and danger, returned to Bengal. The Company's government then took active measures for preventing a recurrence of any hostile excursions from its territories into those occupied by the Burmese; but the refusal to give up the parties who had been engaged in those which had previously taken place was regarded by the court of Ava as an unpardonable offence. After an interval of two years' tranquillity on the frontier, the surrender of these persons was formally demanded in a letter addressed by the Rajah of Ramree to the magistrate of Chittagong. The Marquis of Hastings thereupon addressed a letter to the Burmese sovereign, explaining that the British government could not, without a violation of the principles of justice, deliver up those who had sought its protection; that the existing tranquillity, and the improbability of the renewal of disturbances, rendered the demand particularly unseasonable; and that whilst the vigilance of the British officers should

CHAP. XXVI.

CHAP. XXVI. against the province of Arracan, it could lead to no advantageous result to either state to agitate the question of the delivery of the insurgents any further. The Burmese government not returning to the agitation of the question, the governor-general was led somewhat injudiciously, but in perfect accordance with his character, to conclude that there was no reason for suspecting the existence or contemplation of any hostile design on the part of that government; and on the strength of this conclusion, he countermanded some orders for extended preparations of defence issued under the influence of the apprehension excited by the demand.

A few months dissolved the illusion. Towards the close of the Mahratta war a second letter was received from the Rajah of Ramree, demanding from the British government, on the part of the Burmese sovereign, the cession of Ramoo, Chittagong, Moorshedabad, and Dacca, on the ground of their being ancient dependencies of Arracan, then part of the Burmese dominions, and threatening hostilities in case of refusal. The answer of the governor-general was to the effect that, if the letter were written by order of the king, it was to be lamented that persons utterly incompetent to form a just opinion of the British power in India had ventured to practise on the judgment of so dignified a sovereign; but that the governor-general's respect for his Majesty induced him to adopt the belief that the Rajah of Ramree had, for some unworthy pur-

menace adopted in the letter, without authority from CHAP. XXVI. the king, and that the proceeding would experience his Majesty's just displeasure. Here the matter rested. No notice was taken of the answer of the governor-general, and whether the letter was a mere idle menace not intended to be followed up, or that the splendid successes of the British arms in Central India was thought to render silence the most expedient course, or that the Burmese government found sufficient employment in the reduction of Assam, and in the conflict of domestic politics, must be matter for conjecture.

In Assam the Burmese had originally appeared as supporters of one of the parties in a civil war. They subsequently abandoned this position, and succeeded in conquering the province for a chief of their own nation. The Burmese frontier in this quarter was thus advanced to that of the British. Though ceasing to threaten the British government with war, the emissaries of the Burmese did not abstain from acts calculated to provoke it. In 1821, and again in 1822, they seized and carried off parties of elephant-hunters in the Company's employ, under the pretext that they were within the Burmese territories. An outrage committed on a boat laden with rice, entering the nullah on the British side of the Naf, led to more vigorous measures of resistance than had previously been resorted to. The military guard was increased, and a few men were placed upon an island called Shapooree. These measures of the viceroy of Arracan required to be

CHAP. XXVI. withdrawn, on the plea that the island belonged to the Burmese sovereign; the requisition being accompanied by an intimation that war would be the consequence of refusal. This took place in January, 1823, the month in which the Marquis of Hastings quitted India.

The Rajah of Arracan being addressed on the subject of the dispute, reiterated the demand for the surrender of the island; and on the 24th of September a body of Burmese, under the Rajah of Ramree, landed there, killed three of the British sepoy, wounded four, and drove off the rest. This feat was not very remarkable, seeing that the British guard on the island consisted of only thirteen men, while the Burmese force comprised a thousand. Having accomplished the object which they had proposed they returned to the main land. The Rajah of Arracan was so proud of what he had done, that he reported it himself to the British government, intimating, at the same time, that in the event of the resumption of the island, he would take by force of arms the cities of Dacca and Moorshedabad, which, it was repeated, originally belonged to Arracan.

The island of Shapooree was of small extent and value; it was, indeed, little more than a sand-bank, affording pasturage for a few cattle. With regard to the title to its possession, the pretensions of either party do not appear to have been very clearly made out, but the weight of probability inclined to

Chittagong collectorate shewed that it had been CHAP. XXVI.
long included within the British province, had been
at various periods surveyed and measured by British
officers, and during the preceding thirty years had
been repeatedly held by persons under deeds from
the British collector's office. It lay on the British
side of the main channel of the Naf river, the ac-
knowledged boundary of the two states; was sepa-
rated from the main land of the district of Chitta-
gong only by a narrow and shallow channel, fordable
at low water, and might not improperly be consi-
dered as a continuation of that land. It is observ-
able, also, that the British government was willing
to accede to an inquiry, and even proposed that
commissioners should be appointed on the part of
each government to make an investigation. In the
meantime, however, it was deemed necessary to re-
occupy the island, and a force sufficient for the
purpose was landed and stockaded. To give the
Burmese government room for repentance and ex-
planation, a despatch was forwarded, in which it
was assumed that the occupation of Shapooree was
the unauthorized act of the local authorities, which
would be disavowed by the Burmese monarch, and
exemplary punishment inflicted upon the perpe-
trators. Had it suited the Burmese prince to have
acted upon this suggestion, the sacrifice of his
agents would have proved no impediment to its
adoption; but the overweening pride of the court
of Ava interpreted the despatch into an acknow-

CHAP. XXVI. ledgment of conscious weakness, and ascribed its transmission to fear.

Manipur has been mentioned as a recent acquisition of the Burmese. Here, as in Assam, they first appeared to aid one candidate for the throne in dispossessing another. Their arms were successful, and the sovereign whom they had elevated no sooner found himself tolerably secure in Manipur, than he became desirous of annexing to his dominions the neighbouring principality of Cachar, which he invaded. The Rajah of Cachar fled to Sylhet, and solicited the assistance of the British government, offering, if thereby reinstated in possession of his territory, to hold it under an acknowledgment of dependence. The offer being refused, he had recourse to two brothers of the reigning prince of Manipur, one of them being the dispossessed Rajah (who, it must be observed, had obtained the throne by murdering an elder brother), the other the youngest of the reigning family, who, not deeming a prolonged residence in Manipur entirely safe, had some time before fled to Cachar, where he had found the protection which he by whom it was afforded now needed for himself. The price of their services was to be an equal share of the territory of Cachar with the Rajah, and on these terms their co-operation was secured. The efforts of the coalition were successful, and the Rajah of Manipur was compelled to abandon his more recent conquest. But the Rajah of Cachar

did not long enjoy the reduced dominion to which CHAP. XXVI. he was entitled by the terms of the contract with his allies. To the latter the possession of two-thirds only of the country was unsatisfactory—they desired the whole, and were not slow in obtaining it. Some time afterwards the Rajah of Manipur incurred the displeasure of his Burmese masters, by whom he was expelled, and his territories incorporated with the Burman empire. The deposed Rajah fled in the direction which it might have been supposed he would have been most anxious to avoid. He sought refuge in Cachar, and, what is not less remarkable, he found it. His brothers received him graciously, and even assigned to him a portion of the territory of which they had become possessed, partly by bargain and partly by usurpation. But the friendship thus re-established was not more lasting than might have been anticipated. The two brothers, who had formerly in succession occupied the throne of Manipur, quarrelled, and commenced hostilities against each other. The elder was defeated, escaped to the Company's dominions, and, like the prince whom he had assisted in expelling, sought the aid of the British government.* The disordered state of Cachar invited the exercise of the aggressive spirit of the Burmese, who prepared to invade it; whereupon the two brothers, still remaining there, followed the example

* In relating the internal dissensions of Cachar, the author has followed the account given by H. H. Wilson, Esq., in his *Historical Sketch of the Burmese War*.

CHAP. XXVI. of their senior by seeking British support. That support, which had formerly been refused to the rightful prince of Cachar not less than to one of his supplanners, it was now not thought prudent to withhold. The right of the parties from whom the invitation came was indeed very disputable, but the power of the legitimate prince was nominally extinct, and it was certain that his interests could not be promoted by allowing the Burmese to add his dominions to the list of their conquests, while by the British government such a result was to be deprecated. There was no time for protracted negotiation. It was necessary to determine at once, either to interfere in defence of Cachar, or to see it transferred to the Burmese, with all the attendant facilities for attacking the British dominions. If the former course were to be adopted, it required to be followed without hesitation or delay; and in the emergency the British government took the step which was almost forced upon them by the pressure of circumstances, and declared Cachar to be under its protection. To support this declaration a force was advanced from Dacca to Sylhet, divisions of which were posted at various stations in advance of the Sylhet frontier.

The precaution was not unnecessary. In January, A. D. 1824. 1824, about four thousand Burmese troops advanced from Assam into Cachar, and having taken up a position, proceeded to fortify it by stockades. Another body, entering from Manipur, engaged and defeated the troops of Gumber Singh, the youngest of the fra-

ternal partitioners of the province; and a third division was approaching by a different route. Major Thomas Newton, the officer commanding on the Sylhet frontier, determined, on becoming acquainted with their movements, to advance without delay against the party from Assam, before they should have time to complete their intrenchments. He accordingly marched on the 17th of January, and at day-break came in sight of the stockade of the adverse troops. An attack was instantly commenced in two divisions; one, commanded by Captain Johnstone, upon the stockade; the other, under Captain Bowe, upon an adjoining village. The troops in the village fled almost immediately; those in the stockade made a vigorous resistance, but at length yielded.

A. D. 1824.

Some communications between the Burmese generals and the English local authorities followed; but, as they shared the ordinary lot of Burmese diplomacy, by ending in nothing, it is unnecessary to dwell upon them. Major Newton deemed it requisite to withdraw his troops from Cachar, and the Burmese advanced to Jatrapore, where the party from Assam effected a junction with that which had advanced from Manipur, and erected stockades on both sides of the river Soorma. They proceeded to push those on the north side to within a thousand yards of the British post at Bhudderpoor, when, being attacked by Captain Johnstone, they were driven from their unfinished works at the point of the bayonet. The Assam division fell back upon

CHAP. XXVI. the Bhurtekee pass, the other stockaded itself at Doodpatlee. The former were dislodged with some difficulty by Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen, who had arrived to take the command; the latter were attacked by the same officer, but unsuccessfully; the party, however, subsequently withdrew into Manipur.

The British detachment which occupied Shapooree had been withdrawn from the island, in consequence of its extreme unhealthiness; but, in conformity with previous advances towards an amicable arrangement, two officers were deputed by the British government to meet any persons similarly accredited by the Burman authorities. The overture was met to the extent of sending four persons bearing a letter to the British commissioners; but the communication, in which the Rajah of Arracan announced their approach, stated also that a force had been assembled under fresh orders from the Court of Ava, for the express purpose of dispossessing the English, at all hazard, of the island of Shapooree. This was an unpromising commencement, and the progress of the negotiation was not at variance with it. The right of the Burmese sovereign to the island was asserted, but his agents professed that they would be satisfied with an admission of its being neutral ground, and a declaration that it should be occupied by neither party. The sincerity of this profession is scarcely matter for doubt. The Burmese were bent on aggression, and though it is barely possible that compliance with the proposal might have postponed hostilities for a short time, it is far more

likely that, had it been accepted, the Burmese government would have disavowed the act of their agent; and however this might have been, the entire tenour of Burmese policy for years past rendered it clear that war could not ultimately be avoided, nor could its commencement be long deferred.

Waiving, too, all reference to the future, the outrages which the Burmese had perpetrated could not be overlooked. Such a course was not only forbidden by a regard to the honour of the British nation, but its direct tendency would have been to invite fresh, and without doubt, more important aggressions. Such was the view taken by the government, who, in replying to the letter communicating the proposal of the vakeels with regard to Shapooree, observed, "that worthless and insignificant as the place must be to either party, and willing as the governor-general in council might have felt to listen to any such proposal, had it been brought forward by the government of Ava itself at an earlier stage of the discussion, and previously to the assault on" the British "post, and the slaughter of" the British "sepoys, the just indignation excited by that act of outrage, and the declarations and resolutions it had necessarily induced, must utterly preclude any compromise of the above nature, even if not proffered in the tone of insolent menace, which the Rajah of Arracan had invariably assumed."* The British

* Despatch from Governor-general in Council to Secret Committee, 23rd of February, 1824.

CHAP. XXVI. agents were then instructed, that no overture for the relinquishment of the absolute and unqualified right of the Company to Shapooree was to be for a moment entertained; and that if the Burmese deputies should recur to the intimation already given, of the determination of the Burmese government to prevent the British authorities keeping a guard on the island, it was to be met by a distinct statement of the positive orders of the British government to maintain the fullest right of possession, and to visit with instant chastisement those who might engage in any attempt to disturb that possession.

A. D. 1824. It was not long before the catalogue of Burmese offences against the British government was swelled by the perpetration of an act of gross and wanton treachery. When the British troops were withdrawn from Shapooree, a pilot schooner, named the *Sophia*, was stationed off the north-east point of the island, with some gun-boats, to supply, in a degree, the absence of the troops. On the morning of the 20th January, 1824, some armed Burmese in a boat pulled alongside the vessel and asked a number of questions of a very suspicious character. In the afternoon a second boat approached, bearing an invitation to the commander of the English schooner to proceed on the following morning to Mungdoo, where some officers of high rank had just arrived from the court of Ava. The commander, Mr. Chew, was, at the time, absent, but on his return he ventured, somewhat imprudently, to accept the invitation. He was accompanied by an officer in charge

of the row-boats, and a crew of eight lascars, the whole of whom, on landing, were, with Mr. Chew, seized and carried off into the interior, where they were detained until the 13th of February. They were then released without apology or explanation. The capture of Mr. Chew and his attendants was not the only exploit performed by the deputies at Mungdoo. They proceeded in solemn state to the island, with four large boats of armed men, and on their arrival planted the Burmese flag there. This ceremony concluded, they burnt a hut, the only work of human labour existing on the desolate spot, and returned.

CHAP. XXVI.
A. D. 1824.

The two governments were now to become avowedly at war—a state in which they had actually been for some time past. The British government explained its motives in a declaration dated the 24th of February, addressed to the government of Ava, and in a public proclamation dated the 5th of March following. Soon afterwards the government received from the viceroy of Pegu an exposition of the views of the enemy, couched in terms of singular arrogance. It re-asserted the claim formerly made by the Rajah of Arracan to parts of the British territories, repeated the alleged grievances of the Burmese sovereign, and indicated the pleasure of “the fortunate king of the white elephants, lord of the seas and earth,” that as the governors on the Burmese frontier had full authority to act, no further communication should be made to the “golden feet” till every thing should be “settled.” Full political and mi-

CHAP. XXVI. litary powers were declared to have been conferred on an officer called Menjee Maha Bundoola, and in allusion to a reference made in a communication from the governor-general to the recent date of his own appointment, that functionary was admonished to "ascertain the truth, consider duly every thing, investigate and judge properly, and by petition represent his case to the general by way of Arracan."

In acting on the declaration of war issued by the British government, it was determined, that on the frontier, operations should be in a great measure defensive ; but not so exclusively as to preclude the expulsion of the Burmese from territories in which they had recently established themselves by usurpation. Among these territories Assam was the first object of attention, and a force destined for its reduction was assembled at Goolpur, under the command of Brigadier-General M'Morine. It consisted of seven companies of Native Infantry, portions of various local corps, a small body of irregular horse, some artillery, and a gun-boat flotilla on the Bramapooter. This force moved on the 13th of March, the troops pursuing their route along both banks of the river, with vast labour, through thick jungle and lofty grass, in which the men were at intervals completely buried ; a number of small rivulets and ravines also intersected the road, the difficulties of which were further increased by the recurrence sometimes of heavy sands, sometimes of marshy swamps. But no enemy was seen until the 27th,

A.D. 1824.

when a small party of Burmese appeared, only to escape with a rapidity which defied pursuit. On the 18th the British force arrived at Gowahatty. Here the Burmese had erected strong stockades, but they were abandoned. The enemy in retreating had, it appeared, inflicted dreadful cruelties on their fellow-subjects, the Assamese, a fact attested by the discovery of some bodies frightfully mutilated. To assure the people of protection, and to obtain their assistance, a proclamation had been issued by the British authorities immediately on their entering Assam.

But the main blow was intended to be struck at such part of the maritime possessions of the Burmese as should appear to offer the best prospects of success; and to the preparations for this purpose it is now necessary to turn. A part of the force required was provided in Bengal; the remainder, forming by far the larger portion, was furnished chiefly from Madras. From Bengal embarked his Majesty's 13th and 38th regiments, the second battalion of the 20th Native Infantry, and two companies of European artillery, amounting in the whole to two thousand one hundred and seventy-five fighting men. They were accompanied by four eighteen-pounders, four five-and-a-half-inch howitzers, four eight-inch mortars, and four six-pounders. Attached to the expedition were twenty gun-brigs and schooners, each manned by fifteen lascars, commanded by a European, and armed with two twelve-pounder carronades and four swivels, mounted on their bows and quarters; twenty row-boats, carrying

HAP. XXXV. one eighteen-pounder each, manned exclusively by natives; two king's sloops, the *Larne*, Captain Marryatt, and the *Sophie*, Captain Ryves; several Company's cruizers; and the *Diana* steam-vessel, the first ever employed in war.

The force from Madras was distributed in two divisions. The first consisted of his Majesty's 41st regiment, the Madras European regiment, five battalions of native infantry, and four companies of artillery, making a total of six thousand and twenty-six fighting men, with two eight-inch, and two five-and-a-half-inch, and two four-and-a-half-inch howitzers, two eight-inch and two five-and-a-half-inch mortars, four iron eighteen-pounders, six iron twelve-pounders, six six-pounders, and two three-pounders. The second division of the Madras force was composed of his Majesty's 89th regiment and two battalions of native infantry, the total number of fighting men being two thousand eight hundred and forty-one. The military force, when united, thus amounted to something more than eleven thousand. Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell was appointed to the chief command; Colonel Macbean was placed in command of the Madras force with the rank of brigadier-general; and Major Canning accompanied the expedition as political agent and joint commissioner with the commander-in-chief.

The place of rendezvous was Port Cornwallis, in the Great Andamans, for which place the Bengal expedition sailed in the beginning of April, and

reached it at the latter end of that month. There CHAP. XXVI.
it was joined, early in May, by the first division of A. D. 1824.
the Madras force; the second, which sailed on the
23rd of May, arriving in June. Two additional
king's ships, one of them, the Liffey, bearing the
broad pendent of Commodore Grant, joined the ex-
pedition at Port Cornwallis. On the 9th of May
the expedition arrived off the mouth of the Rangoon
river, on the 10th came to anchor within the bar,
on the morning of the 11th stood up the river, and
about one o'clock on that day came to off Rangoon,
opposite a landing-place called the King's wharf,
the seat of a battery. A fire was opened on the
fleet, but was returned from the Liffey with such
effect, that several of the enemy's guns were split
or dismounted, and, at the third broadside, the Bur-
mese authorities left the town. At three o'clock the
troops proceeded to land in three divisions, above,
below, and in the centre of the town. Opposition
had been anticipated, but none was offered: the
town was found deserted by the inhabitants, and at
four the British colours were flying on the Burman
staff.

As soon as the alarm was given of the approach
of the invading force, all foreigners in the town
were seized and imprisoned, heavily fettered. The
number of these persons was eleven, the majority
of whom were British subjects. When the British
force were in actual possession of the town, one of
the imprisoned party, an American missionary, was
released from his fetters, and deputed with a native

CHAP. XXVI. to inquire, on the part of the members of the civic government, who had taken refuge in the jungle, what terms would be granted, the inquiry being accompanied by an intimation that the applicants had several Englishmen in their power, and that the fate of those persons would probably depend on the answer of the British commander. They were told that it was too late to ask terms when the place was in possession of the English; that protection to persons and property was all that could be expected, and that the promise of this would not be confirmed until the prisoners were delivered up uninjured. Any outrage committed upon them, it was added, would be signally avenged. The messengers left, promising to return after consulting their employers, but these could not be found, their fear having driven them still further up the country. Three of the prisoners had, in the haste of flight, been left behind in Rangoon; the remainder the fugitives had carried away with them, and great fears were consequently entertained for their safety. Those fears were happily relieved on the morning after the occupation of the town, the missing persons being discovered by some reconnoitering parties, before whom the guards placed over them had fled.

In making the requisite disposition of the troops on shore, and in excursions by the boats to scour the river and destroy the armed boats and fire-rafts of the enemy, several brilliant instances of valour and enterprise occurred. A stockade having been observed in course of erection at the village

of Kemendine, only four miles from the shipping, CHAP. XXVI.
it was attacked by a grenadier company of the 38th regiment and the boats of the Liffey, stormed with great intrepidity, and, though defended with much obstinacy by four hundred men, carried. Lieutenant Kerr, of the 38th, was killed, and Lieutenant Wilkinson, of the Liffey, dangerously wounded; but the enemy suffered still more severely, and left sixty of their number dead. In this affair the seamen of the Liffey commenced the attack without waiting for the soldiers, who were delayed by some mismanagement of the boats which conveyed them. At first, the enemy was inclined to treat the rusty blue jackets of the sailors with contempt; but an encounter with them hand to hand induced a very different feeling.

Some days afterwards, Captain Snodgrass, of the King's 38th, having observed a party of the enemy apparently employed in making observations on the British line, advanced with a small patrol for the purpose of ascertaining their strength and intentions. They found sentries and posts regularly established, which having driven before them for some distance, they were suddenly fired on from a stockade; but an entrance being observed in an angle of the work, which the enemy had neglected to shut, an immediate charge was ordered, and the British party, consisting of only eighteen men, drove from the stockade at least two hundred, with the loss of only three wounded.

The stockade thus gallantly carried was situated

CHAP. XXVI. — at the junction of a pathway with a main road, and from the precautions taken for its defence, Sir Archibald Campbell conceived that the road must lead to some place from which it was important to keep the invading force. On the following morning, therefore, he proceeded with four companies of Europeans, from the King's 13th and 38th regiments, commanded by Captains Macphane, Piper, and Birch, a body of native infantry, a gun, and a howitzer, towards the stockade, which was found re-occupied, but only a few shots were fired from it. Advancing, they found other stockades, which they destroyed; but, from the nature of the country, and the fatigue incident upon traversing it, it became necessary to send back the guns, escorted by the native infantry. After proceeding some distance, the general with the European companies arrived in an extensive valley of paddy fields, whence the enemy could be perceived drawn out in a long line, with an impenetrable jungle in the rear. Suddenly, a heavy fire was opened upon the British troops from two stockades, so well masked as, at sixty yards distance, not to be distinguishable from a garden fence. Colonel Macbean kept the plain with a light company, while an assault was made on the stockades by the rest of the force under Major Evans, of the King's 38th, and Major Dennie,* of the

* This officer, after a long career of honourable service in the East, fell at Jellalabad during the Affghan war, while nobly leading his regiment, the gallant 13th, to attack the enemy's camp. The 13th, in recognition of its services in the Burmese and

13th. The first stockade was carried in ten minutes; CHAP. XXVI.
the second in a very short time after, the garrison
within, fighting man to man, being put to the
bayonet. The enemy suffered severely; and the
victors did not escape, the loss on their part includ-
ing some valuable and meritorious officers.

An attempt was now made by the Burmese to
gain time by mock negotiation, but without effect.
At the end of May, Commodore Grant was com- A. D. 1824.
pelled by ill health to withdraw to Penang, leaving
Captain Marryat the senior naval officer.

An attack, made on the 3rd of June, upon a
strong position of the Burmese at Kemendine,
about two miles distant from the post whence the
enemy had a few days previously been driven, par-
tially failed, in consequence, it is said, of some
British columns having been fired on from the river,
either from their being mistaken for Burmans, or
from the shot having too great a range. This mis-
chance was repaired a few days afterwards. On the
10th, Sir Archibald Campbell moved upon the forti-
fied camp and stockades at Kemendine, with about
three thousand men, four eighteen-pounders, four
mortars, and seven field-pieces, at the same time
sending two divisions of vessels up the river. About
two miles from the town the head of the column
was stopped by a stockade, apparently of great
strength and filled with men. Two heavy guns

Affghan wars, has been honoured with the title of Prince Albert's
regiment of light infantry, together with other testimonies of
royal approbation.

CHAP. XXVI. and some field-pieces having been opened on it, in less than half an hour a considerable gap became apparent in the outer works. A part of the Madras European regiment, supported by a part of the King's 41st, then moved on to assault. At the same time, an attack by escalade was made on the other side by a party formed from his Majesty's 13th and 38th regiments, who by helping each other up the face of the stockade, which was at least ten feet high, succeeded in entering about the same time as the party at the breach. The first man who appeared on the top of the work was Major R. H. Sale, of the 13th.* The enemy left above a hundred and fifty dead—among them the Burmese commander. This point being gained, the British force moved on to invest the chief stockade. Batteries were erected during the night and opened on the following morning. After a cannonade of two hours, a party, advancing to observe the breach, found that the enemy had evacuated the stockade, carrying with them their dead and wounded.

A pause in the progress of these operations affords opportunity for adverting to the circumstances in which the expedition was placed. It was unfortunately undertaken with very imperfect knowledge of the country, and without any adequate provision for securing supplies. These, it had been calculated, would be found on the spot; but the care

* Now Sir Robert Henry Sale, G.C.B., the splendid addition to whose fame gained in the Affghan war is almost rivalled by that of his heroic lady.

with which the enemy removed every article of sus- CHAP. XXVI.
tenance frustrated the expectation. In addition to these difficulties others existed, seriously affecting the efficiency of the force and threatening the success of the expedition. With a tropical sun above, thick jungle around, and swamp beneath the feet, these sources of pestilence were aided by frequent deluges of rain. Almost every cause of disease and debility being thus actively at work, the health of the men rapidly declined, and fever and dysentery began fearfully to thin their ranks. Such was the cheerless and almost hopeless condition of the British force at the commencement of the Burmese war. Advance was impossible, and even to maintain the position which they had gained appeared almost hopeless.

While the invaders had every thing but defeat to dispirit and discourage them, the Burmese appeared to have lost nothing of that consolatory self-confidence, which had led them to brave the vengeance of the British power. Reinforcements and supplies of warlike stores were provided, and Thakia Woongyee, one of the chief ministers of state, was dispatched to take the chief command, with distinct orders from his master to attack the British, and drive them at once out of the country; a result which, looking at their condition, might have seemed practicable, even to persons whose powers of judgment were not distorted by Burmese arrogance. The havoc which disease and death had worked was however in some degree repaired by the arrival,

CHAP. XXVI. during the month of June, of the second division
A. D. 1824. from Madras, and by the return of two detachments which had been dispatched to Negrais and Cheduba. The former, under Major Wahab, had destroyed a stockade, and brought away the guns and ammunition found in it. The island being found utterly worthless in every respect, was summarily abandoned, though not without an excursion to the main land, in which a party under Lieutenant J. O. Stedman gallantly drove from a stockade a much larger body of the enemy, carrying off their guns to the boats. The expedition against Cheduba was conducted by Brigadier-General McCreagh, who having effected a landing in the face of considerable opposition, found a body of the enemy stockaded. A battery was erected and the stockade carried. The island was defended by six hundred Burmese, of whom about three hundred fell, and the remainder escaped to the main land. The Rajah of Cheduba was taken in a jungle. Leaving a small force in possession of the island, the commander with the rest joined the main body of the British army.

The time approached when it became necessary for the Burmese general to begin to act upon the orders of his sovereign; and the bustle of preparation which marked the concluding days of the month of June shewed that he was about to make the trial. The morning of the 1st of July was selected for the first attempt. Three columns of the enemy, estimated at a thousand men each, were observed marching to the right of the British position; a

large force also occupied the left. The attack commenced on the right, a large number of the enemy having penetrated between two of the British picquets formed on a hill, and begun firing from some swivels. The firing having been returned from two field-pieces, Captain Jones, of the 22nd Native Infantry, advanced at the head of three companies, and drove the enemy, at the point of the bayonet, from the hill into the jungle, "their favourite haunt and only place of safety," as justly described by Sir Archibald Campbell. Their loss in killed amounted to at least one hundred, while the English had not a single man either killed or wounded. Thus ended the first exploit of the new Burmese general; and his immediate supersession deprived him of all opportunity for attempting a second. The result seems to have induced his successor to conclude that the military genius of the Burmese lay rather for the defensive, and he stockaded his army in the most difficult part of the forest, whence desultory attacks were made almost nightly upon some part of the British lines.

The British commander, however, determined upon affording him opportunity for the display of his talents in a general action, and on the 8th of July two columns of attack were formed. One proceeded by land under the command of Brigadier-General Macbean; the other advanced by the river, and with it the commander-in-chief embarked. The enemy's principal stockade was erected on a broad and projecting point of land, where the river divides

A. D. 1824.

CHAP. XXVI. into two branches. On the opposite bank of both branches stockades and other works were erected, enflading the approach to the principal work, and thus all protecting each other. Fourteen pieces of artillery were silenced by the fire from the shipping conducted by Captain Marryat, and at the end of an hour the signal of 'breach practicable' being made from the mainmast head, the troops destined for the assault entered the boats. They consisted of a detail of the 3rd, 10th, and 17th Native Infantry, commanded by Major Wahab, under whom they made immediately for the breach. Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin, of the King's 41st, with two hundred and sixty men of his own regiment and one company of the Madras European regiment, pushed ashore at a little distance above and entered the work by escalade. The first stockade was carried with comparatively small loss. Colonel Godwin then re-embarked to attack the second stockade which was carried, and the third was evacuated by the enemy.

The operations of the land column were equally successful. On arriving, General Macbean found himself surrounded by stockades, the extent or strength of which he had very imperfect means of ascertaining, destitute of guns, and with a force which as to mere numbers was contemptible, when compared with that opposed to him. Nothing daunted by his perilous situation, he determined to trust to the courage of his men to supply the deficiencies of the means at his disposal. The scaling ladders were ordered to the front, and preparations made for

storming the enemy's works by parties taken from his Majesty's 13th, 38th, and 89th regiments. The principal work, in the centre of the enemy's line, was composed of three distinct stockades one within another. In the main one Soomba Wongee, the new commander-in-chief, had established his headquarters, as he imagined, in perfect security. He was proceeding to dinner when the approach of the British troops was announced to him, and merely ordering his chiefs to their posts, to drive the audacious strangers away, he entered unmoved upon the work of refreshment. But the continued firing disturbed the quiet of his repast, and he judged it expedient to leave his meal unfinished and repair to the scene of action. He found that the capture of his first stockade had been the work of only ten minutes;* that the second, after a stronger resistance, had yielded to the overwhelming courage of the assailants,—that the third was now attacked by men whose energy would not suffer them to wait for the ordinary assistance of ladders, but who were raised to the work on the shoulders of their comrades. The contest now was hand to hand. Major Sale singled out a chief of high rank for his opponent, and the haughty Burman soon fell by the sword of his English adversary.* Four other stockades were captured in succession, making seven within the space of half

* According to one account, it was the commander-in-chief—others represent it to have been a different chieftain. But the fact of a personal contest between Major Sale and a chief of high rank seems beyond doubt.

CHAP. XXVI. an hour, and without the firing of a gun on the part of the British, all having been taken by escalade. Thus, in one day, the British army captured ten stockades, provided with thirty pieces of artillery, and garrisoned by numbers incomparably superior to those by which they were assailed. The enemy lost from eight hundred to a thousand men, their commander-in-chief, and three other men of distinction.

Shortly after this gallant achievement, the prospects of the British force were clouded by disappointment. An expedition, combining operations both by land and water, against a force stationed at Kyloo, was compelled to return without effecting, or indeed attempting to effect, its object. The land column was unable to advance from the inundated state of the country, and the sea column was unable to act from the want of co-operation on land. Other movements were more fortunate. At Syriam, a body of troops were dislodged from an old fort with little difficulty, beyond that arising from access to the place being impeded by a deep and impassable creek. This was overcome by a party of sailors under Captain Marryat, who in a very short time constructed a bridge, which enabled the attacking column to pass over. A party of the enemy were with equal facility driven from a pagoda, which, with a moderate degree of firmness in those within, might have been maintained for a long time. A successful attack was also made by a detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, of the Madras

European regiment, upon two stockades on opposite sides of a creek near Dalla: great spirit and perseverance were displayed in this attack. The officers being less encumbered than the men, formed line breast-deep in mud and water, and thus passed from one to another the scaling ladders to be placed against the walls of the stockade first attacked. It was immediately carried. Part of the troops being then re-embarked took possession of the opposite stockade.*

CHAP. XXVI.

The stockades were not destroyed, and as the

* The loss of the British was severe. Among the wounded was Lieutenant Maw, of the Liffey, author of a memoir of the early operations of the Burmese war. His own account of the misfortune is a characteristic specimen of nautical liveliness and *nonchalance* :—" I was looking towards an angle of the stockade that appeared to me not to be entirely finished, and where I was thinking we might possibly get in, when I was knocked down. I had not thought of being shot—for what will not use do? And I had really seen so many knocked down, that I had begun to think I never should be hit. My first impression was surprise; and next, that I was killed; for I could not move even a finger, although my senses were clear. I heard the bargemen exclaim, some that I was killed, others that I was shot; but one and all they rushed forward to save me. By this time the troops were beginning to land, and Lieutenant Fraser coming over, and supposing that I was killed, ordered the bargemen to leave me and go to the stockade. Their answer, I believe, was, that they had brought me on shore, and dead or alive they would carry me off. I was nearly suffocated with blood, and my tongue was split into three pieces; but I made them understand to keep up my head, and to get the sword that had fallen from my hand, which they did, and having carried me to a boat, returned to the works. Had the troops marched over me, it is more than probable that instant death would have been the consequence."—*Memoir*, pp. 78-79.

CHAP. XXVI. enemy raised several additional works, and thence sallied on predatory excursions, it became necessary again to expel them. This was effected, and in performing the service the gun-boats, under the orders of Captain Marryat, were eminently useful.

A. D. 1824. During the month of September little of importance occurred, but early in October misfortune again awaited the British arms. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith marched with a detachment of native infantry to attack a part of the enemy's force, which had taken up a position in the neighbourhood of Aunauben, and the pagoda of Kyloo, about fourteen miles from the British head-quarters. After succeeding in some minor affairs the pagoda was attacked, but a tremendous fire from within knocked down the principal officers, and spread such panic through the troops that retreat was the only course left: this disastrous result appears to have been aided by the treachery of the guides, whose instructions were followed. Panic, on this occasion, was not confined to the assailants; for on General M'Creagh advancing a few days afterwards, he found the stockades deserted, and the enemy in disorderly flight; all efforts to overtake them were unavailing. About the same time, an expedition directed against a post at Thantabain was completely successful; the works, though of great strength, were carried almost without resistance, and the British did not lose a single man.

An expedition under Colonel Godwin, dispatched against Marteban, arrived there on the

CHAP. XXVI.

A. D. 1824.

29th of October; but the state of the tide being unfavourable for immediate landing, advantage was taken of the requisite delay to examine the place with considerable care. The town was situate at the foot of a very lofty hill, washed by a beautiful and extensive sheet of water. On its right was a rocky mound, on which was placed a two-gun battery, with a deep nulla under it. The battery was found to communicate with a timber stockade, and behind this was a work of masonry, varying from twelve to twenty feet in thickness, with small embrasures for either cannon or musketry. The stockade ran along the margin of the water for more than three-quarters of a mile, joining at the extremity a large pagoda, which projected into the water in the form of a bastion. The defences thence were continued for a short distance further, terminating in a nulla, beyond which all was thick jungle. The town continued to run in an angle from the pagoda for above a mile, and terminated at the house of the chief, close to a stockade up the hill. The rear of the town and works was protected by thick jungle and large trees. During the night of the 29th a cannonade was kept up. At five o'clock on the following morning a party proceeded to land. It consisted of ninety-eight men of the King's 41st regiment, seventy-five of the 3rd Madras Native Infantry, eight of the Bengal Artillery, and thirty-eight seamen; in all two hundred and nineteen. Some little difficulty occurred from a mistake as to the point of landing, but it was over-

CHAP. XXVI. come; and from the time that the feet of the assailants pressed the shore, there was no halt till the place was in their possession. The number of the garrison was in a great degree matter for conjecture only, but it was estimated by Colonel Godwin at between three and four thousand; and in thus calculating he assumed its strength at only two-thirds of that assigned to it by common report. A great number of guns were taken, and the magazines and arsenals furnished a vast quantity of ammunition: one thousand round iron shot, one thousand five hundred grape shot, ten thousand musket cartridges, six thousand cartridges for wall pieces, twenty-six thousand eight hundred pounds of gunpowder, twenty thousand flints, one hundred thousand musket-balls, ten thousand pounds of salt-petre, five thousand pounds of sulphur, nine thousand pounds of lead. There was a regular manufactory of gunpowder, which Colonel Godwin blew up.

A.D. 1824. A period of comparative repose which followed allows space for turning to the progress of the British arms in quarters remote from the principal scene of operations. In August, a small expedition, under Lieutenant-Colonel Miles, was dispatched by Sir Archibald Campbell to the coast of Tenasserim. It arrived on the 1st of September at the mouth of the river leading to Tavoy, but from some impediments to its progress did not reach the fort until the 8th. The capture of this fort was not a work of difficulty; for the Burmese officer second in command

sent a message to Colonel Miles, offering to seize or destroy his superior, or to obey any orders that the British commander might dictate. The answer of Colonel Miles was, that the British force was on the point of advancing, and that the governor must be arrested and confined till its arrival. This was done, and Colonel Miles on arriving had only to make the necessary dispositions for occupying the fort, pettah, and all the defences. Colonel Miles then moved forward to attack Mergui. Here, after about an hour's firing, the batteries were silenced by the Company's cruizers, and the troops proceeded to land. A party of the King's 89th then advanced to the stockade through deep mud and water, under a torrent of rain and a heavy fire from the enemy. As soon as ladders could be brought up an escalade was undertaken, and the place immediately carried. These services being performed, Colonel Miles, leaving sufficient garrisons, with part of the flotilla to protect the conquests on the coast, returned to join the main force at Rangoon.

The operations on the frontier, it will be remembered, were undertaken principally with a view to defence. To a certain extent they were successful, and the British authority was established over a considerable portion of Assam. In Arracan its interests were less prosperous. A detachment, under Captain Noton, had been left at Ramoo to watch the enemy in that quarter. It being reported that the enemy were threatening a British stockade at Rutnapulluing, Captain Noton, on the

CHAP. XXVI. 11th of May, made a movement to support that position; but his progress being attended with a variety of disasters, and the conduct of some provincial troops evincing that little confidence could be placed in them, he retired to Ramoo. On the morning of the 13th of May the enemy appeared in great force on the hills to the east of that place. Their precise number could not be ascertained, but from the extent of ground which their encampment covered, it was computed that they amounted to ten thousand fighting men, besides an equal number of coolies and camp followers. The force of Captain Noton consisted of about three hundred and fifty regular native infantry and six hundred and fifty provincial and irregular troops. The latter could in no respect be depended on; and with three hundred and fifty men to resist successfully a force of the estimated strength of the Burmese, was obviously not to be hoped for. Captain Noton, however, expected reinforcements from Chittagong, and in the belief that they would immediately arrive, he determined, with the concurrent opinion of his officers, to defend the post which he occupied at Ramoo.

A river flowed between the enemy and the British detachment. On the evening of the 14th the entire force of the former was observed to be concentrated on the bank, with the apparent intention of crossing. To frustrate their purpose, a party with two six-pounders was detached. On the morning of the 15th, however, the enemy con-

trived to pass the river unobserved, and commenced CHAP. XXVI.
entrenching themselves about three hundred yards in front of the British position. The right flank of that position was protected by the river and by a tank about sixty yards in advance: its rear was defended by another tank. These tanks were surrounded by embankments about three feet high; that on the right was occupied by the picquet, who opened a fire on the enemy, which was kept up without intermission during the day and throughout the succeeding night. But their fire appears to have done little damage, and the effect of the two six-pounders, which were directed against the enemy as they crossed the plain, was but small. Early on the 16th it was discovered that the enemy had opened trenches on the left flank of the British, and had considerably advanced those which they had previously opened in front. On this day the provincial troops, in addition to the cowardice which they had previously displayed, manifested symptoms of disaffection, and it being discovered that an intention existed of deserting to the enemy, Captain Noton arrested the ringleaders in the mutinous movement, and took measures to prevent the remainder acting on their suggestions. Under all these disheartening circumstances, Captain Noton determined to maintain his post, he having on the preceding day received information that the expected reinforcement from Chittagong was to leave that place on the 13th, and consequently its arrival might be hourly looked for. But by day-

CHAP. XXVI. break on the 17th the enemy had carried their trenches to within twelve paces of the picquet, and had also very nearly approached the tank which sheltered the British position in the rear. By ten o'clock they were in possession of the tank, and consternation diffusing itself throughout the provincial and irregular troops, the whole fled with precipitation. There was no course but retreat, and even orderly and successful retreat must have appeared almost hopeless. The picquet was recalled, but from the confusion and noise that prevailed, the notice for its return was not heard, and the rest of the detachment proceeded, leaving their more advanced comrades to their fate. By accident the officer commanding the picquet perceived the retrograde movement, but not till those making it were at a considerable distance. He then withdrew his men, and made an effort to join the main body, in which he succeeded; and for about half a mile the whole proceeded in tolerable order. The enemy's cavalry then pressing on the retreating troops with overwhelming force, a square was ordered to be formed; but the men, worn out by fatigue and privation, and appalled by the fearful circumstances in which they were placed, responded not to the command. Order and discipline were at an end, and no exertions of the officers could restore them. The attention of every sepoy was directed to his own safety, and none thought of any thing besides. Hastily throwing away their arms and accoutrements, the troops dispersed in every direction,

leaving to their officers no choice but that of pro- CHAP. XXVI.
viding, if it might be practicable, for their own escape. Three only, Lieutenant Scott, Lieutenant Codrington, and Ensign Campbell, succeeded in effecting it, and the two former were severely wounded: Captain Noton and the remainder were killed.*

The success of the Burmese in this instance might have been expected to encourage them to push their fortune in a quarter where victory had crowned their first attempt, and some apprehensions of their advance were entertained at Chittagong and Dacca, and even at Calcutta. This apparently natural consequence did not follow; but the withdrawal of the British force from Sylhet to protect Chittagong, after the defeat at Ramoo, emboldened the Burmese again to enter Cachar. The alarm for the safety of the British possessions subsiding, the movement of the force from Sylhet was countermanded, and on its return its commander, Colonel Innes, after a short interval of rest proceeded into Cachar. The events which followed were of indecisive character, and would possess no interest in the recital. It will be sufficient to state that little advantage was gained by either party, and that sickness, caused by the unhealthy nature of the country, ultimately compelled the British commander to suspend active operations.

* The names of those who thus fell with Captain Noton were Captain Trueman, Captain Bright, Lieutenant Grigs, Ensign Bennett, and Assistant-Surgeon Maysmore.

CHAP. XXVI. — The prowess of the army of Arracan, and of Menginee Maha Bundoola, who commanded it, made so deep an impression on the court of Ava, that it was thought their warlike capabilities might be advantageously employed in repelling the invading force, which, under Sir Archibald Campbell, had entered the Burmese territories. They were consequently withdrawn from Arracan, and the general, after visiting Ava to receive congratulations on the past and instructions for the future, proceeded at the head of an army, formidable in point of numbers at least, to attack the invaders.

A. D. 1824. On the 1st of December, after various indications of its approach, the Burmese army presented itself in front of the British position, with the obvious intention of surrounding it. Entrenchments were thrown up with extraordinary rapidity.* In the

* Major Snodgrass gives the following account of this operation :—" In the course of a few hours we found ourselves completely surrounded, with the narrow channel of the Rangoon river alone unoccupied in our rear, and with only the limited space within our lines that we could call our own. The line of circumvallation taken up by the enemy obviously extended a very considerable distance, and, divided as it was by the river, injudiciously weakened his means of assailing us on any particular point ; but as far as celerity, order, and regularity are concerned, the style in which the different corps took up their stations in the line, reflected much credit on the arrangements of the Burmese commander. When this singular and presumptuous formation was completed, the soldiers of the left column, also laying aside their spears and muskets, commenced operations with their entrenching tools with such activity and good will, that in the course of a couple of hours their line had wholly disappeared, and could only be traced by a parapet of new earth gradually increasing in

afternoon this labour was interrupted by a visit CHAP. XXVI.
from a detachment of the British army under Major Sale, which was so totally unexpected, that the approach of the party was not perceived till it was too late to do any thing effectual towards repelling them. Having burst through the entrenchments and slain great numbers, the detachment returned, loaded with the enemy's arms, standards, and tools. In the evening a mass of skirmishers, who

height, and assuming such forms as the skill and science of the engineer suggested. The moving masses which had so very lately attracted our anxious attention had sunk into the ground; and by any one who had not witnessed the whole scene, the existence of these subterraneous legions would not have been credited: the occasional movement of a chief, with his gilt chattah (umbrella), from place to place, superintending the progress of their labour, was the only thing that now attracted notice. By a distant observer, the hills, covered with mounds of earth, would have been taken for any thing rather than the approaches of an attacking army; but to us, who had watched the whole strange proceeding, it seemed the work of magic or enchantment..... The trenches were found to be a succession of holes, capable of containing two men each, and excavated so as to afford shelter both from the weather and the fire of an enemy; even a shell lighting in the trench could at most kill but two men. As it is not the Burmese system to relieve their troops in making these approaches, each hole contained a sufficient supply of rice, water, and even fuel, for its inmates; and under the excavated bank a bed of straw or brushwood was prepared, in which one man could sleep while his comrade watched. When one line of trench is completed, its occupiers, taking advantage of the night, push forward to where the second line is to be opened, their place being immediately taken up by fresh troops from the rear, and so on progressively; the number of trenches occupied varying according to the force of the besiegers, to the plans of the general, or to the nature of the ground."—Snodgrass's Narrative of the Burmese War, pp. 101—104.

CHAP. XXVI. had been pushed forward by the enemy, were driven back by two companies of the 38th regiment, under Captain Piper. Various attacks were made during the day upon the British post at Kemmendine, and attempts to drive the British vessels from their stations by the despatch of fire-rafts,* but these were met and frustrated with signal gallantry and admirable effect by the British force under Major Yates and Captain Ryves.

* From the following account given by Major Snodgrass of these rafts, it will be seen that they were by no means despicable as engines of destruction :—" The fire-rafts were, upon examination, found to be ingeniously contrived and formidably constructed, made wholly of bamboos firmly wrought together, between every two or three rows of which a line of earthen jars, of considerable size, filled with petroleum or earth-oil and cotton, were secured; other inflammable ingredients were also distributed in different parts of the raft, and the almost unextinguishable fierceness of the flames proceeding from them can scarcely be imagined. Many of them were considerably upwards of a hundred feet in length, and were divided into many pieces attached to each other by means of long hinges, so arranged that when they caught upon the cable or bow of any ship, the force of the current should carry the ends of the raft completely round her, and envelope her in flames from the deck to her top-mast head, with scarcely a possibility of extricating herself from the devouring element. With possession of Kemmendine, the enemy could have launched these rafts into the stream from a point where they must have reached our shipping in the crowded harbour; but while we retained that post, they were obliged to despatch them from above it, and the setting of the current carried them, after passing the vessels at the station, upon a projecting point of land where they almost invariably grounded: and this circumstance, no doubt, much increased Bundoola's anxiety to drive us from so important a position."—Narrative, pp. 105—107.

Between the 1st and the 4th of December the enemy continued their approaches, and the British posts were annoyed by frequent attacks. Sir Archibald Campbell determined to become the assailant on the 5th. The left wing of the enemy was chosen for the intended attack ; and, in aid of it, Captain Chads was requested to move up the Puzendoor creek during the night with the flotilla, and commence a cannonade on the enemy's rear at daylight. These orders were executed with great precision and effect. The enemy were thus kept employed by the naval force, until two columns of attack which had been formed advanced upon them. One, consisting of eleven hundred men, under Major Sale, was directed to penetrate their centre ; the other, consisting of four hundred men, under Major Walker, of the 3rd Madras Native Infantry, was directed against their left, which had approached within a few hundred yards of Rangoon. Both attacks were successful ; the enemy fled in great confusion and suffered dreadful loss. The loss of the English was not great ; but among the killed was Major Walker, the leader of one of the victorious columns.

On the 7th the contest was renewed. Four columns of attack were formed under the superintendence of Colonel Miles, and under the immediate command respectively of Lieutenant-Colonel Mallet, Lieutenant-Colonel Parlby, of the Madras army, Lieutenant-Colonel Brodie, also of the Madras army, and Captain Wilson, of the King's 38th. The approach of the troops was preceded by a heavy can-

CHAP. XXVI.

A.D. 1824.

CHAP. XXVI. nonade, after which the columns advanced in the directions assigned to them—Colonel Mallet's on the enemies' right, Colonel Brodie's on their left, Colonel Parlbys and Captain Wilson's in their centre. An attack upon so many points at once gave a momentary shock to the enemy, which for a brief period seemed to paralyze them; but they soon recovered, and made a brave though unsuccessful defence. They were totally put to the rout, and flying into the jungle, left the British masters of their entrenchments. A body of the enemy, which lingered on the Dalla side of the river, was subsequently dispersed with little either of trouble or loss.

The scattered army of the Burmese being re-assembled and strengthened by considerable reinforcements, it was resolved that an effort should be made to turn the tide of fortune, and retrieve the disgrace of defeat. It accordingly returned to Ko-keen, formerly occupied, and which was now rendered formidable by numerous entrenchments and stockades. The first exploit of the Burmese after their return was to set fire to the town of Rangoon. Such an occurrence had been apprehended. The population of the town which had fled on the arrival of the invading force had begun to return, and all who came unarmed were freely admitted. Among those who availed themselves of the privilege were many emissaries of the Burmese general, whose only object was to watch for an opportunity of perpetrating mischief. "Our situation," says the military

secretary to the commander of the expedition,* CHAP. XXVI.

“became critical in the extreme ; spies, assassins, and incendiaries lurked in every corner of Rangoon ; every native within our lines became an object of suspicion, and the utmost vigilance of the troops, combined with the energy and decision of their commander, could alone have prevented our losing every advantage of our late successes by the destruction of our stores and magazines, and the consequent impossibility of our following up the blow that had been given, even if greater disasters did not befall us.” He adds, “the inflammable materials of which the town was composed required but a single fire-brand to envelope our cantonments and every thing they contained in a general conflagration ; while the unseen enemy, lurking in the outskirts of the jungle, were held in constant readiness to rush in upon our lines during the confusion which so dreaded an occurrence could not fail to produce.” The wishes of the enemy were, however, not gratified to their full extent. On the 14th of December the town was A.D. 1824. fired in several places simultaneously ; happily the exertions of the garrison succeeded, after two hours, in stopping the progress of the conflagration, though not until half the place had been destroyed. The enemy contented themselves with this extent of mischief, and did not venture to take advantage of the occasion to make an attack. But they were not therefore permitted to enjoy repose. On the

* Major Snodgrass.

CHAP. XXVI. following day the Burmese army was attacked by the British general. The attempt was marked by a degree of daring almost amounting to temerity, and, perhaps, had any other course been open, Sir Archibald Campbell would not have resorted to this. The position of the enemy was so formidable that the British commander declared that, but for the confidence which he felt in his troops, he should have hesitated to attack it with less than ten thousand men. The Burmese force consisted of at least twenty thousand; that which could be spared for attacking them amounted to only fifteen hundred, the remainder being necessarily left to guard the lines.

A column under Brigadier-General Willoughby Cotton was ordered to make a *détour* round the enemy's left, for the purpose of gaining his rear. This column consisted of two hundred of his Majesty's 13th regiment and three hundred of the 18th and 34th Madras Native Infantry, with one field-piece and a detachment from the governor-general's body-guard which had joined the army at Rangoon some time previously. Another column, which Sir Archibald Campbell accompanied, was destined to attack the enemy in front: it comprised five hundred men from the King's 38th, 41st, and 89th regiments, and the Madras European regiment, three hundred from the 9th, 12th, 28th, and 30th regiments of Madras Native Infantry, five field-pieces, and a detachment from the governor-general's body-guard. Of this column two divisions were formed, one

commanded by Colonel Miles, the other by Major CHAP. XXVI.
Evans. The order to General Cotton was to wait at the position assigned to him till a signal from the other column. The disposition of the latter being completed, the prescribed signal was given and immediately answered. The artillery then opened, and the troops, with their scaling ladders, moved forwards. Their advance was treated with contempt by the Burmese, who looked on their apparent presumption as little short of madness. They persevered, however, and entering by escalade, drove the Burmese from the ramparts at the point of the bayonet. Fifteen minutes sufficed to put the British in possession of that which Sir Archibald Campbell pronounced "the most formidable entrenched and stockaded works" which he had ever seen—those works being defended by men whose thousands outnumbered the hundreds of those by whom they were attacked and beaten. The Maha Bundoola did not command in person on this occasion, having retired to some distance, and left the command to another chief.

On the same day a part of the naval force, under the command of Lieutenant Kellett, of the *Arachne*, succeeded in an attack upon a number of war-boats, more than forty of which were captured: about thirty were retained, the remainder destroyed. The expedition was placed in circumstances of great danger from the fire-rafts of the enemy, but the peril was escaped, and several of these instruments of mischief, with a great mass of materials for their

CHAP. XXVI. construction, were destroyed. This was but one among many brilliant exploits performed by the naval force, the majority of which it would be impossible to notice, excepting in a narrative devoted exclusively to the events of the Burmese war.

The enemy, after their signal defeat on the 15th of December, retired upon Donober, and the British force returned to its cantonments. Reinforcements, consisting of his Majesty's 47th regiment, some cavalry and artillery, arriving, Sir Archibald Campbell determined to advance upon Prome, the second city of the Burman empire. Before taking this step it was necessary to dislodge an advanced division of the Burmese force, stockaded at Thantabain, on the Lyne river. This task, which was allotted to a detachment under Colonel Godwin, assisted by a naval force under Captain Chads, was performed effectively, and almost without loss on the part of the assailants.

The force which the general was enabled to equip for the purpose of advancing upon Prome was of very moderate amount. One column, to proceed by land, was composed of twelve hundred and thirty European infantry, six hundred sepoys, the governor-general's body-guard, amounting to something more than five hundred, a troop of horse artillery, and a rocket troop, with about two hundred and fifty pioneers. This, which was under the immediate command of Sir Archibald Campbell, was to proceed in a direction parallel with the Lyne river, and to join the Irawaddy at the nearest prac-

ticable point, to co-operate with the water column. CHAP. XXVI.

That column consisted of eight hundred European infantry, two hundred and fifty sepoy, a rocket troop, and a powerful train of artillery. It was commanded by Brigadier-General Cotton. The men were embarked in the flotilla, which comprised sixty boats, commanded by Captain Alexander, and escorted by the boats of the men-of-war lying at Rangoon, containing upwards of a hundred seamen. Another force, consisting of two hundred and fifty European and five hundred native infantry, commanded by Major Sale, was embarked in transports for the purpose of occupying Bassein. It may be here noticed that this duty was performed without much difficulty, and Major Sale, with the chief part of his force, rejoined the main army. After the departure of the bodies of troops commanded respectively by Sir Archibald Campbell, Brigadier-General Cotton, and Major Sale, nearly four thousand effective men were left in Rangoon, under Brigadier-General M'Creagh, to abide further orders.

These arrangements being completed, Sir Archibald Campbell commenced his march on the 13th of February, which he continued till the 11th of March, when intelligence, which met him at U-au-deet, induced him to suspend his advance. A.D. 1825.

The water column for a time proceeded not unprosperously, attacking and destroying a number of stockades on its progress. On the 8th of March it took up a position about two miles below Donobew, and a flag of truce was dispatched with a summons

CHAP. XXVI. to surrender. This being refused, an attack by two columns, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel O'Donoghue, of the King's 47th regiment, and Major Basden, of the 89th, was commenced on the pagoda stockade, which was carried, the enemy sustaining dreadful loss. The second defence, about five hundred yards distant, was then attacked; but the attempt failed, apparently from some deficiency of steadiness in the assaulting party;* and General Cotton felt it advisable to re-embark his troops. On receiving the news of this failure, Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to return with his column to assist in the reduction of Donobew, and, after a most fatiguing march, he arrived before that place on the 25th. He found the fort much too extensive to be surrounded by the force at his disposal; and, although anxious for the immediate fall of the place, he preferred (using his own words) "loss of time to loss of lives," and took his mea-

* The following extract from the official account of the unfortunate affair seems to afford countenance to this view:—"When it was presumed that a sufficient impression had been made from the batteries, two hundred men, under the command of Captain Rose, of his Majesty's 89th regiment, advanced in two parties to the storm. A destructive fire was immediately commenced from all parts of the face of the work, which caused the columns to diverge to the right of the point of attack, and get into a ditch described to be filled with spikes, and scarp'd so as to expose it to the fire of the work. All who presented themselves were knocked down; and here I regret to say that Captain Rose, who had received one wound, fell by a second shot while persevering in the attack, and shewing a gallant example to his troops."—Despatch from Brigadier-General Cotton to Sir Archibald Campbell, March 9, 1825.

asures with great caution and deliberation.* The CHAP. XXVI.
naval commander was required to move up the river,
to form a junction with the force under the com-
mander-in-chief, and on the 27th the flotilla ap-
peared in sight. It was no sooner observed than

* The following description of the place is given by Major Snodgrass:—"The stockade of Donobew extended for nearly a mile along a sloping bank of the Irawaddy, its breadth varying, according to the nature of the ground, from five to eight hundred yards. The stockading was composed of solid teak beams, from fifteen to seventeen feet high, driven firmly into the earth, and placed as closely as possible to each other: behind this wooden wall the old brick ramparts of the place rose to a considerable height, strengthening the front defences by means of cross-beams, and affording firm and elevated footing to the defenders. Upwards of a hundred and fifty guns and swivels were mounted on the works, and the garrison was protected from the shells of the besiegers by numerous well-contrived traverses and excavations..... A ditch of considerable magnitude and depth surrounded the defences, the passage of which was rendered still more difficult by spikes, nails, holes, and other contrivances. Beyond the ditch several rows of strong railing were next interposed, and in front of all an abatis, thirty yards broad, and otherwise of a most formidable description, extended round the place, except on the river face, where the deep and rapid Irawaddy presented a sufficient barrier, its breadth at this season not exceeding seven hundred yards, and not a boat could pass without being exposed to a heavy fire from the stockade. Before the right face, or that lowest down the river, two strong out-works were constructed, the first of which had been taken by the marine column, the second having proved too strong to be carried by so small a force. A heavy and extensive jungle intervened between the right and rear faces, covering about a third of the latter, beyond which, however, a fine open plain extended to the river. Upon this plain, at long-shot distance from the fort, the division was encamped, and preparations immediately commenced for breaking ground and proceeding systematically against the place."—Memoir, pp. 165—167.

CHAP. XXVI. the garrison made a sortie with a considerable force and seventeen war elephants, fully caparisoned, bearing on their capacious bodies armed men. The governor-general's body-guard, under Captain Sneyd, was ordered to charge, which they did with great spirit, dashing in among the elephants, and shooting the riders off their backs. The animals stood the charge with far more coolness than might have been expected, manifesting little fear, and when released by the shots of the British troops from the control of their masters, retiring very calmly to the fort. The sortie failed to accomplish any object for which it could have been designed, and the flotilla gained the fort with small loss, though exposed to a heavy cannonade.* While the troops on land were engaged in making approaches and erecting batteries, the naval force found occupation in pushing up the river in pursuit of the enemy's war-boats, several of which were captured. On the 1st of April the

A.D. 1825.

* In connection with this affair, Major Snodgrass relates the following striking instance of the energy of Burmese discipline :—
“ During the heavy cannonade that took place between the boats and the stockade, Bundoola, who was superintending the practice of his artillery, gave his garrison a specimen of the discipline he meant to enforce in this last struggle to retrieve his lost character and reputation. A Burmese officer being killed while pointing a gun, by a shot from the flotilla, his comrades instantly abandoning the dangerous post, could not be brought back to their duty by any remonstrances of their chiefs ; when Bundoola, stepping down to the spot, instantly severed the heads of two of the delinquents from their bodies, and ordered them to be stuck up upon the spot, *‘pour encourager les autres.’*”—Memoir, pp. 171, 172.

mortar and enfilading batteries commenced firing, CHAP. XXVI.
and on that day Bundoola was killed by a rocket,
after which neither threats nor entreaties on the
part of the other chiefs could prevail upon the gar-
rison to remain. They all fled in the course of the
night. The breaching batteries commenced their
fire in the morning at daylight, but simultaneously
with their opening the enemy's small rear guard
was discerned in full retreat towards the jungle,
and two lascars, who had been made prisoners, came
running out of the fort to announce the state of
affairs there in the British camp. The line was im-
mediately under arms, and the deserted place speedily
occupied by a new garrison. The flight of the
enemy had been so hurried that no measures had
been taken for the destruction of that which could
not be removed, and one of the most welcome
prizes secured by the English was a store of grain
equal to supply the wants of the garrison for several
months.

Immediately after the capture of Donobew, Sir
Archibald Campbell resumed his march in the di-
rection from which the ill tidings from that place had
withdrawn him. On the 14th of April he was again at
U-au-deet, from whence he had retrograded a month
before, having been joined on his route by Brigadier-
General M'Creagh, with a column of reserve from
Rangoon, and a supply of elephants, which were
much wanted for the use of the commissariat de-
partment. On the 19th he was met by a Burmese
messenger, bearing a pacific communication. He

A.D. 1825.

CHAP. XXVI. was a man advanced in years, but his discretion seems to have borne no reasonable proportion to his age. "The old man," says Major Snodgrass, "drank much too freely for a diplomatist, and when he rose to take his departure, whispered in the general's ear: 'They are frightened out of their senses, and you may do what you please with them.'" On the 24th of April Sir Archibald Campbell was within sight of Prome, of which place he took possession on the 25th without firing a shot, the enemy having deserted it in the night, leaving in the works above a hundred pieces of artillery and extensive supplies of grain. The town was on fire, and one entire quarter was destroyed. A number of war-boats, with a large quantity of arms, were a few days afterwards captured by a division of the flotilla under Lieutenant Wilkinson, which had been sent up the river for the purpose.

Before his arrival at Prome, Sir Archibald Campbell was met by another overture for negotiation in addition to that already mentioned; but its object seemed rather to save Prome from falling into the hands of the English than to restore peace, and its tone in one instance approached the language of threatening. "There are armies on both sides," it was said, "and the space between them would afford sufficient room for a meeting to take place. Let the British army stay on such grounds as it may select on the arrival of this letter, by which the inhabitants of Prome will be delivered from great trouble and distress." The answer of the British general was, as on the former occasion, that

the military occupation of Prome by the British CHAP. XXVI.
was indispensable; but the letter containing this answer was never received, the messenger by whom it was carried finding the city deserted by the Burmese authorities. But for the cowardice of the enemy, Prome must have presented an almost impassable barrier to the progress of the British army. By nature and art it was rendered so formidable that, in the judgment of Sir Archibald Campbell, ten thousand steady soldiers might have defended it against ten times that force.

At this place several months were spent in inactivity, in consequence of the setting in of the rains and the prevalence of inundations; but the troops were in comfortable cantonments—an important consideration at such a season. Sickness returned, but not to the same extent as at Rangoon, and the loss of life was comparatively small.

The suspension of active warfare in this part of the Burmese dominions affords a convenient opportunity for returning to the events on the frontier. On resuming operations the first object was to clear Assam of the Burmese, who had been only partially expelled, and who, on the retirement of the British troops to their cantonments, had re-occupied some of the stations from which they had previously been driven. This duty was assigned to a force under Lieutenant-Colonel Richards. It was performed with great spirit and activity; but as the Burmese generally fled on the approach of the British troops, could be brought to action only by stratagem, and when thus

IAP.XXVI. entrapped, took the earliest opportunity of flying, a minute recital of the operations would be destitute of interest.

A. D. 1825. In January, Colonel Richards was enabled to advance upon Rungpore, and on the 25th his head-quarters were only eight miles distant from it. On the 27th the garrison made an attack upon the advanced post of the encampment. On hearing the firing, Colonel Richards moved forward, and found the enemy threatening to surround a party defending the post under the command of Captain Macleod. To encourage the Burmese to advance, Colonel Richards withdrew the party from the post and suspended firing. This had the desired effect; and as soon as the enemy shewed a sufficient front, the British commander ordered a charge: the Burmese, however, declined waiting for it, and fled with great precipitation.

Having received some reinforcements, Colonel Richards proceeded towards Rungpore. A stockade which had been erected across the road was carried by escalade; a fortified bank on the right, and two temples, one on the right and one on the left, were also occupied. These successes had the effect of bringing a flag of truce from the fort. Its bearer was a Buddhist priest, born in Ceylon, but many years a resident in Bengal and the Eastern islands, in the employment of various public servants. These employments he had lately exchanged for the exercise of his sacerdotal functions to the authorities in Assam. The acquaintance with British habits and

customs which his former experience had given him CHAP. XXVI.
probably led to his selection for this duty. On being admitted to Colonel Richards, he inquired what were the objects of the advance upon Rungpore. These being explained, the priest departed, promising to return within a specified time. He did return, and pointing out the difficulties in the way of accommodation, caused by the contests of conflicting factions within the fort, requested some further explanation of the British commander's views, with which request Colonel Richards complied. He instructed the priestly negotiator to inform the Phokuns (who were brother-chieftains of considerable power and influence) that if they were prepared to make terms of alliance with the British government he was ready to meet them; that if they were bent on fighting, he was equally ready; and if they wished to retire out of Assam, they might do so, provided they took the most direct route, committed no ravages on the road, and carried away none of the inhabitants then in their possession by force. The last course was finally acted upon. All who chose left the fort; the remainder surrendered to the English on conditions, one of which was, that on the conclusion of peace they should not be delivered up to the king of Ava—a result of which they entertained great dread, and against which they evinced intense anxiety to be secured. To justify the guarantee to a part of the garrison of permission to escape, Colonel Richards represented that he was without the means of effectually pursuing them;

HAP. XXVI. that he was dependent for supplies upon the fleet, lying twenty miles down a river which was not navigable above its position; that the acquisition of Rungpore was of great importance; and that regard was to be had to the captive Assamese inhabitants, who would have been sacrificed by a different course. These reasons were certainly not without weight. The possession of Rungpore involved the virtual occupation of the whole of Assam. The Burmans made some border irruptions in May and June, and erected stockades; but they were driven out by parties of the British force, not without fatiguing marches, but almost without fighting.

A.D. 1825.

From Sylhet it was proposed to march a large force through Cachar and Manipur to make a demonstration against the Burmese territory in that quarter. For this purpose about seven thousand men were collected, and placed under Brigadier-General Shuldham, who was appointed to command on the eastern frontier. The attempt was made, but abandoned, from the difficulties presented by the country and the state of the weather. The beasts employed to convey stores and supplies perished in vast numbers; some dying of fatigue, some from dislocating their limbs as they laboured through the plashy soil, and others from being so deeply fixed in the mire that no efforts could extricate them. The loss of bullocks, camels, and elephants was enormous.

The difficulties which had been insurmountable by a regular force, were, however, overcome by an undisciplined body of about five hundred men, under

Gumber Singh. This force, which was accompanied by a British officer, Lieutenant Pemberton, succeeded, by the middle of June, in reaching the western boundary of Manipur. The Burmans were posted in the principal town, but they fled on the approach of Gumber Singh's party, and in a short time completely evacuated the district. Having left a division of his force for defence, the leader of the expedition returned with Lieutenant Pemberton to Sylhet.

But the grand blow to the Burmese power from this quarter was to be directed against Arracan. The primary object was to occupy that province, and this being accomplished, it was believed that the force employed might be enabled to co-operate with the army on the Irawaddy. An army of eleven thousand men was assembled in Chittagong, under the command of Brigadier-General Morrison. A flotilla, under Commodore Hayes, was attached to it. It consisted of several pilot vessels and armed brigs, ten gun-pinnaces, and a large number of gun-boats, each carrying a twelve-pounder carronade. In consequence of insuperable impediments, General Morrison was unable to move until January. The coast was thought to offer the most eligible line of march, and a part of the troops proceeded by sea, while the remainder moved by land. The arrival of the former was delayed by adverse weather; and an unsuccessful attack on some stockades, by part of the flotilla, was attended by some loss. A junction of the two branches of the force was, however, effected; and

CHAP. XXVI.
A. D. 1825.

CHAP. XXVI. the expedition advanced in the direction of the capital of the province. As it was approached some fighting occurred, in which the character of the British arms was well maintained.

A. D. 1825. At daybreak on the 29th of March, the army moved forward to attack the defences of Arracan. The enemy occupied a range of connected hills, from three hundred and fifty to four hundred and fifty feet in height, strong by nature, and rendered more strong by art—escarpment, abatis, and masonry having been resorted to wherever they could be advantageously employed. A single pass led to the capital, and that was defended by several pieces of artillery and about three thousand muskets. The entire number of the enemy ranged along the heights was estimated at from eight to nine thousand. The ground in front was an open plain of considerable extent, but in depth not altogether out of the range of the enemy's guns.

The advance of the British force having halted at a place where it was partially covered by a tank, the officer commanding, Brigadier-General Macbean, made a disposition for gaining the principal hills in the first range. Four pieces of artillery were ordered forward to cover the attack. The troops for the assault followed. They consisted of the light company of his Majesty's 54th regiment, four companies of the 2nd Light Infantry battalion, and the Light Infantry companies of the 10th and 16th regiments of Madras Native Infantry, with the rifle company of a provincial levy, under Major W. H. Kemm, of the

2nd Light Infantry; six companies of the 16th Madras Native Infantry, under Captain A. French, of that regiment, formed a support. The ascent was exceedingly steep, in some parts nearly perpendicular, and the enemy showered a well-directed fire on the assailants as they moved up. Under these circumstances of difficulty and danger, however, many succeeded in gaining the summit. Lieutenant J. Clark, aide-de-camp to General Macbean, with several of the gallant 54th, got their hands upon the trench; but even with this assistance, they were unable to maintain their ground. Large stones were rolled on them, smaller ones were discharged from bows, and the effect was, that those who had thus fearfully ascended were violently hurled down again. But the attempt was not lightly abandoned. In despite of the difficulties which opposed them, the assaulting party persevered until every officer was wounded; while the troops engaged of every description displayed the same gallant and unyielding spirit which animated those who led them. "The conduct of the officers," said General Morrison, in his official account of the attack, "was emulated by the men, and European and native troops vied with each other to equal the example set" them.

It was now determined to change the point of attack. The right of the defences appeared to be the key of the enemy's position, and though the obstacles were great, it was resolved to attempt it. The approach was protected by a small lake; the

HAP. XXVI. ascent was more abrupt than at any other point, and the height greater. The natural advantages seemed to have inspired the enemy with a high degree of confidence in the security of this part of their position; for though the top was crowned by a stockade, and some other defences guarded the ascent, the number of men allotted to it was not considerable. To divert attention from this point a battery was constructed, and in the morning a vigorous cannonade opened upon the works at the pass. The meditated attack upon the enemy's right was intrusted to Brigadier-General Richards. It took place under cover of the night, and succeeded without the loss of a man. On the following morning preparations were made for pushing the success of the night, but the enemy abandoned the hills after a very feeble resistance, and no impediment remained to the occupation of the capital of Arracan. The naval force participated in these gallant deeds. A party of seamen accompanied the force under General Richards, which gained the hills. Indeed, the zeal which that force displayed throughout the operations of the Burmese war was exemplary. One instance of it, immediately connected with the attack upon Arracan, may be mentioned. Commodore Hayes, finding that his boats could not be brought to the scene of action, landed two twenty-four pounders, and, with the British seamen, dragged them and their appurtenances five miles to the encampment before Arracan, rendering

them available there for any service for which they might be required.*

The loss of the capital caused the enemy to withdraw from all their positions in Arracan. The primary object of the expedition was thus attained; but the ulterior design, of marching General Morrison's army across the mountains to join that of Sir Archibald Campbell, was found to be impracticable. This disappointment was not the worst misfortune which befel the army of Arracan. The enemy had been vanquished, but a very large portion of the victors were doomed to perish under the visitations of disease. The rainy season brought with it fever and dysentery, and their ravages carried away vast numbers which the sword had spared and fatigue had left unsubdued. The prevalence of disease was all but universal; and it was at last deemed expedient to withdraw the troops altogether, leaving divisions of them on the islands of Cheduba and Ramee, and on the opposite coast of Sandow, at which places the climate appeared to

* General Morrison bore strong testimony to the ardour displayed by officers and men throughout this campaign. The following may be quoted as an instance of the devotedness to duty which prevailed :—"If ever instances of mental energy triumphing over bodily infirmity were exemplified, they have been displayed by Colonel Gardner, of the 2nd Local Horse, who, on each occasion when there was a probability of his cavalry being engaged, caused himself to be removed from his palanquin, to be placed on his horse, though so weakened by long sickness as to be unable for any long time to prolong the exertion." Of such examples the Indian service has produced many.

CHAP. XXVI. be more favourable to the enjoyment of health than
— in the rest of the country.

The army under Sir Archibald Campbell was left at Prome, waiting the abatement of the rains and inundations. On the return of the season for active operations, intelligence was obtained of the approach of a large Burmese force. Immediate hostilities, however, were averted by the arrival of an answer not unfavourable to an overture for negotiation which the British general had made to the Burmese government some time before. The deputation charged with the care of the letter proposed that two British officers should in return pay a visit to the Burmese commander-in-chief. Sir Archibald Campbell assented, and Lieutenant-Colonel F. S. Tidy, deputy adjutant-general, and Lieutenant William Smith, of the royal navy, were appointed to the mission. The result was, the conclusion of an armistice till the 18th of October. It was therein provided that the first minister of the king of Ava should meet the British commander-in-chief at a place mid-way between the positions of the two camps. The meeting accordingly took place. The first interview was one of ceremony. At the second the negotiators entered on business. Sir Archibald Campbell declared the terms on which he was ready to conclude a treaty of peace and evacuate the country. He required that the court of Ava should abstain from interference with Cachar, Manipur, and Assam; should cede Assam to the British govern-

ment, and pay two crores of rupees as an indemnification for the expenses of the war; one immediately, the other at a future period, the Tenasserim provinces being retained till its liquidation. The Burmese endeavoured to evade the questions in dispute, and modestly requested that the English would quit the country without making any stipulations for their own benefit, and leave their claims to the generosity of the ruler of Ava. After a discussion, alike tedious and frivolous, an extension of the armistice to the 2nd of November was requested by the Burmese deputies, under pretence of applying for their master's commands with regard to the proposed terms. This was granted, and thus ended a conference, the preparations and conduct of which had been arranged with the most scrupulous regard to the preservation of the formal dignity of the native diplomatists, and of the "king of the white elephants" whom they represented.* The ultimate

* Major Snodgrass says :—" On the day appointed, the commissioners, with their respective guards, were encamped on the plain of Neoun-ben-zeik, at the distance of nearly a mile asunder, and in the intermediate space, equidistant from both camps, a house had been prepared as a place of conference. The necessary arrangements and formalities of the meeting were then stipulated for by subordinate officers with the most scrupulous exactness, tenaciously adhering to the most trivial points of form, and carefully guarding against any thing that might be construed into an acknowledgment of the slightest inferiority. At length, all points being satisfactorily adjusted, both parties, leaving camp at the same moment, met in front of the conference house, where shaking of hands and every demonstration of amicable feeling having passed, the parties entered the house and sat down on

CHAP. XXVI. result was not more satisfactory. The court of
— Ava would concede neither money nor territory;

two rows of chairs fronting each other; the Woongees and their suite, in all fifteen chiefs, each bearing the chain of nobility and dressed in their splendid court dresses, evidently doing grievous penance in seats they had never been accustomed to, that no difference might appear, even in the most trifling particular, between the parties; and so observing and tenacious were they on this point, that scarcely a movement could be made without a corresponding one on their side; and their great aim seemed to be to shew the most perfect knowledge of our customs and manners."—Narrative, pp. 215 to 217. In corroboration of the last remark, Major Snodgrass subsequently says:—"Nothing was more striking during the conference than the anxiety of the chiefs to shew themselves well acquainted with the manners and customs of European nations, and of their own claim to rank in every respect as high as any of them in the scale of society, taking every opportunity of repeating the words, in allusion to their own country and England, 'the two great and civilized nations,' reprobating the putting to death of prisoners, and many other barbarous acts they are in the constant practice of. Upon the whole, however, they conducted themselves with much discretion and good humour, and we parted on the most friendly terms. They dined with Sir Archibald Campbell previous to their departure, comporting themselves at table with ease and propriety, narrowly observing every motion of their entertainers, and shewing amazing quickness in following their example. They freely partook of every thing on the table: a ham in particular seemed to be much relished, and at the Kee Woongee's request was made over to him as a present; but either from taste, or respect to the orders of the king which forbid the use of wine and spirituous liquors, they drank sparingly, once or twice only filling their glasses to the toasts that were proposed. It may be questioned whether or not their lordships would have been so abstemious in private, as the lower orders are so excessively fond of liquor of every description that they never hesitate when in their power to disobey an order the penalty of which is death."—Pages 222, 223. In illustration of what is said of the "good humour" of the Burmese chiefs, it must be mentioned that their

and, at the expiration of the armistice, hostilities CHAP. XXVI.
were resumed.*

The first movement of any importance was disastrous to the English. The Burmese having pushed forward a division to Watty-goon, a few miles from Prome, a body of native infantry, with the view of dislodging them, was dispatched to act on the left, while another body was to attack them in front. Both parties were unsuccessful; and Colonel

detection in a most outrageous falsehood did not in the least disturb it. Having referred as a precedent to a peace concluded with the Chinese under circumstances, as they asserted, nearly similar to those then existing between themselves and the British—the latter having conquered a large portion of the Burmese dominions, and being prepared to march upon their capital, they were reminded that history did not bear out their assertion, but, on the contrary, recorded that the Chinese army which invaded Ava had been routed and literally put to the sword; but the exposure, so far from disconcerting them, only gave occasion to the display of their mirth. “They laughed heartily,” says Major Snodgrass, “at being detected by our knowledge of the fact.” By the same writer they are accused of making, in the course of the discussion, many “frivolous and absurd excuses, in which a scrupulous regard to truth was little attended to, as was fully proved to them without in any way affronting or offending their feelings, truth being by them scarcely rated as a virtue.”

* The determination of the court of Ava was communicated by the chiefs who had managed the negotiation in these terms:—
“If you sincerely want peace, and our former friendship re-established, according to Burmese custom, empty your hands of what you have, and then if you ask it, we will be on friendly terms with you, and send our petition for the release of your English prisoners, and send them down to you. However, after the termination of the armistice between us, if you shew any inclination to renew your demands for money for your expenses, or any territory from us, you are to consider our friendship at an end. This is Burman custom.”

CHAP. XXVI. M'Dowell, who led one of them, was shot through the head. A third body, which had been dispatched by way of Saagie, to afford support if required, fell in with part of the Burmese army, then in pursuit of Colonel M'Dowell's force, who immediately fled; but the British party, being unable to learn any thing of the troops which they had been sent to support, marched back to Prome without effecting any thing further. This disaster occurring immediately after the interruption of the negotiations, tended to support the confidence of the enemy and encourage them to persevere.

A. D. 1825. The Burmese army continued to advance towards the British lines, throwing up entrenchments and stockades as it proceeded: but its slowness to attack disappointed the British general, who consequently determined to become the assailant. On the 30th of November preparations were made for a general attack upon every part of the enemy's line, and on the 1st of December it took place, the operations by land being aided by the flotilla, now under the command of Sir James Brisbane. Two columns of attack were formed; one under Brigadier-General Cotton, the other accompanied by Sir Archibald Campbell. As soon as they were in motion, the naval force commenced a cannonade, and this so disconcerted the enemy, that the picquets of his left were withdrawn, and his position left exposed in that quarter to any sudden attack. General Cotton's column first reached the enemy's line, which consisted of a series of stockades, which he

at once assaulted, and in less than ten minutes car- CHAP. XXVI.
ried. Panic and confusion then seized the masses within the works, and great slaughter followed: Sir Archibald Campbell's column pushing rapidly forward in the rear, met the flying masses endeavouring to cross the river, and opening the horse artillery upon them, did dreadful execution. Among those who fell within the works was the aged commander, Maha Nemiou, who, under the burden of seventy-five years, had been carried in a litter from point to point, to endeavour by his presence and encouragement to sustain the energy of his men.*

On the 2nd of December the British force was again in motion. The object of attack was the enemy's centre, which was strongly entrenched amid hills inac- A. D. 1825.

* Major Snodgrass relates that on this occasion the Burmese were aided by some extraordinary auxiliaries. "In addition," says he, "to a numerous list of chobwas and petty princes, these leaders were accompanied by three young and handsome women of high rank, who were believed, by their superstitious countrymen [the Shans] to be endowed not only with the gift of prophecy and foreknowledge, but to possess the miraculous power of turning aside the balls of the English, rendering them wholly innocent or harmless. These amazons, dressed in warlike costume, rode constantly among the troops, inspiring them with courage and ardent wishes for an early meeting with their foe." The supernatural of these females was, however, inadequate even to their own protection. One of them was found mortally wounded by a bullet in the breast, and carried to a hut in the rear, where she soon expired. While another was crossing the Nawine river with part of her flying followers, a shrapnell exploded over her head and she fell from her horse into the water, but whether she was killed, or that her fall was the result of alarm, could not be ascertained, as she was immediately carried off by her followers.

CHAP. XXVI. cessible by land, except by one narrow pathway defended by seven pieces of artillery, while the river was commanded by several batteries of heavy ordnance. Sir James Brisbane moved forward with the flotilla and cannonaded the works from the river. On the land side, after the enemy's posts had been driven in and sufficient impression had been made on the works by artillery and rockets, a brigade, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sale, consisting of the King's 13th and 38th regiments, under Major Howlett and Major Frith, advanced by the trench to storm the heights in front, while some companies of the 87th proceeded through the jungle to the right. Scarcely a shot was fired in return of the enemy's continued volleys. The 38th led the way in entering the entrenchments on the heights, and the assailants, driving the enemy from hill to hill, secured to the British the whole of the position, which was nearly three miles in extent. During the attack, the flotilla, pushing past the works, succeeded in capturing all the boats and stores which had been brought down for the use of the Burmese army.

The right corps of that army still maintained its position. On the 5th it was attacked in flank and rear, while the batteries and boats of the British force cannonaded in front, and after a feeble resistance the position was evacuated, the enemy retiring to a second line of stockades, from which they were quickly dislodged; when, disheartened, dispersed, and broken, they fled in all directions through the woods.

The British army now advanced, the enemy flying before them and abandoning, without an effort, defences which could not have been taken without severe loss. But the success of the victors was not unattended by circumstances of discouragement. Their march was sometimes arrested by heavy rains, rendering the country impassable; sickness, in the awful form of spasmodic cholera, made its appearance; and on one occasion the European troops were compelled to halt from the total failure of the supply of animal food.* The expected co-operation of the army of

CHAP. XXVI.

* Some of the horrors of the march are depicted in the following extracts from Major Snodgrass's journal:—"December 19th. Marched to Meaday, where a scene of misery and death awaited us. Within and around the stockades, the ground was strewn with dead and dying, lying promiscuously together, the victims of wounds, disease, and want. Here and there a small white pagoda marked where a man of rank lay buried; while numerous new-made graves plainly denoted that what we saw was merely the small remnant of mortality which the hurried departure of the enemy had prevented them from burying. The beach and neighbouring jungles were filled with dogs and vultures, whose growling and screaming, added to the pestilential smell of the place, rendered our situation far from pleasant. Here and there a faithful dog might be seen stretched out and moaning over a new-made grave, or watching by the side of his still breathing master; but by far the greater number, deprived of the hand that fed them, went prowling with the vultures among the dead, or lay upon the sand glutted with their foul repast. As if this scene of death had not sufficed, fresh horrors were added to it by the sanguinary leaders of these unhappy men. Several gibbets were found erected about the stockades, each bearing the mouldering remains of three or four crucified victims, thus cruelly put to death—for, perhaps, no greater crime than that of wandering from their post in search of food, or, at the

HAP. XXVI. Arracan was not obtained, and though everywhere triumphant, the British general could not be free from anxiety. At the latter end of December the Burmese proposed to treat for peace, an event which it was to be presumed could not be disagreeable to either party. The proposal was entertained, but the army continued its march to Patanagoh, opposite the Burmese entrenchments of Melloon. Continued communications, having reference to the proposed peace, were here carried on, Sir Archibald Campbell being assisted by Mr. Robertson, who had been appointed civil commissioner in Pegu and Ava, and also by Sir James Brisbane. After much discussion a treaty was agreed to, upon the terms

very worst, for having followed the example of their chiefs in flying from the enemy. 20th. Marched two miles in advance of Meaday, in the vain hope of getting away from the field of death. For fifty miles up the river, and all along the road by which the enemy retired, similar horrors presented themselves; and on some of our grounds of encampment, it was difficult to find room for pitching the tents without previously removing some dead bodies from the spot..... 21st. The country through which we passed was wholly depopulated, and the villages either burned or laid in ruins; not a head of cattle, or, indeed, a living thing, except the sick and dying stragglers from the Burmese army, was met with in the march. We appeared to traverse a vast wilderness from which mankind had fled; and our little camp of two thousand men seemed but a speck in the desolate and dreary waste that surrounded it, calling forth at times an irksome feeling which could with difficulty be repressed, at the situation of a handful of men in the heart of an extensive empire, pushing boldly forward to the capital, still three hundred miles distant, in defiance of an enemy whose force still outnumbered ours in a ten-fold ratio, and without a hope of further reinforcement from our distant ships and depôts."—Narrative, pp. 253—256.

formerly proposed by the British authorities, ex-CHAP.XXVI.
cepting that the provinces of Ye, Tavai, and Mer-
gui were added to the territorial cessions, and the
pecuniary payment reduced from two crores to one.
The English copy of the treaty was signed on the
2nd of January, the Burmese copy on the 3rd; and A. D. 1826.
an armistice was concluded till the 18th, to allow
time for obtaining the ratification of the king.

The ratification was not received by the appointed
time, and the Burmese commissioners then offered
to pay an instalment of five lacs of rupees, and to
give hostages for the safe return of the English
prisoners from Ava, provided the British force
would return to Prome, or at least agree to a fur-
ther suspension of hostilities for a few days. The
British commissioners peremptorily refused to re-
treat, and declined undertaking to abstain from
hostilities, except on condition of the Burmese
evacuating Melloon within thirty-six hours and
retiring upon Ava; the march of the British army,
however, not to be suspended until the receipt
of the ratified treaty. This proposal was in return
rejected by the Burmese, and hostilities re-com-
menced. Batteries were erected opposite the se-
lected parts of attack in the stockade, the heavy
ordnance was landed from the flotilla, and by ten
o'clock on the morning of the 19th, twenty-eight
pieces of artillery were ready to open upon the
enemy's defences.

After two hours' cannonading, the troops intended
for the assault, who had been previously embarked

CHAP. XXVI. in boats under the superintendence of Captain Chads, began to move. A brigade, under Colonel Sale, was ordered to land below the stockade, and attack it by the south-west angle, while three other brigades were to land above the place to attack it by the northern face. The boats pushed off together, but the current, aided by a strong wind, carried the brigade under Colonel Sale to its destined point of attack before the remaining brigades could reach the shore. The troops landed, and immediately formed under Major Frith, Colonel Sale having been wounded in the boats. This being effected, without waiting for the landing of the other brigades, they rushed on to the assault, entered by escalade, and established themselves in the works, in the face of upwards of ten thousand men. The other brigades took the flying enemy, and completed the victory. A quantity of ordnance and military stores was taken, a magazine of grain, and specie to a large amount.*

The army on its advance was met by Mr. Price, an American missionary, and Mr. Sanford, an English surgeon, who had been made prisoner,

* The treaty signed by the British and Burmese commanders was also found in the lines of Melloon. This Sir Archibald Campbell dispatched by a messenger to the Kee Woongee, accompanying it by a note, stating that in the hurry of departure from Melloon it appeared to have been forgotten. The Woongee and his colleague politely returned thanks; but observed, that the same hurry which had caused the loss of the treaty, had compelled them to leave behind a large sum of money, which they were sure the British general only waited an opportunity of returning.

who were commissioned from Ava to ascertain the terms of peace. They were informed that the terms tendered before the capture of Melloon were quite open for acceptance, and that with respect to the pecuniary indemnification, the army would retire to Rangoon on the payment of twenty-five lacs of rupees, and would evacuate the Burmese territory upon the discharge of a second instalment of the same amount. With this answer the delegates returned.

CHAP. XXVI.

Upon the 8th of February it was ascertained that the enemy were about five miles in advance on the road to the city of Pagahm, and on the 9th the British columns moved forward to attack. The Burmese army was commanded by a person named Ta-ya-soo-zang, who had represented to the king of Ava that the previous successes of the English were owing solely to the incompetence of the generals by whom they had been opposed; and that, if an adequate force were placed at his command, he would speedily drive the invaders out of the country. The wishes of the sovereign ensuring belief to these representations, the army was reinforced by a new levy of several thousands, and the adviser of the measure invested by the royal grace with the title of Nawung Thuring (Prince of Sunset), was sent to supersede the general previously in command of the army. The chief thus honoured was, on the 9th of February, at the head of about eighteen thousand men; the British force opposed to him on that day fell short of two thousand. The newly-

A.D. 1826.

CHAP. XXVI. — created prince had drawn up his army in the form of a crescent, both its flanks being considerably advanced, and the main road running directly through its centre. This arrangement appears to have been adopted with reference to the nature of the country, which being greatly overgrown with prickly jungle, it was difficult for large bodies of troops to diverge from a direct course, either to the right or to the left. The Burmese general, therefore, anticipated that the British would advance by the main road, till opposed in front, when the wings of the Burmese army might have closed, thus taking them in both flanks and in the rear, and for the accomplishment of this he naturally relied on his vast superiority in point of numbers. But if he thus calculated he was deceived. Instead of marching on the centre of the enemy, the British commander assailed his flanks. The right attack, which was directed by Sir Archibald Campbell in person, was made by the King's 13th regiment, accompanied by four guns of the Bengal horse artillery and a small detachment of the governor-general's body-guard, and supported by the King's 89th. General Cotton superintended the attack on the left, which was made by the King's 38th, supported by the 41st, and accompanied by two guns of the Madras artillery. Colonel Parlbey, with the 43rd Madras Native Infantry, advanced on the bank of the Irawaddy, on the extreme left of the British, to prevent the enemy throwing troops upon its rear.

The enemy received the charge with tolerable

firmness, but were soon obliged to give way. Part CHAP. XXVI.
of the troops broken by the 38th retired into a well-constructed field-work, but were so closely pursued that they had not time to form for its defence, and several hundreds perished at this spot, either pierced by the bayonet, or drowned in vain attempts to cross the river. When the Burmese general found both his flanks attacked, while the centre was apparently not threatened, he pushed forward a column on the main road, in the direction of an eminence crowned by a pagoda lying to the rear of the British; but the sight of the King's 89th in reserve checked their progress and they returned.* It were needless to enter further into the details of the engagement of the 9th of February. From the moment when the enemy's line was broken the fortune of the day was decided, and it is enough to record that, notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers, the result of the conflict was a decisive victory to the weaker party, the enemy abandoning Pagahm to the British, with all the stores, ordnance, arms, and ammunition which it contained. The Burmese on this occasion departed from their usual course of fighting within barriers, and ventured to dispute for victory in the open field. They met a signal and disastrous defeat, and the Prince of

* It is not easy to reconcile the official report of this engagement by Sir Archibald Campbell with that given by his military secretary, Major Snodgrass, the latter representing the whole force of the British attack as having been directed against the enemy's centre. In the text the official account has been followed.

HAP. XXVI. Sunset, who had promised to drive the English out of his master's dominions, was fain to seek safety for himself in the dark and mazy covert of the jungle.*

The contest was now drawing to a close; but previously to recording its actual conclusion, it will be necessary to direct attention for a moment to some proceedings in Pegu.

A force had been stationed there under Colonel Pepper, to protect the province from the irruptions of Burman detachments. To check a series of incursions which took place under the command of the former governor of Marteban, Colonel Pepper, late in the year 1825, marched to Shoe-gein on the left bank of the Sitang, which he occupied without resistance. From there he dispatched Lieutenant-

* At one period of the contest the British commander-in-chief was placed in imminent personal danger. In consequence of a party of troops who preceded them having advanced to skirmish, the general and his staff were left upon a plain with a mere handful of men and two or three guns. About sixteen men, who were foremost, were suddenly charged by a mass of Munypore horse. The bugle sounded to close, but the men were too few to make head against the cavalry, and they retired upon the guns. In this, however, they would scarcely have succeeded, if the subahdar major of the body-guard, with the jemadar and seven troopers, the personal escort of the commander-in-chief, had not interposed to cover their retreat. Dashing past the retreating men to the right and left, the troopers deployed in their rear, and with extraordinary coolness kept the Munypore force in check, falling back gradually till within range of the guns. They then filed off to make way for the guns to open, which they did with grape and shrapnell most effectively. This anecdote, so honourable to those who form the subject of it, is preserved in a private communication to the Calcutta Gazette.

Colonel Conry, with a body of light infantry, to CHAP. XXVI.
reduce a Burman post bearing the name of the river,
and situate between Tongo and Marteban. The
attempt failed, and the commanding officer was
killed. Colonel Pepper then proceeded against
the place with a stronger force, which he divided
into three columns of attack. They advanced
simultaneously, and succeeded in carrying the works,
which were subsequently destroyed. This conflict
was attended by severe loss on both sides. Among
the killed on the side of the English were two of
the officers commanding columns, Captain Cursham
and Captain Stedman, while the third, Major
Home, was severely wounded; Colonel Pepper also
was among the sufferers from wounds. The enemy,
however, continued troublesome, and shortly after
the capture of the stockade of Sitang made a vigor-
ous attack upon a British post at Mikow, which
maintained the communication between Pegu and
Shoe-gein; but the attempt was most gallantly re-
pulsed by the young officer in command, Ensign
Clarke, of the 3rd Madras Native Infantry, with a
small detachment of that regiment.

Sir Archibald Campbell was in full march towards
the capital of the Burmese empire, when he was
met by Mr. Price and Mr. Sanford, announc-
ing the accession of the Burman sovereign to the
proposed terms; but as no formal ratification of
the treaty was received, the advance of the British
army was not interrupted. Mr. Price returned to
Ava to procure the necessary ratification, and again

CHAP. XXVI. met the army (being then accompanied by the Burmese commissioners) at Yandabo, within four days' march of the capital. The war was now at an end, for the Burmese agents brought not only the ratified treaty, but the sum of twenty-five thousand rupees as the first instalment of the amount thereby stipulated to be paid.*

The main provisions of the treaty have been already mentioned. It consisted of eleven articles, which number was increased by the addition of a supplementary one. They provided that there should be perpetual peace and friendship between the two states, and for the abrogation of all claims, on the part of the King of Ava, to Assam, Cachan, and Jynteea. With regard to Manipur, it was stipulated that should Gumber Singh desire to return to the country, he should be recognized by the King of Ava as rajah thereof. The title of Gumber Singh was certainly not of the clearest, and he was indebted for the support of the British government, not to the justice of his pretensions, but to the assistance which he had been able to render his patrons. The limits of the territories of the "two great nations," as, in imitation of the language of the Burmese diplomatists, they were termed, were

* Major Snodgrass states, that on the previous visit of Messrs. Price and Sanford to the British camp, it was explained "that every thing demanded was in readiness to be delivered, but that the king demurred about letting the cash out of his hands, from an idea that, after its payment, we should still keep his country, as under similar circumstances he would himself most assuredly have done!"

thus fixed :—the British government were to retain CHAP.XXVI.

the conquered provinces of Arracan, comprehending the four divisions of Arracan proper, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandowgy ; and the Unnoupectowmien, or Arracan mountains, described in the treaty as known in Arracan by the name of the Yeoumatoung or Pokhingloun range, were to form the boundary on that side. Any doubts regarding the line were to be settled by commissioners, who, it was expressly provided, should be “suitable and corresponding in rank.” The Burmese government also agreed to cede the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim, with the islands and dependencies appertaining thereto, marking the Saloun river as the line of demarcation on that frontier. A crore of rupees were to be paid by the Burmese to the British government, one quarter immediately, whereupon the British army was to retire to Rangoon ; another quarter in a hundred days, upon which second payment being made, the British army was to quit the dominions of the King of Ava ; a third quarter at the end of one year from the conclusion of the treaty, and the remainder at the expiration of two years from the same period. This contribution was stated to be made, not merely as a partial indemnification to the British government for the expenses of the war, but also “in proof of the sincere disposition of the Burmese government to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the two nations.” No person, whether native or foreigner, was to be mo-

CHAP. XXVI. — lested by either party on account of the part which he "had taken, or had been compelled to take," in the war. An accredited minister from each state was to reside at the court of the other, with an escort of fifty men; and a commercial treaty, upon principles of reciprocal advantage, was to be framed. All public and private debts contracted previously to the war, by either government or its subjects with the other government or its subjects, were recognized and liquidated; the property of British subjects dying in the Burmese territories was, in the absence of legal heir, to be placed in the hands of the British resident or consul, to be disposed of according to the tenour of the British law; and the property of Burmese subjects dying within the British dominions was to be made over to the minister or other authority delegated by the Burmese monarch to the British government. British ships in Burmese ports were to be relieved from all exactions, and from all acts of submission not imposed upon Burmese ships in British ports. The King of Siam, designated as "the good and faithful ally of the British government," was to participate in the advantages secured to that government; and in conclusion, provisions were made for the ratification of the treaty, and for the exchange of prisoners.

The Burmese war was thus brought to a conclusion. Much censure has been passed upon its commencement, and upon the manner in which it was carried on. With regard to the first point,

it is obvious that, as in the war with Nepaul, the CHAP. XXVI.

British government had no choice but in regard to time. War, sooner or later, was rendered inevitable by the arrogant and aggressive character of the Burmese government: indeed there was little prospect of postponing, for any period, the commencement of positive hostilities, without incurring great dangers and submitting to great sacrifices. This is pointed out by the government of the day, in a defence of their measures, addressed to the Court of Directors towards the latter period of the war.*

"It is well worth while," said they, "to consider a little in detail the immediate and direct sacrifices which we must have made to purchase a temporary and precarious peace after the conduct pursued by the Burmese in 1823—24. In the first place, we must have relinquished our claims to the forest land at the back of Ramoo and Gurgunnea, which the Company's elephant-hunters had frequented for years as a part of the British territory, otherwise the opposition made by the Burmese, and the repeated seizure and imprisonment of the servants belonging to one of our public establishments, must necessarily have induced frequent angry and irritating remonstrances on our part quite incompatible with the permanent maintenance of friendly relations. Secondly, we must have tamely abandoned our right to an island † which, however inconsiderable in size, and actually unproductive, had nevertheless been often the subject of notice on the public proceedings,

* Letter, 23rd December, 1825.

† Shapoorce.

CHAP. XXVI. and stood recorded as a portion of the British territory. Thirdly, we must have patiently endured the insult and wrong offered to us, in the attack and slaughter of a party of the Company's troops stationed on Shapooree, no less to preserve that which we considered, and had declared to be, our undoubted right, than to protect our peaceable subjects in the vicinity from murder and plunder. Fourthly, we must have witnessed in passive silence the passage of the Burmese across the natural mountain barrier which so distinctly separates the two empires, and their intrusion into the plains of Bengal, their subjugation of Cachar, a country in its population, language, institutions, and geographical position, essentially a part of Bengal, and the legitimate rajah of which then actually resided under our protection; and also the establishment of their authority in Jynteea, another petty chiefship, which had long been intimately connected with, and was essentially a dependent of, the British government. Finally, we must have tolerated, without the slightest resistance, their occupation of a position which placed the richest part of the district of Sylhet and the Sudder station itself completely at their mercy, in the then state of our military force; which gave them the command of the Soorma, as well as the Bramahpooter rivers, and which, whatever number of troops we might have collected for our defence, would have infallibly led to heavy loss of revenue, the serious interruption of cultivation, and the permanent flight of many of our ryots from their homes,

through the dread universally inspired by the proximity of that sanguinary, barbarous, and unpitying race. Is it to be believed, when the peculiar character of the government and people of Ava, and the nature of their pretensions on our eastern districts, are duly weighed, that in such a state of irritating, and to our subjects alarming, contact or rather collision, we could have much longer delayed to draw the sword in self-defence, whatever extent of petty outrage and encroachment we might have resolved to tolerate in the vain hope of avoiding the necessity of war? And if, by the intrusion of this arrogant and untractable race beyond the limits which nature had placed between us, we were forced into a relative position which rendered any long maintenance of peaceful relations not only precarious, but in truth impracticable, was there any thing at the time in the political aspect of affairs in India, or the condition of our power and resources, which could have required or justified our overlooking a succession of positive, though perhaps, separately considered, trifling acts of insult and aggression, in the idle speculation that, by recourse to temporary expedients we might avert the evil that inevitably threatened us sooner or later? We confidently answer in the negative. And when we reflect on the state of affairs brought about as above by the acts and conduct of the enemy, and not by any seeking of ours, we deliberately and conscientiously affirm, notwithstanding all the embarrassment and suffering which have been produced by the

CHAP. XXVI.

CHAP. XXVI. war, and to which none can be more painfully alive than ourselves, that we should have unworthily sacrificed the high interests committed to our charge, if we had longer deferred the declaration and vigorous prosecution of hostilities against the state of Ava."

Such is the defence advanced for not longer deferring the commencement of war with the Burmese. Of the mode in which it was conducted the Indian government offered the following justification:—"The accounts which we had received previous to the month of March, 1824, had distinctly apprized us that a powerful Burmese army was collecting in Arracan, and we judged moreover, from the obstinate character of the people, that there was little chance of their relinquishing their designs on the Cachar side, although in the first instance repulsed. At the same time we knew too well how utterly vain and futile would be any plan for protecting Chittagong, Tipperah, and Sylhet, during the approaching hot weather and rains, by any amount of force which we could have ventured to station in their noxious and pestilential swamps and jungles. We felt convinced, therefore, that our only prospect of drawing off the Burmese from the project of invasion which we believed them to meditate at that particular season, as the fittest for their purpose, and compelling them to direct their attention to the defence of their own territory, was the equipment of a powerful expedition, to seize and hold temporarily their principal seaport, the second town of their empire, whence at the same time we might

hope to teach an impressive and salutary lesson of CHAP. XXVI.
our power and resources. Our success in the first of
the above objects, if not complete, was at least very
considerable, so much so, that we conscientiously
believe the Rangoon expedition to have saved the
Chittagong district from premeditated devastation
and ruin, if indeed it did not ward off still more
extensive and alarming mischiefs. We are firmly
and deeply persuaded that the invasion of Chitta-
gong was no consequence of our proclamation of
war, the official promulgation of which, in all pro-
bability, was utterly unknown to the Burmese. A
large force had been for months concentrating in
Arracan, by the different routes leading from Ava,
under the Maha Bundoola, fully bent on invading
the British territories, with the views and motives
already explained in preceding paragraphs. Scarcely
had the Bundoola crossed the Naef, when the first
reports reached himself of the appearance of a Bri-
tish armament in Irawaddy, and at the moment
when the small and inadequate force injudiciously
left without support at Ramoo was overpowered and
destroyed, the fall of Rangoon became fully known
in the Burman camp. The above news was rapidly
followed by the accounts of our conquest of Che-
duba and Negrais. It was this intelligence that
paralyzed the movements of the Bundoola's really
formidable army, which induced him to remain at
Ramoo until he should learn the pleasure of his
master, the King of Ava (into whose imagination
and calculations it had never previously entered for

CHAP. XXVI. a moment, that we should dare to attack a principal town of his dominions), and which finally caused his precipitate retreat to Ava, when the repeated successes of the British arms in the vicinity of Rangoon began to give to the Burmese a juster notion of the character of their foe."

The government then proceeded to argue that the despatch of an armament against Rangoon and the coasts of Arracan and Tennasserim was the only measure calculated to make an early and decided impression on the enemy, and to inspire him with a sense of the power and resources of the state with which he was at war ; that to divert the attention of the enemy from an invasion of the British territory required the early despatch of the expedition directed against the Burmese country ; that there was no reason for concluding Rangoon was peculiarly unhealthy during the rains, and that the same sickness which attacked the troops at that place appeared in Calcutta and in Upper India ; that the desertion of the country by the inhabitants, and the inconveniences and sufferings consequent on this proceeding, could not have been anticipated ; that it was necessary, with reference to the means of transport, to fit out the expedition during the continuance of the southwest monsoon, and that any great delay in dispatching the armament would have given the enemy time to prepare for defence and for obstructing the passage of the river, thereby defeating the important object of making an early move upon the capital, and at the same time subjecting the British troops to hard-

ships not less in number or in kind than those which CHAP. XXVI. they actually endured.

These reasons are not without force; but after allowing to them due weight, it must be admitted that the expedition was dispatched in almost entire ignorance of the circumstances of the country to which it was to proceed, and without any adequate preparation for securing supplies. However important it might be to strike a blow at the enemy in the heart of his own dominions, it cannot be denied that the success of the attempt was placed in great doubt by the want of better information and more complete arrangements. By attention to these points, much of the misery which overtook and subdued so many gallant spirits might have been averted. As the quarrel with the Burmese was not a sudden and unexpected occurrence, it seems remarkable that so little had been done towards acquiring some knowledge of a country with which it became every year more and more evident that the British government would, at some period, be engaged in war. Public missions had indeed been dispatched, but these, even when favourably received, do not furnish the best means of obtaining such information as it is desirable in case of war to possess; and although jealousy of foreigners enters largely into the Burmese character, much might have been effected by the judicious employment of private agents. In cases where the necessity for definite information can be foreseen, it is obvious that its collection should not be postponed to the moment

CHAP. XXVI. when it must be acted upon. It is satisfactory indeed that, in this instance, the imprudence displayed was not productive of irreparable disaster or permanent injury. The spirit of the military and naval forces surmounted the difficulties of their situation, and the honour of the British arms was abundantly sustained.* Not less conspicuous than the valour and

* The surprise given to the Burmese government and people by the successes of the British army has been frequently illustrated in the course of the narrative. A very lively picture of its effects is exhibited by Mr. Judson, an American missionary, resident, in the exercise of his calling, within the Burmese dominions. It occurs in a statement made by him to Mr. Crauford, British commissioner in Ava and Pegu. "I have frequently," said Mr. Judson, "heard the Prince of Sarawaddi [brother to the Burmese sovereign] expatiate for half an hour together on this subject [war with the English]. His language used to be to the following purport. I render the expressions from the Burman as accurately as I recollect them. 'The English are the inhabitants of a small and remote island. What business have they to come in ships from so great a distance to dethrone kings and take possession of countries they have no right to? They contrive to conquer and govern the black strangers with caste (Hindoos), who have puny frames and no courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmans, skilled in the use of the sword and spear. If they once fight with us, and we have an opportunity of manifesting our bravery, it will be an example to the black nations who are now slaves to the English, and encourage them to throw off their yoke.'" This is a frequent suggestion on the part of the Prince, and the warning which it conveys ought never to be absent from the minds of those who govern India. Mr. Judson continued: "About a month before my imprisonment," which took place on the approach of the English, "the King's sister, already mentioned, said to me in conversation, that it was obvious that the English were afraid to fight; that their conduct on the frontier was mean and cowardly; that they were always disposed to treat and

military skill of the invaders, was the moderation CHAP. XXVI.
with which they used their success. No opportu-

not to fight ;"—a striking evidence of fear or weakness in native eyes—"and that upon some occasions when the Burman and British troops met, the British officers held up their hands to entreat the Burmans not to advance. She insisted that the whole conduct of the British for some time past indicated unequivocal symptoms of fear. She added, 'we shall now fight certainly, and will no longer be dissuaded. The new governor-general acts foolishly; he is afraid of us, and attempts to coax us, yet continues the usual course of aggression and encroachment.' " Mr. Judson says, with reference to these opinions, "I have heard the dependents of the chief ministers and other subordinate officers of government on innumerable occasions express similar sentiments on a war with the British to those which I have ascribed to the Prince of Sarawaddi and the Princess." In the presence of the latter, Mr. Judson says, "I was once consulted by her officers on the practicability of conquering Bengal. My reply was, that it was as difficult for the Burmans to conquer Bengal as for the English to conquer Ava, which expression was viewed by the Burmans as affording as strong an affirmation of the impracticability of the scheme as words could convey. Their answer was, 'You do not believe just now; in a little while you will be convinced.' This conversation, to the best of my recollection, took place in March or April, 1824, after the march of Bundoola's army, which was the subject of discourse when my opinion was asked."

Such were the hopes and expectations of the Burmese previously to their experience of British prowess. Of the European troops they had a mean opinion, regarding them as "luxurious and effeminate, incapable of standing the fatigues of war, and therefore unable to contend with a people hardy like themselves." It is now proper to bring their later opinions into contrast with their earlier as exhibited in the passages already quoted. In answer to the question, "what is their present opinion of European troops?" Mr. Judson said, "they consider them nearly invincible, fierce, and blood-thirsty, and discovering almost supernatural powers. I have heard them compare them in action to a particular class of demons, called Balu, that, ac-

CHAP. XXVI. nity for negotiation was neglected or put aside—
— opportunity was even sought, and while the con-

cording to Burman notions, feed on human flesh. They have compared the rapidity of their movements to a whirlwind. The skill of Europeans in the use of artillery, and especially in that of rockets and shells, astonishes them, and is incomprehensible to them. I should add, that the forbearance and moderation of the European troops after victory, and their obedience to command and regularity of discipline, is a subject of admiration with them." The next question put to Mr. Judson related to the period when the revolution of opinion took place. He answered: "The first circumstance of the war which made a deep impression on the Burman court was the sudden and complete destruction, to use the language of the Burmans themselves, of the Thongba Woonghee and his party, of about one thousand men, in a stockade near Rangoon. I heard from a Burmese who was present in the action, and who, for some political offence, on his return to Ava, became my fellow-prisoner, that this was effected by about three hundred Europeans. The court, being displeased with the procrastination of Kee Woonghee, had sent Thongba Woonghee, a brave but hot-headed man, to supersede him. This person was determined to fight. He sent, I think, an Armenian as a spy to Rangoon, who brought back news that the English were preparing to attack his stockade. The messenger was put to death for bringing accounts tending to discourage the troops, but the execution was hardly over when the British troops presented themselves before the stockade. My informant and other persons afterwards gave a most appalling account of the attack of the Balus, as they called them. The gate of the stockade was choked up by the runaways, and almost every man in it put to death by the bayonet. Thongba Woonghee was killed in the flight by one of his own people. This mode of attack was totally contrary to all that the Burmans knew of war, and struck them with consternation. They stated that, when one of the assailants was killed another immediately took his place, and that they were not to be discouraged from advancing even by wounds, so that it was in vain to contend with such an enemy. Their imaginations were so wrought upon, that to these particulars they added many fabulous ones—such as that the Europeans continued to advance

querors were pursuing an almost uninterrupted career of victory, the vanquished were, on every

CHAP. XXVI.

after their hands had been chopped off in scrambling over the stockades—that the arms and legs of the wounded were carefully picked up and replaced by the English surgeons, who were represented to be as skilful as the warriors were bold.”

Such were the effects of the success of the British arms. Had the invaders been compelled to yield to the difficulties by which they were surrounded, the arrogance and vaunting presumption of the Burmese would have been inflamed to a pitch of frenzy. Mr. Judson is not the only witness to the feelings of the Burmese in this respect. Mr. John Laird, a native of Scotland, who resided several years in the Burmese dominions for commercial purposes, made the following statement to Mr. Crauford:—“When I was in Ava, for the second time, in 1823, I was present at an evening levee of the King. The late Bundoola and several of his officers, who had just arrived from the conquest of Assam, were there. They had on their heads gold-wrought handkerchiefs, part of the plunder of Assam. The King took them off their heads and admired them. One of the attawans said to the King, ‘Your Majesty’s dominions now extend to the northern sea; there never was so great a King as your Majesty.’ The King smiled, and asked if in his new acquisitions there was any port of trade for large ships. It was answered, that there was not, but that there was a considerable inland trade with Bengal by boats. The King then ordered that a proper person should be appointed shah bandar, for the collection of his revenues in Assam. Bundoola now presented the King with two English dogs which had been taken, and proceeded to mention what number of prisoners he had brought, as well as the hostages and presents from the native prince whom he had left in authority. Bundoola said, ‘I pursued the fugitives across the Brahmapootee into the British territory; but as the English are on terms of friendship with your Majesty, and you derive a large revenue from their trade to Rangoon, I retired. But if your Majesty desires to have Bengal, I will conquer it for you, and will only require for this purpose the *kulas*, or strangers, and not a single Burman.’” So confident was the Bundoola of being able

CHAP. XXVI. convenient occasion, invited to accept terms of accommodation, and thereby free their country from the presence of a hostile force. Almost within sight of the seat of the Burmese government, the British general consented to the same terms which had been proposed and professedly accepted long before—thus voluntarily relinquishing for himself and his men the proud triumph which awaited them of occupying the capital of the foe, and dictating from thence the conditions of peace. The notorious faithlessness of the enemy would well have justified the infliction of this penalty of extreme humiliation. There was no claim for abatement or mitigation in the slightest degree. Without the power of resisting, the enemy was equally without a title for demanding the smallest exercise of forbearance.*

to perform what he suggested, that, according to a statement of Major Snodgrass, he marched into Arracan provided with golden fetters, in which the governor-general of India was to be led captive to Ava.

* On the policy of abstaining from the occupation of Ava, Major Snodgrass offers the following opinion:—"The conquest of the capital of Alompra, it was urged by some who took a more general view of the case [the writer had been speaking of the disappointment of the soldiery], would have had a good effect upon the whole eastern world; and its reduction would no doubt have been desirable, could all the advantages of the peace concluded at Yandaboo have been guaranteed on our arrival there; but those best acquainted with the strange people we had to deal with are well aware that every sacrifice they were disposed to make was to ensure the preservation of the city; that once subdued, the court would have fled for a season to some distant part of their extensive empire, and have left the Indian government the mere honour of having conquered a country which they could not retain, and from which necessity would soon compel them to retire without

In estimating the value of the advantages secured CHAP. XXVI.
to the British empire in India, the security result-

gain or profit, and with the ruinous burden of the expenses of the war wholly upon their own shoulders, instead of the many advantages that must attend the acceptance of their terms. Nor could it even be urged that celerity of movement might have enabled us to reach the capital before the court had left it. The very idea of attempting to cope in that point with men who can change their places of abode with the facility of Bedouin Arabs was preposterous. That Ava would have fallen, no man will doubt. Taken most assuredly it would have been had the attempt been made, and perhaps a handsome booty might have enriched the captors; but this could only have been attempted at a great political risk, and the probable sacrifice of every object for which the government of India had been so long contending, for we should undoubtedly have found neither king nor ministers to treat with, and with all the honour and glory of subduing the capital, we should most probably have occupied merely the deserted space within its walls." Narrative, pp. 284, 285. Few persons will agree in the gloomy anticipations entertained by the author of this passage as to the consequences of striking one additional blow heavier and more dispiriting than any which the enemy had previously received. The space within the walls of Ava might have been deserted, but, as at Rangoon, the industrious part of the population would soon have begun to return. Neither king nor ministers might have been there, but ere long the fallen foe would have manifested a natural anxiety once more to regain possession of his capital, and of so much of his country as the moderation of his conqueror would spare him. It is idle, however, to waste discussion on the subject. It is enough that, in sparing Ava, the British authorities vindicated the humanity and generosity of their nation. They were in a position that enabled them to exercise those qualities gracefully, and in perfect accordance with the claims of duty, and they did exercise them. Their conduct needs not the support of an untenable defence grounded on cold grounds of policy.

Great alarm had been felt at Ava long before Sir Archibald Campbell's approach. Mr. Judson represents "the defeat of the

CHAP. XXVI. ing from the impressive lesson afforded to the Bur-
 mese must be placed foremost. The character of
 the territorial acquisitions was not of the most
 desirable order—a large portion of them being
 little more than rock and jungle. But they were
 not without value, in removing an ambitious and
 grasping power to a distance from the more fertile
 portions of the British dominions, and in substi-
 tuting, in some instances, a strong and defensible
 frontier in place of one more open to irruptions.*

Bundoola in his lines before Rangoon, and his flight to Dona-
 beed," as having "struck the Burmans dumb, and for a time
 made them consider their affairs desperate. They thought," he
 says, "that the British army would immediately march upon Ava."
 From the same authority, a confirmation is derived of that which
 is abundantly proved by other evidence—the difficulty which the
 Burmese found in understanding the forbearance of the British,
 or even giving credit to its existence. The overture for nego-
 tiation made by Sir Archibald Campbell from Prome baffled all
 their powers of conjecture. Mr. Judson says, "The nine Euro-
 peans who were imprisoned were sent for to translate the letter of
 Sir Archibald Campbell, which perplexed the court extremely,
 the idea of treating in the commanding situation in which he was
 then appearing so utterly unaccountable to them. They en-
 deavoured to explain it in various ways. Sometimes they imagined
 that he was induced to treat from the prevalence of great sickness
 in the army; at other times they imagined that the King of Eng-
 land had disapproved of the war; then that the Seiks had risen
 against the English in Upper India; but the most prevalent
 opinion was, that the King of Cochin-China had sent a fleet of
 fifty ships to assist the Burmans. The king went the length of
 sending a despatch boat to the mouth of the Rangoon river to
 ascertain whether the Cochin-Chinese fleet had actually arrived
 or not."

* The contemplated advantages of the territorial arrangements
 made by virtue of the treaty, with respect to the British govern-

In England the Burmese war was not popular, CHAP. XXVI.
and its progress was attended by little of the

ment, as well as to other parties, are thus enumerated by Mr. H. H. Wilson, the distinguished Oriental scholar, at the conclusion of his Historical Sketch of the Burmese War, published soon after the conclusion of that war:—"That the results of the war cannot fail to be widely beneficial will be evident from a consideration of the state of those countries which are now annexed to the British empire. Distracted hitherto by incessant feuds, and overrun by hostile armies or predatory bands, regions once animated by a happy and numerous population had been converted into wide and unwholesome thickets, and ceased not only to be the haunts of man, but had become hostile to human life. Under their new masters, Assam, Cachar, Arracan, and the Tennasserim provinces will experience a tranquillity and security they have not known for ages, and must once more assume that character of plenty and prosperity which the latter wore when the Europeans first visited their coasts, and which tradition and the remains of roads and towns, still found in them, indicate were equally the enjoyment of all. The contracted territory of the Burman kingdom will be productive of little real diminution of its resources from the circumstance, already referred to, of the desolate condition of the provinces which it has consented to relinquish. Its most valuable districts, those along the Irrawaddy and at the mouths of that river, are still untouched; and if the lesson the late war has inculcated induce the court of Ava to forego schemes of military conquest, and in their room to cultivate the ample means of domestic wealth which the forests, the fields, and the mines of Ava, and an active and intelligent population supply, it will derive from the contest more solid benefits than if it had come out of the struggle with undiminished honour or augmented rule. The advantage to the British empire of India is dependant upon that which its new acquisitions will realize, and will be proportioned to their increased prosperity. A variety of valuable raw produce is procurable, or may be raised from the new territories, to be replaced by the manufactures of India or of Britain. Indigo, cotton, salt, spices, lac, dying woods, timber, antimony, and tin, are among the products of

CHAP. XXVI. feeling of satisfaction which its general success—
might have been expected to excite. The still lin-

Arracan and the Tennasserim coasts, which are likely to invite enterprise and reward industry. Before, however, the capabilities of these regions can be turned to full account, the people by whom they are tenanted must be raised both in number and character, so as to become productive labourers in their own country, and liberal consumers of the produce of others. That this must be the result of the present order of things cannot be doubted, although any attempt to precipitate so desirable a consummation would only lead to disappointment. The acquisition of the southern provinces as well as the war itself have brought British commerce more immediately in contact with the Burman kingdom, and are likely to enhance those advantages which have hitherto been reaped from it. It will indeed be no unimportant benefit to the merchant to be relieved from the vexatious arrogance which he heretofore experienced from the officers of the Burman ports, and which it is not likely they will feel disposed or be permitted to re-assume. The same will be the case at Siam, the trade with which state under the treaty formed with its government, and the sentiments of fear and respect which the late events and the proximity of the British power must inspire, will be conducted hereafter on principles more consistent with the practice of polished nations. To commerce, the provinces of Cachar and Assam hold out less promising prospects, but they are politically of value, as forming a well-defined and naturally strong frontier; and in the approximation they afford to Thibet and China, it is not impossible that trade may be extended in those directions. Even from the intercourse with the barbarous mountain tribes on the frontiers some advantages may be obtained, which will gradually augment as the people are brought within the nearer reach of refinement."

The progress of improvement, as was anticipated, has been slow. The inhabitants in most parts of the ceded territory are not only rude and unintelligent, but singularly inactive and untractable. One probable source of advantage which was not looked for has sprung up in the accidental discovery of the tea-plant growing wild in Assam. The successful cultivation of an article

giving impression of fear for the consequences of territorial extension, the inadequate preparation with which this war was commenced, the great expense by which it was attended, and the barren and seemingly unprofitable character of the country acquired, probably combined to produce this result. The course taken by the governor-general, however, was sufficiently approved by the King's government to warrant his elevation to an earldom.

It has incidentally been mentioned that, pending the Burmese war, a treaty was concluded between the British government and the King of Siam, who, in the treaty with Ava, is recognized as "the good and faithful ally" of the former state, and as having taken part in the war. The part taken, however, seems to have been confined to

so universally consumed in Great Britain is too obviously desirable to allow of such a discovery being permitted to pass unregarded. Whether the growth of Assam can compete with that of China, in what quantities and at what expense tea in the former country can be produced—these are questions which the revelations of time only can answer. The prospect is encouraging, and the greatest obstacle to success seems to arise from the character of the labouring people—an obstacle that will probably be overcome by perseverance, aided by the peculiar knowledge of the modes of Chinese culture and preparation afforded by workmen obtained from that country.

In quitting the subject of the Burmese war, it is proper to mention that, in addition to official documents (which have been consulted in every instance excepting where the contrary is stated, and to which for this reason particular reference is usually omitted), the clear and accurate narrative of Mr. H. H. Wilson, that of Major Snodgrass, and every publication of character on the subject, have been examined.

CHAP. XXVI. making plundering excursions into such of the Burmese territories as lay conveniently for visitations with little regard to the question whether such territories were occupied by the English or not, carrying off from them slaves and booty, and writing complimentary letters to the British authorities. As, however, the services of this "good and faithful ally" of the British government were deemed worthy of honourable mention, it may be expected that some notice should be taken of the instrument by which his Majesty of Siam became entitled to be referred to in the terms which have been quoted. The treaty was negotiated on the part of the English by Major Burney, and concluded on the 20th of July, 1826. After an overture, in the usual lofty strain, premising that "the powerful lord, who is in possession of every good and every dignity, the god Boodh, who dwells over every head in the city of the sacred and great kingdom of Si-a-yoo-then-sye, incomprehensible to the head and brain," and an inferior potentate described as "the sacred beauty of the royal palace, serene and infallible there," had bestowed their commands upon ministers of high rank, belonging to the "great and sacred kingdom," to frame a treaty, it is declared that the English and Siamese "engage in friendship, love, and affection, with mutual truth, sincerity, and candour." After a diffuse commentary upon this text, a second article provides for the arrangement, by negotiation, of any disputes that might arise between the two countries; other articles relate

to the settlement of boundaries, and the respect to be paid to them. The protection of merchants in their occupation is the subject of multifarious provisions, which it would be tedious to detail. One of them may be quoted as an illustration of the jealousy of the Siamese. It is provided that merchants subject to the English, desiring to come and trade in any Siamese country, with which it has not been the custom to have trade and intercourse, must first go and inquire of the governor of the country. "Should any country have no merchandize, the governor shall inform the ship that has come to trade that there is none. Should any country have merchandize sufficient for a ship, the governor shall allow her to come and trade." Under such a provision the government of Siam might obviously refuse to open to British commerce any part of their country not previously accessible. Among the commercial regulations was one strictly forbidding the introduction of opium into Siam or its dependencies, and subjecting it, should the attempt be made, to confiscation. From another article it might be inferred that written correspondence had not previously been regarded as inviolate from the inspection of those for whose eye it was not intended. "If an Englishman desire to transmit a letter to any person in a Siamese or other country, such person only, and no other, shall open and look into the letter. If a Siamese desire to transmit a letter to any person in an English or other country, such person only, and no other, shall

XXVI. open and look into the letter." Other articles related to trade with Queda (possession of which was to be secured to the Siamese), and to the protection of the Rajah of Perak in his government. The terms upon which the commercial intercourse of British subjects was to be regulated were fixed with greater precision by a supplementary paper, which, as well as the treaty, was concluded on the part of the British government by Major Burney.

To avoid breaking the current of the narrative, the notice of two events of some interest, occurring during the progress of the Burmese war, has been deferred till the history of its operations was complete. To these events it is now necessary to advert.

The earliest of them is of a painful and discreditable character. About the middle of the year 1824, the 47th Native Infantry had been marched to Barrackpore, from which, at a later period of the year, they were to proceed to take part in some of the operations of the Burmese war. To put an army in motion in India is a far more difficult process than in other parts of the world, where the climate is less enervating and the habits of the people less peculiar. From the first-named cause, European troops require aids which are neither bestowed nor expected elsewhere; from the second, similar assistance is to a certain extent required by a large portion of the native troops. No military force can move in India without a large number of beasts of

burden. These are requisite, not only for carrying CHAP. XXVI.
provisions and stores, but also for transporting a considerable portion of the personal baggage of the men. The European does not carry even his knapsack. The sepoy is not excused from this burden, but, in addition to ordinary necessities, he must find means of conveyance for a set of utensils for cooking, with which each man is provided, and these, added to his clothing, appointments, and ammunition, would constitute a load which the comparatively slender frames of the native troops would be altogether unable to bear through a lengthened march, more especially if it were to be performed, as must frequently happen, under unfavourable circumstances. Carriage cattle are, for this reason, of prime necessity for the movement of an army; but it is to be observed, that the expense of these animals, and their drivers, so far as employed for the use of the sepoys, had been accustomed to be defrayed by the sepoys themselves.

In the instance under notice, however, no bullocks could be provided; none could be hired, and they could only be purchased at an extravagant price. An application for assistance from the commissariat department was made, but was answered by an intimation that the men must provide the required accommodation for themselves. The commanding officer, Colonel Cartwright, however, made disbursements from his private funds for the purchase of bullocks; and government, on learning the deficiency, directed the issue of a

.XXVI. sum of money to aid in supplying it. Unfortunately, however, the remedy was not applied till the disease had attained a degree of virulence which set at defiance all corrective appliances. As is usual, too, the experience or apprehension of suffering called before the minds of the discontented every incident of their situation which could be construed into a grievance. The men were ordered to appear on parade on the 30th of October, in marching order. The greater part appeared without their knapsacks. The cause of the neglect was demanded, and the answer was that their knapsacks were unfit to produce. They were informed that new ones were on their way, and that till their arrival they must use the old ones. They refused to produce them; and part of the regiment then declared that they would not proceed to Rangoon or elsewhere by sea, nor would they move at all unless they were to have double batta, the claim for which was rested on two grounds—first, that increased pay had been given to bullock-drivers and persons engaged in similar services; secondly, that according to report, every thing was very dear in the country to which they were going. After some attempts to subdue the prevailing discontent by reasoning, Colonel Cartwright, finding these efforts vain, and being unable, from the number of the mutineers, to take any more vigorous measures, dismissed the regiment, and sought the advice of General Dalzell. The latter officer proceeded to Calcutta to consult the commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Paget. On his return he ordered

D. 1824.

a parade to take place at daybreak on the morning of the 1st of November. At this parade all semblance of duty was cast aside, and the regiment, with the exception of the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, burst into acts of open violence. During the night the mutineers slept on their arms, maintaining regular guards and pickets, and a strong chain of sentries and patrols. In this state of things Sir Edward Paget arrived. Two regiments, besides the 47th, were stationed at Barrackpore, preparatory to their proceeding on service ; but both of them were infected in some degree with the mutinous spirit which had taken entire possession of the regiment last mentioned. It was necessary, therefore, to seek the means of overawing the mutineers elsewhere ; and his Majesty's 1st Royals, his Majesty's 47th, a battery of light artillery, and the governor-general's body-guard, promptly arrived from Calcutta. The force intended to act against the mutineers having taken position, the commander-in-chief deputed the quarter-master-general and the adjutant-general, accompanied by Captain Macan, of the 16th Lancers, as interpreter, and by the commanding officer of the regiment in rebellion, to give on his part an answer to a paper which had been forwarded by the malcontents, as well as to explain to them their situation, and the consequence that must result from their adhering to the course which they had adopted. Their fate, they were informed, would depend on their obedience to

CHAP. XXVI.

A.D. 1824.

XVI. the command which they were about to receive from the adjutant-general. The word to order arms being given was instantly obeyed. The next order was to ground arms: with this only one man complied, while the silence which had hitherto been maintained was now broken by loud and continued murmurings. These were silenced by a few discharges from a battery in their rear, and the rebel troops speedily broke and fled in every direction, throwing away their arms and accoutrements, and whenever practicable, divesting themselves of the military dress. A few were killed, and the fugitives being hotly pursued, many were taken prisoners. These were forthwith brought to trial before a court-martial. A considerable number were found guilty and sentenced to death, but a few only of the more active were executed, the punishment of the remainder being commuted to hard labour in irons for terms proportioned to their guilt. The native officers, though not participators in the rebellious movement, were believed to be cognizant of the acts and intentions of the mutineers, and they were in consequence dismissed the service. The number of the regiment was most properly erased from the list of the army, the European officers being transferred to another raised in its place.

The motives to mutiny are usually multifarious and complicated. The difficulty of procuring carriage for the baggage of the native troops was in this case, as has been already intimated, but one

among various causes operating to produce discontent.* It was like the change of atmosphere or

* Captain Macan, in his evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons, April, 1832, appears to deny that the want of carriage was, in any degree, a cause of the mutiny. To disprove its being so, he urges that, two days previously to that on which the mutinous troops were ordered to march, "the cattle for the baggage were reported to be efficient and ready;" that in the petition sent in by the mutineers on the night before they were dispersed, no mention was made of this ground of complaint; and that if this were actually the cause of the mutiny, the extensive desertions which took place from every battalion that was at that time ordered to the eastward of the upper provinces, and which were checked by the punishment inflicted at Barrackpore, cannot be accounted for. To these objections it may be answered, that though a sufficient number of bullocks was at last procured, it was not till the discontent had reached an alarming height; and as to efficiency, it appears to have been the opinion of Colonel Cartwright and his officers, that the animals were unfit for service, being of small size, and all of them either too young or too old for severe labour, while their drivers were, it was alleged, not to be depended on. The fact of the omission of this cause of complaint from the petition to the commander-in-chief cannot be regarded as of much importance. Those who drew it up were not practised advocates; and it appears altogether so loose and wild a production, that no reliance can be placed on it as representing the feelings of those from whom it came. It is not unworthy of remark, nor altogether irrelevant to the inquiry, that Captain Macan's recollection of the contents of this paper at the time of his examination does not appear to have been entirely accurate. Being asked (Question 2152) "What causes of grievance did they state?"—the question applying to the petition to which the witness had just before alluded—he answered, "Two: first, their having been required to embark on board ship; secondly, the unjust influence of the havildar major with regard to the promotions of the non-commissioned officers in the battalion. These were the only two causes mentioned by them in their petition, which I translated and answered, by his excellency's orders." The petition

xvi. of mode of life which suddenly gives to predisposing causes freedom and force, and developes in the

translated by Captain Macan, as preserved on the records of government, refers only to a single cause of discontent—the former of those mentioned by Captain Macan; not one word is said of undue influence in the way of promotion. It runs as follows:—

“ To His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, &c., &c., it is presented—

“ 1. That we, your petitioners, are sepoys in the 1st battalion 47th regiment.

“ 2. That in order to obtain food, we have drawn on ourselves much ignominy and disgrace.

“ 3. That learning the fame of your beneficence, which is widely spread, we sought the shade of the skirts of your garment, and do not find that the rules suit us.

“ 4. The case is this:—The soubahdar major and havildar major told the sepoys, &c., they were going to Rangoon, and would be embarked on board ship, and he told all the sepoys that when the Company went to war they ought not to shrink. After this the soubahdar major and havildar major sent for four men from each company, and said, ‘those who wear the *takee khoo* ought not to cast it off. This also they ought not to do.’ The sepoys replied, that they never could put their feet on board ship, and that no person would forfeit his caste. For this reason all the sepoys swore by the Ganges water and *toolsee*, that they never would put their feet in a ship; and every gentleman knows that when a Hindoo takes Ganges water and *toolsee* in his hand, he will sacrifice his life. In this way the regiment, &c., pledged themselves. This which is written is our representation. And further, the soubahdar and havildar before mentioned went to the commanding officer, Colonel Cartwright, and stated that the regiment was ready to march; that all the sepoys had agreed (to march), whereas the sepoys knew nothing of this circumstance. Now, you are master of our lives; what you order we will do; but we will not go on board ship, nor will we march for that purpose. Formerly our name was good, but it has now

animal constitution diseases of which the foundation was previously laid. The prejudices of the Hindoo subject him to great privations on ship-board, and

CHAP. XXVI.

become bad; our wish is, therefore, that our names be effaced, and that every man may return to his home."

To the translation the following note is appended by Captain Macan:—"The original of this petition is written in a most barbarous and unintelligible manner. No regard is paid to grammar, spelling, or idiom. I am therefore doubtful if I have expressed the sentiments of the petitioners in every paragraph, and I am convinced they have themselves not done so. Those parts, however (such as the third paragraph), on which I have doubts, are the least important." Making all possible allowance for the unskilfulness of those by whom the petition was drawn, and conceding that in a very great degree it expressed the meaning of the petitioners imperfectly and inaccurately, it cannot be supposed that it was intended to convey a charge of undue influence as to promotion, which is not even hinted at in the most remote manner.

The remaining objection to the belief that the mutiny originated partially, if not altogether, in the deficiency of carriage-bullocks, is thus put by Captain Macan:—"If, as has been erroneously supposed, the cause of mutiny was the deficiency of carriage, to what is to be attributed the extensive desertions which took place from every battalion that was at that time ordered to the eastward from the upper provinces, and which desertion was effectually checked by the punishment of the mutineers at Barrackpore?" In answer to this, it may be represented that the same inconvenience—the want of the means of conveying baggage—might press upon other regiments as well as upon the 47th, and it is not shewn that it did not. Indeed there appears to have been at the time great difficulty generally in procuring beasts for the transport of baggage to the eastward. But whether this were the cause or not, it is obviously inconclusive to argue that, because a particular cause of discontent did not operate in one case, or in any number of cases, it could not operate in any case whatever.

xvi. he is consequently averse to any service subjecting him to the necessity of a voyage.* The mutineers seem to have believed that they were to proceed to Rangoon by water, and in aid of the annoyance derived from this belief came the feeling of dislike naturally entertained by men reared, for the most part, in the comparatively healthy provinces of upper India, to encounter the danger and misery of a country of marsh and jungle, more to be dreaded than the sword of the enemy. The Burmese war, moreover, had, in some respects, opened inauspiciously, and the effect was to damp the spirit, if not to shake the fidelity, of the native troops. The destruction of the detachment at Ramoo is represented by an officer of long experience in India† as having struck “alarm throughout the native army.” From this cause, and from the difficulties in prospect, the war was far from popular. Further—all classes of camp-followers, whose services were in requisition, had taken advantage of prevailing circumstances to advance their claims to remuneration, and necessity had compelled the government to yield. The soldiers were aware of this, and soon began to think themselves entitled to partake of advantages so lavishly and indiscriminately bestowed on men whom they could not fail to regard as their inferiors.

* This reluctance has been overcome, as in the transport of a sepoy force to Egypt, Java, and other places. But to reconcile the men to such duty, the greatest care and tact are required.

† Captain Macan, Evidence, Q. 2151.

While this source of discontent was in full operation, there occurred, most unhappily, a disappointment as to the provision of new knapsacks, for which the men had been under stoppages. In aid of these various causes of discontent came the recollection of some promotions alleged to have been irregular, and to have resulted from the influence of the soubahdar-major with the commanding officer, the parties favoured being relatives of the former person.*

Thus arose the mutiny of Barrackpore. It was the offspring of temporary disappointment and privation, and excepting that all such movements are fraught with evil suggestion for the future, it was calculated to excite little alarm. In the language of the Court of Inquiry appointed to investigate and report on the unhappy affair, it was an "ebullition of despair at being compelled to march without the means of doing so."

In another part of their report, the same authority, after taking just notice of Colonel Cartwright's exertions to provide the requisite supply of cattle, adds, "that his efforts, and those of the departments whose province it was to supply cattle for the use of the troops marching, failed of success, until too late to stop the progress of the discontent, must ever be a matter of the deepest regret; for the court do not hesitate to believe, that in spite of every other discouraging circumstance, if the means of carriage had been forthcoming at the proper

* Referred to in a preceding note.

P.XXVI. period, and in proportion adequate to the necessities of men marching on such an arduous and trying service, none of the other points of complaint would have been heard, and the late 47th regiment would now have been contending against the enemies of the state."

This opinion appears to be well founded; but mutiny is so serious a crime, that it can never safely be passed over without signal punishment. Experience, too, has shewn, that a regiment, like an individual, having once departed in any serious degree from the line of honour and duty, is very liable to fail again. It is not, therefore, to be lamented that, after what had occurred, the 47th regiment was deemed unworthy of retaining its place in the list of the army. Its expurgation was wise; but just and expedient as was the conduct of government in thus acting, it is impossible not to be struck by the contrast which the wholesome severity exercised in this instance affords to the lenient views taken by the governor of Fort St. George, in regard to the far more atrocious proceedings at Vellore. Treason and massacre had there been perpetrated, and Lord William Bentinck held that these crimes did not constitute a sufficient cause for striking out of the army list the number of the regiment in which they had occurred.

At Barrackpore, though there was resistance there was little outrage. "There does not appear," said the report of the Court of Inquiry, "to have existed the most remote idea of carrying matters

further, nor any notion of attempting to subvert the government, or to excite hostility against the state. In the prosecution of their mad career, no individual received personal injury from" the mutineers, "nor did the society of Barrackpore consider it necessary to remove from the place from a dread of their intentions; and at length, when the mutineers were broken and dispersed, scarcely any out of nearly a thousand stand of arms were found loaded, although each man was in possession, throughout the affair, of forty rounds of service ammunition."

Events like the mutiny at Barrackpore naturally direct attention to the means by which the British government in India maintains its mighty empire, to the necessity of constant watchfulness over the spirit prevailing in the army, and in every portion of it. All who know the native troops bear witness to the facility with which they may be governed, and their attachment to their employers maintained. The evidence elicited at the last parliamentary inquiry into the subject abounds with such testimony.* Sir Jasper Nicolls,† after nearly twenty years' experience, described the native soldier as singularly orderly and easily managed. "I think," said he, "that the command of a European regiment would be more difficult than the command of a brigade of sepoy. It would be much easier to control five thousand sepoy than it would one thousand

* In 1832.

† Now commander-in-chief in India.

P. XXVI. Europeans." Sir Thomas Reynell* gave the result of several years' observation of the native troops in these words:—"They are subordinate, they are patient, and they are certainly obedient to their orders. I consider them to be animated by a good spirit, and I have had a good opportunity of witnessing it in the late service before Bhurtpore. There I have seen them in the trenches working at very laborious employment, and I believe contrary to their own religious feelings. I think that some disinclination to work in this manner appeared at first; but when it was explained to be a military duty, they performed it with good will." Colonel Salmond, who, after serving twenty years in India, had still filled for a very long period the office of military secretary to the East-India Company at home, represented the native soldiers as satisfied with their condition, well-affected to the service, extremely orderly and easy of management. Sir Theophilus Pritzler held similar language, and in proof of the affection of the sepoys for the service, said—"There is no greater punishment that you can inflict upon a sepoy than to order him to be discharged." Major J. W. Aitchison, who had served twenty-six years, said—"I think no troops can be better disposed towards the government." This witness represented the attachment of a sepoy to his officer as generally very great, "if the officer

* Minutes of Evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on officers of the East-India Company's military, ordered to be printed 16th August, 1832.

deserved it." The same opinion was avowed by CHAP. XXVI.
Sir Theophilus Pritzler, who, being asked what were the feelings of the native troops towards the European officers in their regiments, answered, "I should say very good, provided they are properly commanded;" and by Colonel Salmond, who, in answer to a similar question, said—"Generally, I think those of attachment." Sir Jasper Nicolls answered the same question by stating that the feelings of the sepoy towards his officers "are very decided and strong. He is either very much attached, or he holds them cheaply; if he respects them, he respects them very highly, but there are some that they care nothing about;" and Sir Thomas Reynell represents the feelings of the native soldier towards his officer as depending in a great measure upon the conduct of the officer towards him. The entire weight of testimony goes indeed to shew that the affections of the sepoy may easily be preserved, if he be treated with justice and kindly attention, except where some fanatical feeling may interfere to shake his fidelity. "No one," says Captain Grant Duff, "who has not witnessed it, could believe how much an officer who understands them can attach the sepoys. Some" officers "serve their lives, and never know more than their faces and a few of their names; but sepoys discern the character of an officer even more correctly than European privates, and are more disposed than they are to be pleased with his endeavours for their comfort; they even bear to be treated with more

AP. XXVI. kindness and familiarity; but strictness on duty, patiently hearing their regular complaints, and dealing out even-handed justice, are the surest means of securing their respect and attachment.”*

These are the lessons of experience, and ought never to be forgotten. The outbreak at Barrackpore was occasioned by a prospect of marching without the accommodation which custom and convenience required. A warning of a different kind was given at Vellore. There the rebellious movement had undoubtedly a political origin, but its fomenters found ready means of inflaming the minds of the soldiery by appealing to their distaste for change. On this point, too, the volume which has already been so frequently quoted affords useful instruction. Among the most valuable portions may be noticed that contained in the following observations by Captain Balmain:—“The great rule in the management of such an army ought to be that no risk whatever ought to be run or change made, except for an evident and certain good. A man will fight as well in a coat of one colour as in that of any other, and, therefore, no risk ought to be encountered in making him change it.” He adds, most judiciously, “It is said to be folly to attend to such silly prejudices; but surely it is greater folly to run the risk of alienating the affections of an army for such trifles.”† In the views

* Appendix B to Minutes of Evidence, ut supra.

† See Appendix B, Minutes of Evidence, ut supra. “With very few exceptions,” says Captain Balmain, “every commander-

above expressed as to the sources of danger, all who have observed the character of the Indian army will concur, while it needs not even this qualification to perceive the soundness of the conclusion with which this quotation terminates. "Constituted as our native army is," said one of the most distinguished of the civil servants of the Company,* "it cannot be otherwise than that there should be some indefinite danger, but I do not see any present cause for apprehension: when it does arrive, it will probably have been caused by our own mismanagement."

The event remaining yet for notice, as occurring contemporaneously with the Burmese war, was

in-chief at Madras for the last thirty years has signalized the commencement of his command by a long general order on dress, and the general officers have followed the example in their several divisions." Captain Balmain appears also to think the changes in the higher departments of military command too frequent. "The reason," he says, "of the native troops being now more frequently placed under the command of officers unacquainted with their manners, &c., is the more frequent changes in commanders-in-chief, in general officers on the staff, and in regiments. The usual term of service of the two former classes is at the utmost four or five years, a term scarcely long enough to permit them to become acquainted with the nature of the troops under their command; and they then make way for other men, to learn the same lesson, which none of them are ever to be allowed to turn to advantage. Almost every man in the Madras army can talk about Laurence, Clive, or Coote, but not one in a thousand could tell you even the names of any of the late commanders-in-chief; and yet the former officers have all been dead for more than half a century; but then they had served long in India, spoke the language, and had made themselves known to the men."—Ibid.

* William Butterworth Bayley, Esq., formerly member of council at Bengal, now a director of the East-India Company.

CHAP. XXVI. one of greater dignity than that by which it has been preceded in the narration. It originated in the state of affairs at the court of Bhurtpore. The Rajah Bundher Singh had died in 1823 without issue. His brother, named Buldeo Singh, thereupon assumed the government, notifying his accession to the British authorities, and soliciting from them the khelat of investiture as bestowed on his predecessor. Sir David Ochterlony, British resident in Malwa and Rajpootana, in reporting to his government the accession and application of Buldeo Singh, announced the existence of a rumour that Doorjun Saul, the son of a younger brother of the deceased Rajah, intended to contest the succession, on the ground of his having been adopted by the departed prince. In consequence of this communication, the government thought it necessary to refrain from any formal recognition of the new Rajah until the receipt of further information. The result of inquiry was a conviction that the claim of Doorjun Saul was utterly unfounded: Buldeo Singh being in peaceable possession of the musnud, the British resident was ultimately authorized to give him investiture, and the governor-general addressed a congratulatory letter to him as Rajah of Bhurtpore.

The Rajah, on finding himself confirmed in the seat of power, became anxious to secure to his heir the same powerful protection which had been extended to himself, and his conduct towards his British ally appears to have entitled him to expect this

favour. The Rajah's son was too young to maintain his own right to the musnud, in the event of his early succession to it, and the recognition of his title by the British government seemed the most effectual method of stopping the claims and preventing the intrigues which otherwise would arise on the Rajah's death. Sir David Ochterlony was very urgent in supporting the wish of the Rajah that his son should receive public and immediate investiture from the British government, on the grounds that the reigning prince laboured under a disease which led to apprehensions for his life; that the recognition at once of the Rajah's son would tend to check the assertion of pretensions similar to those which had been made on the accession of Buldeo Singh; and that the act would be gratifying to an ally whose adherence to principles calculated to promote peace and good order had been exemplary.

The British government, however, while avowing a desire to gratify the Rajah of Bhurtpore, hesitated to comply with his request. A phrase in the Rajah's letter to Sir David Ochterlony led to some doubts as to the degree of relationship in which the proposed successor to the musnud stood towards the Rajah, and the government desired to be informed whether there were any other members of the family living, who could be regarded as having a better title than the child towards whom their protection was invoked. In reply, Sir David Ochterlony stated, that the boy was the son of Buldeo Singh, and his

P. XXVI. only son. It does not appear that any authority was thereupon given for the performance of the required ceremony; it seems rather that Sir David Ochterlony deemed himself authorized to proceed to it in virtue of some remarks of a general character contained in the despatch, in which the government called for information as to the existence of other claimants of the throne. In January, 1825, he apprized the government of his intention of complying with the wishes of the Rajah by acknowledging his son, and early in February the ceremony of investiture took place. On the 26th of that month the Rajah, Buldeo Singh, died.

Doorjun Saul was not slow to avail himself of this event for advancing his own views, notwithstanding the recognition by the British government of the right of the deceased Rajah's son. Several battalions having been gained over to his interest, the fort was attacked and taken, the uncle of the Rajah murdered, and the boy seized by the usurper. Sir David Ochterlony, on learning this, adopted measures, on his own responsibility, for assembling the largest disposable force which could be obtained, aided by a formidable battering and bombarding train, in order to vindicate the rights of the youthful Rajah of Bhurtpore and the dignity of the British government. He at the same time issued a proclamation addressed to the Jaut population, calling on them to rise in defence of their lawful sovereign, and setting forth that British troops were advancing to rescue Bulwunt Singh from his hands; that they

would assemble at Muttra, whither the resident had CHAP. XXVI.
repaired for the purpose of advancing and superintending the requisite preparations.

These acts were strongly disapproved by the governor-general in council, and orders were issued peremptorily directing the resident to countermand the instructions which he had given for the march of troops, and to cause them to halt within the British territory. Before these orders were transmitted, it was reported that Doorjun Saul professed to disclaim any intention to usurp the throne; that he had been driven to the course which he had taken by the repeated indignities which he had received from the maternal uncle of the Rajah, who had assumed the office of guardian and prime minister, and that he had acted throughout in concert with many of his tribe, who disapproved the administration which he had overthrown, and had invited him to establish a new one. On the receipt of this intelligence, the government resolved to order not merely the halt of the British troops, but their immediate return to their respective stations. They determined also to direct the resident to recall his proclamation, or neutralize its effect by another, declaring that, as Doorjun Saul had disavowed all intention of seizing the throne, the advance of the British troops had been countermanded, and that an inquiry into the cause of the commotion at Bhurtpore would be instituted. In the conduct of this inquiry, the orders of the government required that the resident should cautiously abstain from

HAP. XXVI. adopting measures or making declarations likely to
— commit the British government to any particular course of policy which might involve the necessity of resorting to arms, until after the whole matter should have been fully investigated and maturely weighed. The reasons assigned for the course taken by the government were the following:— That nothing but a case of most indisputable emergency could justify bringing into the field the small force at the time disposable in Upper India, and when the hot winds had actually commenced, engaging in fresh hostilities, the duration and extent of which it was impossible to calculate with any certainty; that they could not view the occurrences at Bhurtpore as constituting such a case of emergency; that they were not prepared to admit the existence of any engagement, express or implied, binding the British government to support the succession of the rightful heir to the Bhurtpore raj by an immediate resort to arms at all hazards, and without reference to time, circumstances, or considerations of general expediency; that Sir David Ochterlony had acted upon imperfect and unsatisfactory information regarding the real facts of the case; that he had not called on Doorjun Saul for any explanation of his views and conduct, and that, consequently, it was not known what plea he might have to offer in vindication of the apparent violence of his proceedings, nor what object he professed to have in view in exciting the disturbance; that it might turn out that he only claimed to exer-

rise the regency during the minority of the Rajah, CHAP. XXVI.
in preference to the prince's relations by the female side, and that to this office it was likely he possessed the best title, though his manner of asserting it had been violent and irregular. The intelligence received pending the consideration of the orders to be issued to the resident was referred to as strongly confirming the views of the government on this last point.

The instructions for the suspension of military preparations and the withdrawal of the troops which had moved were followed by others, animadverting with some severity on the imperfect manner in which the proceedings of the British resident at Bhurtpore, previously to the death of the late Rajah, had been reported, and on the investiture of the young Rajah without positive and distinct authority; a proceeding which it was represented placed the government in the embarrassing dilemma of either disavowing the acts of its representative, or plunging into hostilities in Hindostan at a season unfavourable for military operations, and objectionable with reference to the state of the war then waging with the state of Ava.

Before these instructions reached Sir David Ochterlony, he had received a mission dispatched by Doorjun Saul for the alleged purpose of explaining his views and pretensions to the representative of the British government. The answer of Sir David Ochterlony was, that the only course which appeared to him likely to satisfy the British government was for Doorjun Saul to come to the British camp

HAP. XXVI. with the infant Rajah in his hand, and deliver him to the resident's care, with a public and solemn assurance of his own fidelity and obedience to the prince. A reference to Bhurtpore followed, but before any answer was obtained, the later orders of the governor-general in council were received by the British resident. He replied to them with great warmth, affirming that the military preparations which he had made were of such a nature as to justify the expectation that Bhurtpore would fall in a fortnight after the British force should appear before it; that even if the young Rajah had not been acknowledged as the legal successor to the throne, he could not have supposed that the British government would tolerate the usurpation of the prince's rights by others; and that, after such acknowledgment, it was not to be believed that principle was to be made to yield to expediency and the dictates of timid policy calculated to defeat its own ends and purposes. The usurpation, he represented, would not have been attempted but under the "strongly prevalent impression" that the British were unable to chastise insolence and support right; and whether or not this error should be refuted was not with him, he added, a question for a moment. The pretensions of Doorjun Saul, he alleged, were originally directed to the throne, though subsequently they might have been modified; but whatever they might be, he declared that it never entered his imagination that, with reference to the manner in which the power of that person had been acquired, it could have been

recognized in any form until such concessions should be made as it might become the British government, in the high and commanding position which it maintained, to accept. CHAP. XXVI.

About this time the mother of Buldeo Singh, alarmed by the military preparations made by the resident, addressed to him a proposal not very dissimilar to that which had been offered by the vakeels of Doorjun Saul. It was to the effect that she should be declared Regent, but Doorjun Saul intrusted with the administration of the state under the title of mooktar. The lady proposed, in the first instance, to wait herself on Sir David Ochterlony; then to send Doorjun Saul to hold an interview with him at a spot half-way between Malwa and Bhurtpore; and lastly, that the British resident should proceed in person to the latter place, there to enter on an amicable discussion of the matters in dispute. Several letters were interchanged, but no meeting took place, and nothing resulted from the correspondence. Whether the proposal was a mere expedient to gain time and postpone the apprehended attack on the city, or whether its abortive termination was caused in any degree by the change of purpose enforced upon the resident, it is impossible to decide.

Sir David Ochterlony, in acknowledging the orders in which the change originated, and after vindicating his own views and actions in the mode already stated, said: "The only way left me to proceed is by making an explicit declara-

AP.XXVI. tion, that my proceedings from first to last have been condemned by the right honourable the governor-general, who, however he may disapprove of Doorjun Saul's violent proceedings, is willing to suppose there may have been some extenuating circumstances, and will consent to recognize his claim to the mooktaree, provided, on a full and faithful statement, he is found to have suffered hardships or indignities from the deceased mooktar" (who had perished in the disturbances), "and has, as he asserts, really the voice and wishes of the Mabjee, and the majority of the tribe. I shall state that I have acted hitherto on erroneous conceptions of what would be his lordship's sentiments; but being now in possession of these, I lose no time in communicating them, as freely as I should if they had conveyed an approbation of my measures."* He did not precisely follow this model, but his communication to Doorjun Saul did not differ from it very widely. It was as follows:—"Having informed the governor-general of the state of affairs at Bhurt-pore soon after my arrival at Muttra, I have received his commands, which are to this effect:—that as Rajah Bulwunt Singh is acknowledged to be the heir of the guddee,† it will be proper, previously to any further proceedings, that I should make very particular inquiry into past events, and report them faithfully to the Sudder;‡ when his lordship will determine, on deliberate investigation,

* Letter to Secretary to Government, 15th of April, 1825.

† Throne.

‡ Head or chief.

what measures should take place for the future arrangement during his minority. In consequence of these orders and the time which will elapse before his lordship can form a decision on this subject, I have ordered the troops to return to their respective stations, and shall wait his ultimate orders. As this order will obviate the necessity of any further negotiation between us at present, I give you the intimation; but I recommend you, as a friend, to send a very intelligent, respectable, and confidential person to explain all the circumstances that have taken place to Calcutta, without depending on my intervention.”* In communicating to government a copy of this letter, Sir David Ochterlony reasserted the propriety of his previous course of action with the same warmth which he had constantly manifested in its defence. He said, “As many letters have been received from various quarters which explicitly announce the instructions I have received by express, I feel it useless to struggle longer against events;” and after calling attention to the copy of the intended communication to Doorjun Saul, he continued, “In transmitting this document, I beg leave respectfully to offer my resignation to his lordship in council, as, however sorry I may be that my measures have not been honoured with the approbation of his lordship in council, I should be guilty of falsehood if I acknowledged any conviction of their incorrectness or impropriety, thinking, as I did, that every moment’s delay was submission to disgrace, and feeling, as I

* Letter to Doorjun Saul, 25th of April, 1825.

CHAP. XXVI. do, that a few days' delay in the arrival of your express would have brought matters to an amicable and honourable conclusion."*

After this, Sir David Ochterlony returned to his usual place of residence, near Delhi, where he received a visit from a gooroo, or priest, of high influence at Bhurtpore. Some conversation took place respecting the terms of an arrangement, remarkable only on account of the new ground taken up by the representative of the ruling party at Bhurtpore. He considered that Bhurtpore was not a principality, but a zemindary, recently established by force of arms, and that according to the rules of the jauts, as well as to the laws of Hindoo inheritance, the dominion ought to have been equally shared among the sons and heirs. In what manner this position was intended to be applied is not very clear, as it seems that the gooroo only required that his employer, Doorjun Saul, should be nominated by Sir David Ochterlony to the office of mooktar. To speculate, however, on the intentions or the instruments of native diplomacy, is for the most part a waste of time, its tortuous character defying the efforts of the most minute and careful consideration.

The resident proposed to the gooroo three conditions, to which he recommended Doorjun Saul to subscribe, as being calculated to secure a favourable decision of the British government. They were to the effect that Doorjun Saul should recognize the right of Bulwunt Singh to the sovereignty

* Letter to Secretary to Government, 25th of April, 1825.

by his acts as amply as he had already done by his letters; that his claim to the mooktaree should be left for the decision of the governor-general in council; and that, if demanded by the British government, a sum not exceeding five lacs of rupees should be paid for the expenses incurred by the late military preparations. The probability of obtaining such terms, more especially the promise of reimbursement for putting in motion a military force which had retired without the slightest attempt to effect its purpose, is a point that can require no discussion or observation. The proposal of the resident was met by a counter-proposal, the chief point in which was the immediate appointment by Sir David Ochterlony of Doorjun Saul to the mooktaree. These communications were followed by no result, and they might be passed over without notice, were it not for the fact that the occasion of reporting them was seized by the resident as an opportunity for returning to the vindication of his own conduct, with a degree of indignant feeling not inferior to that displayed by him when he first became aware that his acts were disapproved. "I have ever considered," said he, "that the hour of necessity or the call of honour fixed the time of military operations. It was on this principle that in my youth we kept the field for three years against Hyder, knowing no repose but in the rains, when the country was equally impassable to the enemy and to us. It was on this principle that Lord Lake took the field in the height of the rains of 1803,

CHAP. XXVI. and remained during all the hot winds of 1804 under canvas in the hottest country in Hindustan, Jeypoor. According to the new doctrine, the resentment of an insult, and the punishment of crime, are to be suspended from March to November, and in many cases vengeance, though delayed, would not be less severe or less exemplary; but there are others, and particularly those where the eyes and minds of men have been strongly and earnestly directed, where the general effort is lessened or lost by the least delay, quite independent of the consideration of affording time to strengthen that which was weak, and thereby adding to the difficulties and obstacles always opposed to attacks, and particularly to siege operations."* After observing that the renown of the fortress of Bhurtpore, and the previous failure of the British arms to reduce it, afforded additional reasons for vigorous measures, Sir David Ochterlony proceeded to justify his conduct with regard to the investiture of the young Rajah during the life of his father. His argument is, that as it was an understood fact that the boy was the son and heir apparent of the reigning prince, the possible ground for hesitation suggested by the governor-general in council did not exist, and that no notice having been taken of his explanation upon this point, he could not but conclude that it was satisfactory. After some remarks on the internal affairs of Bhurtpore, Sir David Ochterlony thus proceeded: "If I had fortunately possessed

* Letter to Secretary to Government, 11th of May, 1825.

the confidence of government, it would, perhaps, have CHAP. XXVI.
 been thought that Calcutta was not exactly the
 place to form a judgment on these matters, and it
 might have been conjectured that, with fifty years'
 experience, I was not a very inadequate judge of
 the general impression delay would cause, and how
 far it was wise, politic, or imperative, to remove cer-
 tain prevalent opinions. As a soldier, too, I might
 have received credit for so much common sense
 and discretion as would enable me to appreciate
 whether my means were equal to the end, provided
 my hopes were disappointed as a politician in pro-
 ducing such apprehensions, as of themselves would
 prevent an appeal to arms, with an equal degree of
~~boldt~~ and honour almost as would have resulted
 from the capture of the place."*

The feeling of Sir David Ochterlony, that the period
 for his retirement had arrived, seems to have been
 shared by the government. "Being fully impressed,"
 said the governor-general in council, addressing the
 Court of Directors, "that his advanced age and
 continually increasing infirmities rendered his re-
 tirement from the active and laborious employment
 which he had so long filled with the highest dis-
 tinction, a measure no less desirable on the public
 account than necessary for his own personal relief
 and recovery, we did not oppose the execution of the
 above purpose,"†—that of retirement. Some mo-

* Letter to Secretary to Government.

† Letter from Government of Bengal to Court of Directors,
 1st of October, 1825.

CHAP. XXVI. dification with regard to the office held by Sir David Ochterlony took place. The duties connected with Malwa were transferred to another officer, while those of Rajpootana were allotted to Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was appointed to the residency of Delhi, an office which he had formerly held. It was the intention of the government to recommend that Sir David Ochterlony's services should be acknowledged by the grant of pecuniary provision sufficient to ensure comfort to his retirement; but the execution of this design was frustrated by his death, which took place at Meerut a very short time after his surrender of office.*

* Sir David Ochterlony passed fifty years in the service of the East-India Company, of which he was one of the brightest ornaments. With the more striking qualities of the military character he united another equally necessary for high command—a sound and cautious judgment. He was engaged in most of the wars in India, from those with Hyder Ali downwards. In the operations against Nepaul he was the chief instrument in bringing the war to a happy termination. It is highly creditable to the Bengal government that the differences which had taken place did not render them insensible to the previous merits of Sir David Ochterlony, nor slow to acknowledge them. They are noticed neither coldly nor ungracefully in the following general order issued on the occasion of his death:—

“The right honourable the governor-general in council has learnt, with great sorrow, the demise of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, resident in Malwa and Rajpootana. This melancholy event took place on the morning of the 15th instant at Meerut, whither he had proceeded for the benefit of change of air.

“On the eminent military services of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony it would be superfluous to dilate: they have been acknowledged in terms of the highest praise by successive governments; they justly earned a special and substantial reward from the Honourable East-India Company; they have been

On reviewing the correspondence between Sir David Ochterlony and his government, it is not easy to acquit the former of precipitancy in solemnly recognizing the right of the son of the Rajah, without positive instructions from the authority under which he acted. There was, to all appearance, at the time no pressing necessity for the step; for though the reigning prince laboured under disease which soon proved mortal, his health when the investiture took place was not regarded with any appre-

recognized with expressions of admiration and applause by the British parliament; and they have been honoured with signal marks of the approbation of his sovereign.

"With the name of Sir David Ochterlony are associated many of the proudest recollections of the Bengal army, and to the renown of splendid achievements he added, by the attainment of the highest honours of the military Order of the Bath, the singular felicity of opening to his gallant companions an access to those tokens of royal favour which are the dearest objects of a soldier's ambition.

"The diplomatic qualifications of Sir David Ochterlony were not less conspicuous than his military talents. To an admirably vigorous intellect and consummate address, he united the essential requisites of an intimate knowledge of the native character, language, and manners. The confidence which the government reposed in an individual gifted with such rare endowments was evinced by the high and responsible situations which he successively filled, and the duties of which he discharged with eminent ability and advantage to the public interest.

"As an especial testimony of the high respect in which the character and services of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony are held, and as a public demonstration of sorrow for his demise, the governor-general in council is pleased to direct that minute guns, to the number of sixty-eight, corresponding with his age, be fired this evening at sunset from the ramparts of Fort William."

CHAP. XXVI. hension. This was an error. The subsequent movement of troops in the direction of Bhurtpore can scarcely be so regarded, it being most important to shew that the British government was prepared to support the prince to whom its faith was pledged, and to afford the required support not only vigorously but promptly. At the same time it must be allowed, that the government might entertain some misgiving as to the probability of success in an attack on Bhurtpore, should it become necessary. The effects of defeat, at all times perilous, would have been doubly so while the British government were engaged in a war carried on at a distance, and in which its course of success had not been without check. On the other hand, it is due to Sir David Ochterlony to give him the advantage of his own declaration, that he hoped to be able to effect his object by the terror consequent on the approach of a large force. All hope of this was necessarily frustrated by the order for the troops to withdraw to their usual stations; an order calculated to feed the prevailing confidence in the impregnability of Bhurtpore, and induce a belief that the British shrunk from undertaking the task of reducing it. If it were thought imprudent to make the attempt without an addition of force, that addition might have been provided, and the troops already assembled ordered to await its advance. The state of the season was a point not unworthy of consideration; but the blame cast upon Sir David Ochterlony for undue haste in not having tried the

effect of negotiation, previously to calling in the aid of a military force, appears undeserved. Such a force was the best possible instrument for rendering negotiation effectual. The apologetic suggestions offered for Doorjun Saul, the indulgence with which his conduct was viewed, and the belief that any satisfactory arrangement could be effected with that person by means of discussion and explanation, unaided by that which in the East is an indispensable auxiliary to discussion and explanation, seem altogether unwarranted by any thing in the circumstances of the case. If there was somewhat too much of decision on the one side, it can scarcely be questioned that there was more than a sufficiency of doubt and hesitation on the other. Long accustomed to the exercise of great power, and entertaining, not without reason, considerable confidence in the results of his own experience, Sir David Ochterlony was perhaps inclined to stretch the exercise of his authority to an extent of independence which few persons intrusted with superintending and controlling power would approve—to which few would calmly submit. But while this cannot be denied, it would almost seem that a desire of thwarting the resident on every point was thereby engendered in the authority to which he was accountable, and that this desire was suffered to operate to a very injurious degree.

CHAP. XXVI.

In the month of June the situation of Bhurtpore became still more distracted than before, by a quarrel which arose between Doorjun Saul and his

A.D. 1825.

CHAP. XXVI. brother, Madhoo Singh, with whom he had previously acted in concert, and who was believed to have been the chief instigator of his proceedings. Madhoo Singh attempted to seize the fort of Bhurtpore and the person of his brother; but failing in this, he retired early in July to the strong fortress of Deeg, established his authority over the surrounding country, collected troops, and repulsed, with considerable slaughter, some detachments sent by Doorjun Saul to reduce him to subjection. This state of affairs invited a great influx of armed men from the adjacent districts, some of which were under the direct authority of the British government. When numbers of persons are at once anxious for military service, and careless as to the chief under whom they may find it, it is comparatively easy to collect an army; and where, either from inability or avarice, the disbursement of pay is neglected, the deficiency is readily supplied by resort to the prescriptive practice of plunder. Thus it was in Bhurtpore. Among those attracted thither by the cry of war was a considerable body of Mahrattas, who crossed the Chumbul, from Scindia's country, and joined Madhoo Singh at Deeg. With these adventurers plunder was but an ordinary mode of subsistence, and with such supporters it could not be doubted that Madhoo Singh would become as bitter a scourge to his neighbours as to the country of which he had taken possession. The magistrate of Agra, in advising his government of the immigration of Mahrattas which had taken place into Bhurtpore, and the

probability that more would follow, added, "Ma-
dhoo Singh has not, I am informed, the means of
supplying his troops, and he is reduced to great dis-
tress for want of provisions. If he should not suc-
ceed in making peace with his brother, it is to be
feared that he may place himself at the head of his
rabble, and commence a system of plundering which
is not likely to be confined to the Bhurtpore coun-
try." This is indeed a natural step in the progress
of an Indian adventurer disappointed in the attempt
to establish a more respectable authority. At the
time when this communication was made, the fact
had indeed ceased to be matter of expectation; for
Madhoo Singh's troops had paid a visit to a village
belonging to the Rajah of Alwar, and relieved the
inhabitants from the care of every article of property
that admitted of ready transport.

The situation of Bhurtpore, and the dangers with
which that situation was fraught to the territories
of the British government, as well as to those of its
allies and dependents, now pressed strongly on the
attention of the governor-general in council; but
their views as to the proper line of policy were
not unanimous. Three members of council, Mr.
Fendall, Mr. Harrington, and the commander-in-
chief, Sir Edward Paget, recorded their opinions in
favour of the interference of the British government,
as well with reference to its own security, and to
the probability that the prolongation of disturb-
ances in Bhurtpore might kindle the flame of war
throughout Rajpootana, Malwa, and Delhi, as to

CHAP. XXVI. the claim of the youthful Rajah to protection. The danger of a general war was emphatically dwelt upon by Mr. Fendall, who took occasion to advert to the possibility of the powers whose thrones had fallen before the British arms taking advantage of events to endeavour to regain what they had lost. Mr. Harrington was earnest to vindicate the course which he recommended from the imputation of being at variance with orders from home against interference in the internal affairs of native states. Such vindication scarcely appears necessary, but it was certainly successfully executed. After advertising to opinions which he had formerly recorded, he proceeded: "I will only add, at this time, that the prohibitory orders of the authorities in England against interference in the ordinary administration of states in alliance with the British government, do not appear to me applicable to the case of Bhurtpore, in which we are not called upon to interfere by power or influence, for the better government of a country in a state of internal tranquillity, and under the rule of its lawful sovereign. The legitimate successor to the raj of Bhurtpore, who was recognized as such by the representative of the British government during the life of the late Rajah, has been forcibly deprived of his indisputable right by an usurper, and the country has been since in a state of disorder, which threatens to involve other native states (as noticed by Mr. Fendall), if not prevented by the timely exercise of that paramount authority, which, for the furtherance of general security and

prosperity, is now happily vested in the British government. If in such a case we should be justified in leaving the young Rajah to his fate, and his country to be usurped by whoever may in the end prove the strongest of the contending insurgents, I really know not any circumstance short of a positive obligation by treaty which can be considered to justify either past or future interference in any of the native states which are in alliance with us, or which have hitherto been deemed entitled to protection, as well from internal commotion as from external aggression, both tending to disturb the general tranquillity of India." The commander-in-chief restricted his approbation of interference to the ground of the danger to which the British government was exposed by the probable extension of disturbances beyond the boundaries of Bhurt-pore. To avert this danger, he recommended the assemblage of a military force near Muttra, at the termination of the rainy season. After advertising to the possible success of negotiation in effecting the emancipation of the infant prince, and expressing confidence in the talents of Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir Edward Paget pithily added, "Meanwhile, negotiations are very apt to thrive when backed by a good army."

The governor-general stood aloof. He was decidedly opposed to the views entertained by Mr. Fendall and Mr. Harrington, and, to a certain extent, by the commander-in-chief. He thought it inexpedient to interfere in the internal concerns of

CHAP. XXVI. Bhurtpore, and argued that such interference was not called for by the treaty, nor had ever been practically exercised, except in acknowledging, when invited, the lawful successor to the raj. To this extent he was desirous of limiting the interference of the British government, more especially with reference to the probability that a contrary course might involve the necessity of undertaking the siege of the fortress of Bhurtpore. "I am not aware," he observed, "that the existence of that fortress has occasioned to us the slightest inconvenience during the last twenty years." His lordship was opposed to making any overtures to Doorjun Saul, as, if they should be rejected, the issue would be that the British government had exposed itself unnecessarily to slight; and if they should be accepted, the British government would be bound to support Doorjun Saul against his brother, and to attack Madhoo Singh in the fortress of Deeg. The safety of the young Rajah, his lordship thought, was most likely to be secured by abstaining from interference. He thought the life of the prince important to Doorjun Saul, under the circumstances that existed; he apprehended that interference might have the effect of uniting the brothers, and causing the sacrifice of the Rajah. The occurrence of danger to the Company's territories his lordship admitted to be a cause for interference, but acts of aggression from either party he regarded as unlikely. He assented to the propriety of assembling a force at Muttra, as recommended by the commander-in-chief, but ex-

pressed a hope that this measure, and the presence of Sir Charles Metcalfe at Delhi, would prevent the “embers bursting forth in a flame.”

Such were the respective views of the governor-general and the members of council, as recorded a short time after the death of Sir David Ochterlony.* On the arrival of Sir Charles Metcalfe in Calcutta,† preparatory to assuming the duties of resident at Delhi, all the reports and documents connected with the affair of Bhurtpore were referred to him for perusal, with an intimation that it was the wish of the government that he should state his opinions, both on the general question of interference and on the specific measures to be adopted in the existing juncture. This he did in a very elaborate, though not a very lengthy paper, delivered to the government at the latter end of the month of August. It is difficult to give a satisfactory account of the views embodied in this masterly exposition of the true policy of the British government, from the fact that every sentence is so pregnant with meaning as scarcely to admit of abridgement.

A. D. 1825.

Sir Charles Metcalfe commenced by referring to the general rule of non-interference, and to the constantly recurring necessity of disregarding it in practice. He proceeded—“We have by degrees

* The four minutes were recorded respectively on the 23rd and 26th of July, and the 3rd and 6th of August, Sir David Ochterlony having died on the 15th of the former month.

† Sir Charles Metcalfe was previously resident at the court of the Nizam.

CHAP. XXVI. become the paramount state of India. Although we exercised the powers of this supremacy in many instances before 1817, we have used and asserted them more generally since the extension of our influence by the events of that and the following year. It then became an established principle of our policy to maintain tranquillity among the states of India, and to prevent the anarchy and misrule which were likely to disturb the general peace." After referring to instances in illustration of this statement, Sir Charles Metcalfe proceeded thus: "In the case of succession to a principality, it seems clearly incumbent on us, with reference to this principle, to refuse to acknowledge any but the lawful successor, as otherwise we should throw the weight of our power into the scale of usurpation and injustice. Our influence is too pervading to admit of neutrality, and sufferance would operate as support." The questions actually at issue in the case of Bhurtpore were subsequently adverted to in an abstract form. "If," said Sir Charles Metcalfe, "the prince be a minor, the constitution of each state will point out the proper person to exercise the powers of regency during the minority, and that person, for the time, must stand in the place of the prince. Such misrule may possibly occur as will compel us to interfere, either for the interests of the minor prince or for the preservation of general tranquillity, the existence of which is endangered by anarchy. In such an extreme case the deposition of the culpable regency, and the nomination of another according to

the custom of the state, with full powers, would be CHAP. XXVI.
preferable to the appointment of a minister with
our support under the regency, for this latter ar-
rangement can hardly fail to produce either a
divided and inefficient government or an odious
usurpation." After limiting the right of interfer-
ence by the British government to the states to-
wards which it stands in the relation of a superior
and a protector, it was observed that, with regard to
those states, "we cannot be indifferent spectators
of long-continued anarchy therein, without ulti-
mately giving up India again to the pillage and
confusion from which we rescued her in 1817 and
1818." Most justly did Sir Charles Metcalfe then
proceed to apply the experience of the past as a
warning for the future. "We attempted," he con-
tinued, "to act on the principle of non-interference
after the peace of 1806; we had succeeded to Scin-
dia, as lord paramount of the states between the
Sutleje and the Jumna, but we abstained from ex-
ercising the authority which we had acquired. Some
of those states had internal dissensions which they
called on us to settle. We replied, that it was con-
trary to our system to interfere in the affairs of
other states. The disappointed parties applied to
Runjeet Singh. He was not loath, and after feeling
his way cautiously, and finding no opposition from
us, gradually extended his power and influence over
the whole country between the Sutleje and the
Jumna. It became the principal business of our
negotiation with him, in 1808 and 1809, to remedy

CHAP. XXVI. this mischief by throwing his power back beyond the Suttleje, which was accomplished with considerable difficulty, great reluctance on his part, and a near approach to war." Having laid down a series of general principles (some of which have been quoted at length), Sir Charles Metcalfe found no difficulty in applying them to the existing circumstances of Bhurtpore. "We are bound," said he, "not by any positive engagement to the Bhurtpore state, nor by any claim on her part, but by our duty as supreme guardians of general tranquillity, law, and right, to maintain the legal succession of Rajah Bulwunt Singh to the raj of Bhurtpore, and we cannot acknowledge any other pretender. This duty seems to me to be so imperative, that I do not attach any peculiar importance to the late investiture of the young Rajah in the presence of Sir David Ochterlony. We should have been equally bound without that ceremony, which, if we had not been under a pre-existing obligation to maintain the rightful succession, would not have pledged us to any thing beyond acknowledgment. The lawful Rajah established, Bhurtpore may be governed, during his minority, by a regency, such as the usages of that state would prescribe. How this should be composed can only be decided by local reference. Doorjun Saul having unquestionably usurped the raj, seems to be necessarily excluded from any share in the regency or administration; and his banishment from the state, with a suitable provision, will probably be indispensable for the safety of the young Rajah; the more so, if, as I

suppose, Doorjun Saul, by the custom of that state, CHAP. XXVI.
is next in succession to Rajah Bulwunt Singh,
and, consequently, the actual heir presumptive to
the guddee." After discussing the claims of Mad-
hoo Singh, to whom, on the whole, the writer of
the memorandum was more favourable, he returns
to Doorjun Saul, whose usurpation, if persisted in,
must, he declares, be put down by force of arms;
but, under any circumstances, he continued to main-
tain that the usurper must be excluded from power.
"Doorjun Saul," said he, "finding us determined to
support the right of the young Rajah, may propose
to relinquish his usurpation of the raj, and stipu-
late for confirmation in the regency. This would
be a continuation, in a modified shape, of the usur-
pation which he effected by violence, in contempt
of our supremacy. It would not be possible to
obtain any security for the safety of the young
Rajah, if Doorjun Saul, who is either the next
heir, or at least a pretender to the raj, were
regent."

Sir Charles Metcalfe then shewed that, waiving
these objections, such an arrangement was not likely
to secure the peace of the country, and observed,
"We are not called upon to support either brother;
and if we must act by force, it would seem to be
desirable to banish both." He contended, however,
that all that could at that time be determined with
certainty was, that the Rajah, Bulwunt Singh, must
be maintained, and a proper regency established;
adding that every other point was open to discussion,

CHAP. XXVI. and that a nearer view of the scene might probably suggest plans not likely to occur at a distance. The paper which has been so amply quoted contained, in addition to the exposition of the author's views as to Bhurtpore, some observations on the position of the British government with regard to Alwar and Jyepoor, with both which states some causes of difference had arisen. These, however, being comparatively of little interest, may be passed over; but some remarks on the possibility of war being unavoidable are too instructive to be omitted. "Desirable as it undoubtedly is," said Sir Charles Metcalfe, "that our differences with all these states should be settled without having recourse to arms, there will not be wanting sources of consolation if we be compelled to that extremity. In each of the states our supremacy has been violated or slighted, under a persuasion that we were prevented by entanglements elsewhere from efficiently resenting the indignity. A display and vigorous exercise of our power, if rendered necessary, would be likely to bring back men's minds in that quarter to a proper tone, and the capture of Bhurtpore, if effected in a glorious manner, would do us more honour throughout India, by the removal of the hitherto unfaded impressions caused by our former failure, than any other event that can be conceived."

The reasoning of Sir Charles Metcalfe, aided probably by the influence of his high character for ability, uprightness, and independence, appears to have produced effects which could hardly have been anti-

icipated. The governor-general seems to have consented not only to shape his course of policy in accordance with the suggestions of the memorandum, but even to have been to a great degree convinced by its arguments. In recording his change of views, he said, "I have hitherto entertained the opinion that our interference with other states should be limited to cases of positive injury to the Honourable Company, or of immediate danger thereof. In that opinion I have reason to believe that I am not supported by the servants of the Honourable Company most competent to judge of its interests, and best acquainted with the circumstances of this country: I should, therefore, have hesitated in acting upon my own judgment in opposition to others; but I am further free to confess, that my own opinion has undergone some change, and that I am disposed to think that a system of non-interference, which appears to have been tried and to have failed in 1806, would be tried with less probability of success, and would be exposed to more signal failure, after the events which have occurred and the policy which has been pursued during the last nineteen or twenty years. A much greater degree of interference than was formerly called for appears to have resulted from the situation in which we were placed by the pacification of 1818. It might be a hazardous experiment to relax in the exercise of that paramount authority which our extended influence in Malwa and Rajpootana specially has imposed upon us. Applying

CHAP. XXVI. these general principles to the particular cases before us, and believing that without direct interference on our part there is a probability of very extended disturbances in the Upper Provinces, I am prepared, in the first place, to maintain by force of arms, if necessary, the succession of Bulwunt Singh to the raj of Bhurtpore." On the respective claims of Doorjun Saul and his brother to favour, the governor-general was less decided, and he inclined to keep open the door for reconciliation with the former. "It is enough, however, at present," he observed, "to determine the leading point that the succession of Bulwunt Singh shall be maintained."

A. D. 1825. The great obstacle to the adoption of a decided course of policy in regard to Bhurtpore being thus removed, a resolution was passed by the governor-general in council, on the 18th of September, declaratory of the intentions of government. It is remarkable on account, not so much of the measures which it announced, for these might have been looked for as the natural results of the state of opinion and feeling which prevailed among the members of the government, but for the bold and unhesitating avowal of principles, the acknowledgment of which had, up to that period, been studiously avoided. Thus ran the most important part of the resolution:—"Impressed with a full conviction that the existing disturbances at Bhurtpore, if not speedily quieted, will produce general commotion and interruption of the public tranquillity in Upper India, and feeling convinced that it is our solemn duty, no less than

our right, as the paramount power and conservators of the general peace, to interfere for the prevention of these evils, and that these evils will be best prevented by the maintenance of the succession of the rightful heir to the raj of Bhurtpore, whilst such a course will be in strict consistency with the uniform practice and policy of the British government in all analogous cases, the governor-general in council resolves that authority be conveyed to Sir C. T. Metcalfe to accomplish the above object, if practicable, by expostulation and remonstrance; and, should these fail, by a resort to measures of force." No instructions or suggestions were given to Sir Charles Metcalfe to regulate his proceedings; he was left to the unfettered exercise of his own judgment and discretion. Moreover, his views as to the final arrangement of the affairs of the Bhurtpore state were adopted and embodied in the resolution as those which, in the existing state of their information, the government deemed most worthy of being entertained. "At present," it was declared, "the governor-general in council contemplates the expulsion of Doorjun Saul from the state of Bhurtpore, with a suitable provision for his maintenance, and the formation of a regency according to the laws and usages of the state, in which he shall not be included, as the necessary consequence of his violence and usurpation, no less than as indispensable for the future safety of the young prince, Bulwunt Singh.—Whether Madhoo Singh shall be similarly excluded

CHAP. XXVI.

CHAP. XXVI. or not, will depend in some measure on the share he may take in the transaction now about to open, and may remain a subject for future discussion."

It will be unnecessary to pursue minutely the proceedings of Sir Charles Metcalfe in attempting to settle the affairs of Bhurtpore by negotiation. It will be sufficient to say that they did not succeed. Doorjun Saul revived his claim to the throne, founded on a pretended appointment by a former Rajah, the falsehood of the allegation being proved by the very circumstances referred to in support of its truth;* while occasionally he held language

* The statement of Doorjun Saul was as follows:—"The deceased Maharajah Burjindee Bundheer Sing treated me from my infancy as his own child, had me educated entirely under his own eye, and on all great occasions, when he received visits from chieftains of rank, or went forth into public, I invariably accompanied him. When, by the will of the Almighty, he was afflicted with blindness and other severe bodily ailments, which entirely destroyed his health, he executed a *bukhghish namek* (deed of gift) under his own seal, with the signature affixed of all his relations and the principal chiefs of the state, which he intrusted to his rannee, the Maha rannee Luchmee, and it was determined that the customary forms and ceremonies connected therewith should be performed on the principal day of *Dussera* festival. The above facts were well known to the former governor-general, and to all the English gentlemen who were in his suite at the time of the interview at Futtehpore, when I also was honoured with the grant of a *khelaut*. Fate so willed it, that the Maharajah died suddenly a few days before the *Dussera*, when the Maharajah Buldeo Singh violently and unjustly seized the raj." The circumstantiality with which the pretender sought to add to the credibility of his story, unfortunately for him, affords the means for its refutation. He alleges that the deed in his favour was executed at a time when the Rajah Bundheer Singh was suffering under "blindness and severe bodily ailments, which entirely destroyed

which seemed to indicate submission. Though CHAP. XXVI. supposed to be a man of timid feelings, he evinced little fear, and his firmness was probably sustained by the apathy generally manifested as to the claims of the rightful prince. It was known to all that he was a usurper, and his character exhibited little that was calculated to win popular favour; but he commanded on one point, the sympathy of the people. This was observed by Sir Charles Metcalfe, and thus noticed in one of his communications to the governor-general in council:—"The right of Rajah Bulwunt Singh is unquestioned and unquestionable, and it seems wonderful that, with so bad a cause, Doorjun Saul should be able to think of opposition to a predominant power which seeks only to render justice to the lawful prince. But notwithstanding the injus-

his health," and he affirms that the sudden death of the Rajah a few days before the *Dussera*, at which the customary forms and ceremonies were to be performed, gave opportunity for defeating his claim, while he fixes the date of the transactions as coincident with the meeting at Futtehpore, if not prior to it, as he says the intention of the Rajah, which intention was defeated as above stated, was well known to the English present at that meeting. The consistency of the tale with itself, and the degree of credit due to it, are shewn by the following facts. The meeting at Futtehpore took place in February, 1815, when the Rajah was labouring under no bodily ailments, but was in good health. The death of the Rajah, which, according to Doorjun Saul, prevented the execution of that which was decided on at or before the interview at Futtehpore, did not occur till late in the year 1823, nearly nine years after that interview. The exposure of the bungling construction of the story is of little importance, excepting as it tends to illustrate the facility with which, in India, evidence is manufactured whenever it is wanted.

CHAP. XXVI. tice of the usurpation, which every one admits, he will probably receive support from the circumstance of his placing himself in opposition to the British government as the defender of Bhurtpore. It must be known to the right honourable the governor-general in council that this fortress is considered throughout India as an insuperable check to our power, and the person who undertakes to hold it against us will be encouraged in his venture by its former successful defence, and by the good wishes of all who dislike our ascendancy, whatever may be the injustice of his cause."* Here lay the secret of his strength and of his confidence. He felt safe in possession of the unyielding fortress of Bhurtpore, and he gained support by his disposition to defend it.

The period was rapidly approaching when the impregnability of the fortress and the resolution of its usurping master were to be tested. A vast force was advancing upon it under the command of Lord Combermere, who had succeeded Sir Edward Paget in the office of commander-in-chief in India.†

* Letter to the Secretary to Government, 24th of June, 1825.

† The army assembled on this occasion was divided and brigaded as follows:—

Division of Cavalry, under Brigadier-General Sleigh, C.B.—1st brigade, his Majesty's 16th Lancers, the 6th, 8th, and 1st extra regiments Light Cavalry, Brigadier G. W. Murray, C.B., to command.—2nd brigade, his Majesty's 11th Dragoons, the 3rd, 4th, and 2nd extra regiments Light Cavalry, Brigadier M. Childers to command. First Division of Infantry, under Major-General T. Reynell, C.B., consisting of the 1st, 4th, and 5th brigades:—1st brigade, his Majesty's 14th Foot, the 23rd and 63rd Native Infantry, Brigadier-General J. McCoombe.—4th brigade,

On the 25th of November Sir Charles Metcalfe CHAP. XXVI.
 issued a proclamation denouncing the pretensions A. D. 1825.
 of Doorjun Saul, and declaring the intention of the

British government to support the interests of the
 rightful prince. On the 5th of December Lord
 Combermere's head-quarters were at Muttra. On
 the 6th he had an interview with Sir Charles Met-
 calfe, and having ascertained that no political reason
 existed for delaying the movements of the troops, he
 ordered the second division of infantry, commanded
 by Major-General Nicolls, with the first brigade of
 cavalry and a detachment of Skinner's local horse,
 to march from Agra by Danagore to Bhurtpore, and
 to take up a position to the west of the town. The
 first division of infantry, under Major-General Rey-
 nell, with the second brigade of cavalry, and the
 remainder of Skinner's horse, marched by another
 route to take up a position on the north-east of the
 town. With this column the commander-in-chief
 proceeded. The approach of the British force

the 32nd, 41st, and 58th Native Infantry, Brigadier T. White-
 head.—5th brigade, the 6th, 18th, and 60th Native Infantry,
 Brigadier R. Patton, C.B. Second Division of Infantry, under
 Major-General J. Nicolls, C.B., consisting of 2nd, 3rd, and 6th
 brigades.—2nd brigade, his Majesty's 59th Foot, the 11th and
 31st Native Infantry, Brigadier G. McGregor.—3rd brigade, the
 33rd, 36th, and 37th Native Infantry, Brigadier-General J. W.
 Adams, C.B.—6th brigade, the 15th, 21st, and 35th Native Infan-
 try, Brigadier-General W. T. Edwards. Artillery, under Briga-
 dier A. M'Leod, C.B. Battering Train, under Brigadier Hetzler,
 C.B. Horse Artillery and Field Batteries, under Brigadier C.
 Brown. Engineers, under Brigadier T. Anburey, C.B. The field
 of artillery occupied a line of march of fourteen or fifteen miles
 in extent. The force exceeded twenty thousand in number.

CHAP. XXVI. drew forth several letters and deputations from Doorjun Saul, having in all probability no object but to gain time. Sir Charles Metcalfe did not allow them to interfere with the progress of the army, and on the 10th of December the headquarters of the commander-in-chief were before Bhurtpore. Here his lordship's humanity was manifested by the transmission to Doorjun Saul of a proposal for the withdrawal of the women and children from the town, the British general promising them safe conduct through his camp, and allowing twenty-four hours for their departure. An evasive answer being returned, a second communication was made to Doorjun Saul, repeating the proposal and extending the time for embracing it twelve hours beyond the period fixed by the previous offer. This proposal was answered in a similar manner to that by which it had been preceded, and the benevolent purpose of Lord Combermere was thus defeated. Of the honour due to his humanity—an honour exceeding that which the most brilliant victory could have conferred—the brutal perverseness of the enemy could not deprive him.

Several days were occupied in the construction of works. During the progress of these operations a party of about two hundred of the enemy's horse attempted to make their escape; they were intercepted, thirty or forty killed, and upwards of a hundred made prisoners. On the 28th of December the advanced batteries opened. Others were brought into work as they were completed, and by the 4th

of January they had produced visible effect. Still they were insufficient effectually to breach the walls, and on the evening of the 6th a mine was commenced in the escarp of the ditch on the northern face; but unfortunately the work not being sufficiently advanced by daybreak, and the engineers apprehending discovery if their operations were continued, it was prematurely exploded, and produced no material effect. A second attempt to mine was made, but those employed in it were countermined from the interior before they had entered many feet. The gallery was subsequently blown in, it having been discovered that the enemy were keeping watch in it.

A serious accident occurred on the 8th; a shot from the fort set fire to a tumbril, and in consequence about twenty thousand pounds weight of ammunition was destroyed.

On the 14th a mine under one of the bastions was exploded with little advantage. Two others were then driven into the same wall, which were blown on the 16th, with such effect that, with the aid of a day's battering, a sufficient breach was made.

The morning of the 18th was fixed for the assault, which was to be made by two columns, the right commanded by Major-General Reynell, and the left by Major-General Nicolls. The signal was the explosion of a mine in the north-east angle, which took place at eight o'clock with terrible effect. Unfortunately, however, the explosion being in an unexpected direction, several men of General

CHAP. XXVI. Reynell's column were killed, and three officers wounded.* This created a momentary hesitation, but General Reynell giving the word "forward," the whole advanced with perfect steadiness. The enemy made a vigorous resistance, but the British troops proceeded, overcoming all opposition, until they united at the Kombheer gate with the troops of General Nicolls's division. That division had advanced to the left breach, and carried it, although the ascent was excessively steep, and the troops in their progress were annoyed by the guns of the ramparts, which, whenever moveable, the enemy turned upon them. The citadel surrendered about four o'clock. Doorjun Saul attempted to escape with his family, but was intercepted and secured by General Sleigh, commanding the cavalry.

Thus terminated the attempt to interfere with the rightful order of succession in the state of Bhurtpore, and thus were annihilated the boasted pretensions to impregnability of the fortress bearing that name. Those pretensions had been greatly strengthened by the failure of Lord Lake in 1805. Twenty years afterwards, they, with the fortress itself, were levelled with the dust.† The defences

* The commander-in-chief was in great personal danger. An officer standing close beside him was knocked down, and several men were severely injured.

† The fall of Bhurtpore to Lord Combermere and its successful resistance to Lord Lake suggest matter for interesting investigation to the military student. The force at the disposal of Lord Combermere was almost overwhelming, but it must not be overlooked that the mode of opening the way for its operations was

that survived the siege were destroyed, and the place, which had been the watch-word of confidence

CHAP. XXVI.

different in some respects from that formerly employed. The batteries employed in breaching having failed to produce the required effect, recourse was had to breaching by mines. The suggestion of this mode is claimed by Major-General Galloway, of the Bengal army (now a director of the East-India Company), who had, at the former siege of Bhurtpore, commanded the pioneers, a corps then performing the duties of sappers and miners, and who was known also as the writer of a work on the mud forts of India. The nature of General Galloway's claim, and the evidence upon which it is based, will be found in the following extract from a letter addressed by him in February, 1832, to the military secretary to the government of Bengal, in reference to a memorial referring to a point of military promotion.

"I have the honour of stating, that what I have submitted in my memorial has reference to myself as the author of a certain memoir, in which a plan of operations for the siege of Bhurtpore was, on the eve of the approaching siege, in December, 1825, laid by me before the commander-in-chief. This memoir contains a recommendation to breach by mines, and not by artillery: a mode of attack that had not before been adopted in this country, so far as I know; nor I believe, by our army, anywhere, in modern times. This is a point which it is necessary to keep in mind; for otherwise, since its effect has been seen at Bhurtpore, it is apt to appear as a matter-of-course operation, which no one could overlook. I recommended that mode of attack. It was not, at first, adopted: that mode of attack was ultimately had recourse to, and the place fell.

"In submitting the documents in question, it is necessary to explain the circumstances which gave rise to the recommendation to which I have adverted.

"When Lord Combermere arrived in India preparations were making for the siege of Bhurtpore. His lordship was naturally anxious to procure every information regarding it, and I was mentioned to his lordship as one from whom some knowledge of the place might be obtained. It was known that I commanded the

CHAP. XXVI. and hope throughout India, was reduced to the condition of a miserable ruin. With the fall of Bhurt-

pioneers at the former siege, in 1805 ; that I was the author of a work on Indian Fortification, with particular reference to that siege. Major Macan, on his lordship's staff, was the person who introduced me to Lord Combermere, having himself previously had some conversation with me on the subject of the approaching operations.

" At the interview with his lordship, I stated the reasons which induced me to think that, with proper measures, there would be no difficulty in taking the place, and, after a conversation of some length on the subject, and on the state of the provinces at the time, I took the opportunity of observing, that I hoped soon to see his lordship in possession of the fort, and I trusted it would be by force, as I believed that would be the speediest, the most effectual, and the cheapest way of tranquillizing the upper provinces. I understood, by his reply, that his lordship entertained the same opinion.

" With the exception of what passed at this interview, I was not required by the commander-in-chief to furnish any further information. Meantime I had seen, and heard of, various plans which had been submitted by individuals. It is proper to state, however, that I never saw any plan submitted by the engineer who afterwards commanded that corps at Bhurtpore. These plans induced me, on reflection, to think that my suggestions might not be altogether useless : at any rate, entertaining the opinion which I did of those plans, if any thing unfortunate took place, I should bitterly regret that I had not communicated what information I might possess. And I was led to believe that, considering the opportunity I formerly had of knowing the place, the people, and the kind of defence they were likely to make, combined with the experience I had had on such service there, as evinced by the work before alluded to—I was led to believe that, under such circumstances, the sentiments of the author of a work which had been favourably received, both at home and in this country, by the highest military authorities, might be communicated, at least, without giving offence to any one : and this

pore perished all expectation of successfully resist- CHAP. XXVI.
ing the British government. The remaining for-

the more especially as no individual engineer was then nominated to conduct the siege.

"I had long before digested in my own mind the plan of attack; but without having committed the details to writing. There was no time to spare: verbally, therefore, the memoir was hastily drawn up, and with a plan of the fortress, previously in my possession, partly from a sketch I had taken in 1805, it was dispatched by dawk to Major Lockett, deputy military secretary to government, then with the army, who laid it before the commander-in-chief. It reached head-quarters on the 14th or 15th of December, just as the siege commenced. It was sent by Lord Combermere, to the commanding engineer for his opinion. This opinion was given in to the commander-in-chief, it appears, on the 19th; and the autograph remarks of that officer were transmitted to me by Major Lockett, in a letter dated 20th December, 1825, only three days before batteries were erected against the place; so that, I conclude, the plan of operations to be carried on must, by that time, have been formed.

"It was stated in one of the plans given in, to which I have before alluded, that the batteries for breaching, agreeably to the European system, should be placed on the crest of the glacis; and it is in allusion to this that, in my memoir, I have bestowed several paragraphs in dissuading from having the breaching batteries placed there.

"I mention these points because they will serve to explain the remarks of the commanding engineer, by whom they are referred to. Besides specifying what I believed to be the most desirable point of attack, and recommending that the attack should not be confined to a single breach, the memoir gives the operations in detail, of which the following is an outline. To establish numerous and powerful batteries, at the distance of three and four hundred yards, for the purpose, in the first place, of destroying the enemy's defences, to establish a line of fire beyond that, at the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards, consisting of cavalier batteries, cavalier trenches, for musketry and coehorns, in order to secure the command of

CHAP. XXVI. tresses within the dominions of Bhurtpore promptly surrendered, and the Rajah's authority was firmly as well as speedily re-established.

the ditch, and to silence any fire the enemy could produce on the ramparts, so as totally to subdue every impediment to the troops making themselves masters of the ditch ; and eventually to cover, beyond the possibility of doubt, the advance of the columns to storm : so that, in the event of unforeseen obstacles enabling the garrison to offer a desperate resistance, those advanced works might command the breach even after the advance of the column to storm, and might enable it to persevere in, and repeat the assaults, almost without loss : and I quoted the siege of St. Sebastian, by Lord Lyndock, in support of my counsel. This commanding fire being established, if the walls could be rapidly breached and the ditch easily crossed, to employ the batteries in breaching, making several breaches, at least four, and immediately storming, with simultaneous attacks by escalade. But, if it was determined to work into the ditch, and so to allow the enemy time to fortify the breach, I entreated that they would on no account trust to breaching by means of batteries, but by mines, and storm instantaneously through the excavation of the mines. This earnest suggestion is seen ; and it is twice noticed, and is distinctly met by the commanding engineer in the eleventh paragraph of his objections. It was deemed necessary to work into the ditch ; but breaching by batteries was originally adopted, not by mines.

“ Breaching by mines had not been used, so far as I know, in this country ; the blowing in a counterscarp had ; and this appears to have been part of the engineer's plan on the present occasion. But I have so often witnessed the disastrous consequences of the tedious operations of battering, that I could not hesitate to suggest, with the most earnest solicitude, that, under the circumstances stated, they would breach by mines, and not by battering ; and I wrote as follows, repeating the earnest recommendation, as my last words, underlined, so that it might make and leave the stronger impression.

“ Having the power of erecting your batteries in breach on the crest of the glacis, which presupposes your being in command

The reduction of Bhurtpore was the most striking event that occurred during the administration of Earl Amherst, and it was the last of any import- CHAP. XXVI.

of the ditch, and consequently that the bottom of the rampart is accessible, I should conceive it the most injudicious of all measures to breach by means of artillery; for a breach effected by battering is gradually made, and may be, and will be, defended in many ways. The way to open a passage for the troops, in such a case, is not by breaching, but by mining; by blowing up the rampart, and all the preparations to defend it, together, and to storm the place through the excavation of the mine the moment it is sprung. This, indeed, could not fail to be successful; and therefore I would most earnestly recommend breaching by mines in preference to battering.'—Memoir by Colonel Galloway. 'For (it is added) the explosion of a mine not only destroys every thing within its influence, but its moral effect on those against whom it is sprung is so appalling, that they must be overpowered before they can recover from their panic.' And again, the last words of the Memoir :—'These batteries would probably, in two days, destroy the enemy's defences, &c.; but if it be necessary to work into the ditch, and thus indicate the point of attack so long before the assault, then let the breaches in the place be by all means made by mines and not by battering.'

"This memoir, as before stated, was sent by the commander-in-chief to the commanding-engineer, and the remarks of that officer were transmitted to me by Major Lockett, with a letter, dated 'Camp before Bhurtpore, 20th December, 1825,' in which he states, 'I submitted your plan and memoir to the commander-in-chief, who sent it, officially I believe, to the chief engineer for his opinion; and I now send you this opinion in a report which he sent in yesterday.' 'Your plan will not do,' &c.

"Thus my plan of attack appeared to me wholly rejected; and certainly the report itself did not remove that impression. That report commences by stating that the writer 'differed most widely from me.' Mining, however, is the point under discussion; and on that subject, in his remarks on my proposition to breach by mines, the commanding engineer observes, 'whether a breach is made practicable by mine, or breaching battery, is of

CHAP. XXVI. ance. The Rajah of Colapore, a Mahratta prince of profligate character, became involved in disputes

little moment,' &c. 'Every enemy may be supposed to be aware of the efficacy of a breach being mined; and it may consequently, by the assailants, be dreaded, although it cannot be guarded against.' I was not of this opinion. I conceived it could be 'guarded against,' but certainly not by a battered breach; and it was expressly to 'guard against' such, and a variety of other modes of desperately defending a breach, protractedly formed, that I so earnestly entreated the commander-in-chief that he would not breach by battering, but by mines! But how it is possible to reconcile the above with the previous intention of breaching by mines, I cannot conceive. But, farther, the commanding engineer states as follows:—'When it can be done, no one can doubt that a breach made by a mine is preferable to the tedious operation of effecting it by breaching batteries. But many contingencies attend the former method which cannot always be foreseen or guarded against; however, both attempts might be tried.'

"At this period I conceive the mode of attack must have been fixed upon, for on the 23rd December the works were commenced; and on the same day, Lord Combermere in his despatch says, that 'he hoped to-morrow to be enabled to forward a plan of the intended works,' so that on the 19th, when this paper was given in, it must either have been determined to breach by mining or not. But it is now a matter of history that it was not. I could not conceive, indeed, that such paragraphs as the above would have been written if breaching by mines had been previously contemplated. The impossibility of 'guarding against' the enemy's defensive mines in the breach would not have been admitted, if it had then been intended to breach by mines! So also objections might have been started; but, after stating them, it would not have been added, 'however, both attempts might be tried:' words which, I conceive, demonstrate the absence of all previous contemplation of adopting such a plan. Had breaching by mines been the original plan, the engineer, I imagined, would have distinctly said, we intended breaching by mines, and always did so. But then this would have been utterly inconsistent

with the government of Bombay during the year CHAP. XXVI.
1826; but the march of a military force under

with admitting that the breach, being mined by the enemy, 'might be dreaded,' but 'could not be guarded against!!'

"But, if breaching by mines was part of the original plan, how was it that a different mode of breaching was first tried, long continued, the place expected to be stormed, before breaching by mines was had recourse to; and, after all, battering discarded and mining employed? This appeared to demonstrate, beyond all doubt, that breaching by mines was not any part of the original plan. On the contrary, what that plan was to be, seemed to me obvious from the whole tenour of the engineer's remarks. When, indeed, I contrasted what is said as to mining with the following paragraphs, wholly, as I have conceived, contemplating a battered breach, I could not but suppose that a preference was given to battering, and that my proposition was not approved of.

"It is generally received as an axiom, that the defences being destroyed, the fire of the assailants is so concentrated as to ensure a commanding and superior fire over the enemy, should he crown the crest of the breach in any way after the flanking defences are subdued, and there is little to be apprehended against the success of a storm if the breach is completely practicable, and the flanking defences silenced.' And again: 'nothing more need be added on the subject of the ulterior operations, since, if the defences have been completely and properly demolished, and the breach wide enough, and withal practicable, nothing but a superior or overwhelming force and body within the place can avert success.' And again, to meet my appeal to the siege of St. Sebastian, where Lord Lyndock's men were beat out of a battered breach, till he turned his guns upon it over their heads, the engineer observes, 'Lord Lyndock at St. Sebastian did only what always is done to well clear the breach before the column makes the rush: for, after its progress to the summit, nothing more can be done for them from without.'—Para. 14th. And again: 'the nature of the native ramparts does not afford much room for retrenchments, which is perhaps the only obstacle, excepting a stockade on the immediate crest of the breach, that can be presented; and throwing up works on the level or terreplain of the place attacked

CHAP. XXVI. Colonel Welsh brought him to submission without the necessity of firing a gun. It remains, therefore

would be completely commanded from the top of the breach by the advancing column.'

"The whole tenour of the report, indeed, appeared to me to indicate the plan of attack which was preferred, namely, breaching by batteries and not by mines. But if any doubt could have remained, Lord Combermere's despatch of the 5th January would have entirely removed that doubt. In his despatch of the 2nd, his lordship reports, that by the 1st January the sap towards the counterscarp was extended fifty yards; 'and from thence the gallery for a mine was commenced,' to blow in the counterscarp, as an opening into the ditch, as above stated, was originally designed. This was a common procedure; and I beg it to be carefully noted and distinguished from breaching by mines. For breaching, it will be immediately seen that artillery was entirely relied on. On the 5th his lordship says, 'Since my despatch of the 2nd, the artillery have been actively employed in breaching the curtains:' 'owing, however, to the extreme roughness of the walls, they have with difficulty been made to yield to our shot; but I trust that in three or four days, at farthest, every thing will be prepared for our storming the town. The engineers have been employed in driving the gallery of the mine (that is to blow in the counterscarp), extending the sap in the front of our left batteries, and in executing the necessary repairs to the batteries, also in constructing a small battery in front of the Jungeena gate, to destroy the defences on our right.'

"Here the original plan of attack appears to be developed, from which success was anticipated 'in three or four days.' It will be seen to rely entirely on the breaching batteries for making a breach, to which the approach was to be by sap, and by blowing in the counterscarp of the ditch, in conformity with the opinion expressed in the remarks. But when this was followed by the fact of the breaching batteries continuing to batter in breach for so many, I believe nine days; when, after that, it was determined not to storm the place till breaching by mines was had recourse to; when, after persevering for so long a time in breaching by batteries, a despatch arrived from the commander-in-chief, dated

only to notice such treaties and diplomatic arrange-ments concluded during the government of Earl — CHAP. XXVI.

the 11th January, in which Lord Combermere states, 'that he had been induced to delay the assault, waiting the result of mines,' and 'that it had been ascertained that the batteries were not sufficient effectually to breach the walls;' I could come to no other conclusion than this, that my original proposition had now actually been 'tried,' as the engineer said 'it might be tried.'

"At this time rumours appear to have prevailed, that the enemy had mined the breach and had formed retrenchments, so as to cut it off, with strong batteries inside to rake its crest. How far these influenced the commander-in-chief in departing from the original design it is not in my power to say. It was what might have been looked for, what was contemplated by me, and is referred to by the commanding engineer, as before quoted.

"Lord Combermere's despatch contains the following paragraph, dated 11th January, 1826:—'I have delayed some days in addressing your lordship, in the hope that I should have been able to report the result of an assault of Bhurtpore. The breaches, however, have not yet been rendered practicable.'

"Brigadier Anburey having represented to me that it was his decided opinion that the breach was not sufficiently easy to authorize his reporting it practicable, I was induced to delay the assault, waiting the result of two mines he is now driving into the curtain from the sap and under the ditch. Much as I must regret this unexpected delay, I feel a consolation in the hope that the place will eventually be stormed with comparative facility to the troops.'

"Again his lordship wrote on the 19th January, in reporting the capture of the place:—'Since my despatch of the 11th instant, the whole attention of the engineers has been directed towards the completion of the mines under the projecting bastion on the left, and the north-east angle on the right, &c. &c.' This indicated expressly, as I conceived, the change that had taken place in the mode of attack. And this I considered to be confirmed not only by this declaration to myself, but by the words

CHAP. XXVI. Amherst as have not already been adverted to, and which may appear to deserve mention.

he is, in the prints of the day, reported to have used on a public occasion to others, namely, 'nor would he have thought of altering the plan of his attack, and of calling in the aid of another arm (mining), but for the more speedy and sure accomplishment of the desired end.'—Complimentary Address to the Officers of Artillery at Dum Dum, 18th January, 1827. And I beg to repeat, and now further to explain, that when his lordship returned to the presidency from Bhurtpore, he landed from his boats near my house, and was received by me. On that occasion his first address to me was, as stated in my Memorial, denominating the plan of mining to be mine, and describing it as the surest and the best that could have been adopted. I had the honour of conveying his lordship to the residence of the governor-general at Barrackpore, during which time the conversation to the same purport was continued. On reaching Barrackpore, his lordship was received by Captain Amherst and by Major Macan, of his own staff, to whom I repeated the acknowledgment which Lord Combermere had made to me, because Major Macan was the officer by whom I was originally introduced to Lord Combermere, as before mentioned.

"I have thus shewn the principal grounds, both written and oral, on which I have uniformly claimed the merit, whatever it may be, of being, in the way above described, instrumental in the capture of Bhurtpore. Not that I maintain that the capture of that important fortress might not or would not have been otherwise effected, but the circumstances must speak for themselves.

"The word of the commander-in-chief would alone have justified my pretensions, were the written documents of themselves not more than sufficient to do so; but when combined with the written documents above detailed, I am at a loss to conceive how any evidence could be more conclusive. Nor is this all. I will farther shew, as far as such a document can do, that Lord Combermere continued to acknowledge the services I have thus performed. In an address to government, whilst Lord Combermere was present in Calcutta, and in council (a petition to which

In 1824, Malacca, Singapore, and the Dutch possessions on the continent of India, were ceded CHAP. XXVI.

I had specially requested his lordship's attention), I particularly alluded to the above declaration, stating 'that his lordship had enabled me with confidence to believe that my humble endeavours to contribute to that important event were not altogether ineffectual.'

"I have thus, I presume, shewn by documentary evidence—

"1st. That I did most earnestly recommend breaching by mines, when it was not contemplated by the engineer to adopt that mode of breaching.

"2ndly. That that mode of breaching was not the mode originally adopted.

"3rdly. That the mode of breaching originally adopted was altered, and recourse had to breaching by mines, after battering had been long continued, as above detailed, and when the breach was not reported practicable; and that the place fell in a few days thereafter, having been stormed over the excavation of the principal mine the instant it was sprung.

"In addition to the above, I have quoted the direct acknowledgment of the commander-in-chief, in which his lordship ascribes the adoption of this mode of attack to me, and this acknowledgment I have supported by the written testimony of a public address to government, in which, founded on such acknowledgment, I have claimed the merit of contributing to his lordship's success: a species of claim which, if considered at all doubtful, I confidently submit, could neither have been made by me nor received by the government, of which his lordship was at the time a member, and present in council.

"To this I have to add a portion of an address to Lord Amherst, governor-general, dated 11th February, 1828, in which the same claim is advanced, and Lord Combermere's acknowledgment adduced in support of it.

"These are the grounds on which I have invariably considered myself to have been the acknowledged originator of the plan of breaching by mines, by which the capture of Bhurtpore was achieved with much splendour, and with small loss to our brave army. Into the question, whether it would otherwise

CHAP. XXVI. by the King of the Netherlands, in exchange for
the British settlement of Bencoolen in Sumatra.

have fallen with equal success, I do not enter. I have stated the facts; and I leave them in the hands of higher authority to decide. The point at issue seems plain. I either did, or did not, recommend this mode of attack. If I did not, then there is an end of my claim. But this is impossible to be maintained, for the engineer himself has proved all that I desire. He has shewn what he himself understood by my recommendation to breach by mines, for he has met it in the clearest and fullest sense."

In a memorandum attached to a printed copy of the papers on the subject, General Galloway observes—

"As to the plan itself, it has, I believe, been mooted, that it was obvious and known to all engineers. I did not profess to be the author of breaching by mines at sieges. The question here is, as to its application at this particular siege. But the plan was well known! For what was it well known? As a good or a bad plan? As better or worse than the one first adopted? But I would ask, if a man differing from the practice of my physician save my life by advising a particular mode of treatment, am I the less indebted to him, because that mode which is had recourse to may be a well-known remedy for the disease?

"Again, as to the plan being obvious. This is an assumption. After seeing the success of a measure, it will not do to say it was obvious. When a custom has long prevailed, nothing is obvious which departs from that custom. Nothing out of the usual track is obvious beforehand. Very able men do not always see things which afterwards appear very obvious. What can now be conceived more obvious, more obviously blameable, than the mode of attack formerly pursued by our ablest engineers against those forts, with two or three or half-a-dozen of guns, and little *matériel* for a siege? and yet I was myself the first person to bring the imperfect system to notice and amendment. But, in the present case, how was my plan obvious? On the contrary, we see that even after it was pointed out, and its adoption urged in the most earnest manner, its advantages were disputed; it was rejected by the engineer, and his own plan followed, till, as Lord

The situation of Singapore rendered it capable of becoming a place of great commercial importance ; but it was little better than a continuous forest vexed by the claims of two Malay princes, one of them nominally a vassal of the other, but, in conformity with Eastern fashion, exercising the actual rights of sovereignty. The English had established a factory there some years before the cession, but their position was undefined and uncertain ; and though attempts had been made to fix the relations of the strangers with the native princes, they were in constant danger of coming into collision with them as well as with the government of the King of the Netherlands. When the pretensions of that government were transferred, it was deemed fitting to determine, with greater precision than before, the terms upon which the British government was to stand in regard to the native princes, known as the Sultan and Tumongong of Jahore.

The best mode, if practicable, was to get rid of the claims of these personages by a commutation of their political and territorial claim for pecuniary allowances, and this was effected. By a treaty concluded between them and the East-India Company, on the 2nd August, 1824, it was provided not only

Combermere observed, ' they had recourse to my plan ; ' a plan which, it appears certain, Lord Combermere never lost sight of ; not only because, the moment he saw me after the siege, he immediately acknowledged its origin and its value, but because in his despatches, 11th January, 1826, his lordship states, that he relies upon it as the means of more easy conquest, and of preserving the invaluable lives of his army."

CHAP. XXVI. that "peace, friendship, and good understanding shall subsist for ever between the Honourable the East-India Company and" the two princes, their heirs and successors, but also for the cession by the princes to the Company of the island of Singapore, together with the adjacent sea straits and islets, for a specified extent, "in full sovereignty and property." By other articles of the treaty, the surrender was to be remunerated by liberal pecuniary provision, but which provision, contrary to ordinary practice, was to cease with the lives of the existing princes. In the event of the princes or their successors choosing to quit Singapore for a residence elsewhere, other payments were to be made in consideration of their immovable property, which was thereupon to devolve to the Company. While continuing to reside at Singapore and drawing their stipends, the princes were not to enter into any alliance or correspondence with other states without the knowledge and consent of the Company; and in the event of their departure, they were, in case of distress, to receive personal asylum and protection. Neither party was to interfere with the personal concerns of the other; both were to use their efforts to suppress robbery and piracy. Unshackled trade was to be maintained in the remaining dominions of the Sultan and Tumongong of Jahore, and the British were to be admitted to trade there on the terms of the most favoured nations. The Company were not to harbour persons deserting from the service of the princes, such persons being natives of those parts of their dominions

which they still retained ; and, finally, all conven- CHAP. XXVI.
tions and agreements previously subsisting between
the contending parties were to be considered as
abrogated, with the exception of such parts as
might have conferred on the East-India Company
any right to the occupation and possession of the
island of Singapore and its dependencies.

With the King of Oude a treaty was concluded
in 1825, the objects of which were the recognition
of a loan of one crore of rupees, advanced by that
prince to the Company in perpetuity, and the as-
signment of the interest thereon to various parties.

The relations of the British government with
Nagpore were fixed by a treaty concluded in De-
cember, 1826, by Mr. Jenkins. By this instrument
the effect of the treaty with Appa Sahib, concluded
on the 27th of May, 1816, was renewed so far as
might be consistent with the new engagement.
By the remaining articles, the Rajah renounced all
dependence upon the Rajah of Sattara, and all con-
nection with that prince, or with any other Mah-
ratta power, and agreed to relinquish all ceremo-
nies and observances referring to the place which
his predecessors held in the Mahratta confederacy ;
he was to hold no communication with foreign
powers, except through the Company's resident ;
the British government was to have the power of
determining what number of troops were required for
the protection of the Rajah's territories and the
maintenance of tranquillity therein, and of stationing
them where their presence might be deemed neces-

CHAP. XXVI. sary. The Rajah renounced all claims to the territories ceded to the Company by Appa Sahib, and the Company guaranteed the remainder to the Rajah; provision was made for exchange of portions of territory, if found desirable, and for securing to the Company's officers the exclusive management of the territories ceded by the treaty, or which might be ceded under the provision for exchange. The British government, it was declared, had undertaken, "during the Rajah's minority, the settlement and management of the whole of the territory reserved to his highness, and the general direction of his officers in his highness's name and on his behalf;" but the nonage of the prince, "according to Hindoo law and usage, being now expired, the powers of government and the administration of his dominions," subject to certain specified conditions and exceptions, were "declared to be vested in the Rajah." Some succeeding articles having been modified by a later engagement, it will be unnecessary to refer to them here. By the article which followed them, the memorable hill of Seetabuldee and that adjacent were annexed to the British residency. By other articles the British government was empowered to garrison and occupy such forts and strong places as they might determine, and the Rajah was bound to furnish certain stores and other assistance to the Company's government. Thus Mr. Jenkins, who had successfully counteracted the machinations of Appa Sahib and supported the authority of the British government—who had placed

the youthful Rajah on the musnud, and carefully administered the affairs of his dominions till the prince was of fitting age to assume the authority of his station, had the gratification of completing the work, which owed its success to his courage and prudence. CHAP. XXVI.

The administration of Earl Amherst presents nothing further which calls for report. Towards its close, his lordship made a tour to the Upper Provinces, and in March, 1828, he quitted India, leaving Mr. Butterworth Bayley in the discharge of the duties of governor-general.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CHAP.
XXVII.
—

THE difficulty of perfectly understanding the motives by which men are actuated, and on many occasions of reconciling them with reasonable expectation, is a subject too trite to justify any lengthened discussion. Lord William Bentinck had been removed from the government of Fort St. George under circumstances calculated, it might be supposed, to discourage any wish on the part of his lordship to revive the connection between himself and the East-India Company. It is true that, in dismissing his lordship from their service, the Court of Directors had expressed a hope that his "valuable qualities and honourable character might be employed, as they deserved, for the benefit of his country;" but this compliment could only be regarded as indicating a desire to avoid giving unnecessary pain to, and soften the mortification of recal, by mixing with the act somewhat of grace and kindness.

The hope, however, had been realized. The high connections of Lord William Bentinck had saved him from the tedium of idleness, and pro-

pared for him in Europe employment suitable to his rank and profession. But with this his lordship was not satisfied: he yearned for a return to the scene of his former disappointment, and on the vacancy created by Mr. Canning's sudden relinquishment of the office of governor-general, in which he had just been appointed to succeed the Marquis of Hastings, Lord William Bentinck took the unusual step of offering himself as a candidate. Such a proceeding can scarcely be justified under any circumstances. Were it either common or in ordinary cases excusable, it might have been supposed that, situated as was Lord William Bentinck, an ordinary measure of self-respect would have rendered it impossible for him to make the application. He had been removed from the government of Fort St. George because his conduct was disapproved at home. If this severe step were just, the object of his lordship's application was to obtain the appointment to the highest office in India of a person whose only claim to the honour rested on previous misconduct in a subordinate office. If it were unjust, his lordship condescended to solicit a valuable favour from those at whose hands he had already received injuries; and whether, in fact, the recal were unjust or not, there can be little doubt that it was regarded as unjust by his lordship. But whatever his views, or whatever might be the opinion formed by others on the subject of his recal, his application for the office of governor-general cannot

be reconciled with propriety or dignity. It met at the time with the success which it deserved. His lordship's appeal was disregarded, and the vacancy, as has been seen, was filled up by the appointment of Lord Amherst. On the retirement of that nobleman, Lord William Bentinck was more fortunate, and his lordship's restless hankering for oriental power was gratified. He was sworn into the office of governor-general in July, 1827; but before his departure from England, the death of Mr. Canning gave to the administration, under whose advice the appointment had been approved by the Crown, a blow which it was not destined to recover. It was kept together for a short time by Lord Goderich, who succeeded to the chief place in it, but yielded with little resistance to the party which, on Mr. Canning being selected as the head of the ministry, had declined to act under a chief whose opinions were favourable to Catholic emancipation. Lord William Bentinck had not sailed when this last change took place, and he waited to ascertain its effect. Had the new ministers acted in the spirit of some who had gone before, and of some who followed them, his lordship would have experienced a second disappointment. They did not, however, advise the sovereign to exercise his revoking power, and in February, 1828, Lord William Bentinck departed to take possession of the office which he so ardently coveted. His administration was distinguished more by civil and fiscal changes than by

events of stirring character. The former will be noticed hereafter, precedence being given in this, as in other instances, to the latter class of occurrences.

Among those which demand early notice are the disturbances in Baraset. These originated in the fiery zeal of a person of humble position in society, named Meer Niser Alee, but better known by the name of Tittoo Meer. This man was a disciple of Syed Ahmed, a Mahometan reformer, who had been the cause of considerable annoyance to the Seik government. The movement raised by Syed Ahmed was alleged to be directed against the corruptions which, in the course of years, Mahometanism had acquired, principally from the residence of its professors among people holding a different creed; and the attempts of the chief reformer and his disciples to extend the influence of their opinions had been attended by considerable success. In Calcutta and its neighbourhood they made many converts, and treatises explaining and enforcing their doctrines had been published there in the Persian and Hindoostanee languages.

The rigidity of the doctrines of the reformers, however, was disagreeable to the mass of their fellow-believers, who found some of their most popular religious observances denounced as superstitious, idolatrous, and inconsistent with the purity of Mahometanism as it was delivered by the prophet. Among these were the ceremonies performed at stated periods after the death of relations, and the

CHAP.
XXVII.
—

honours and offerings bestowed on the tombs of the saints. But while the reformers thus manifested their zeal against superstitions alien to the spirit of Mahometanism, they, with an inconsistency not uncommon, adopted a practice clearly borrowed, like the practices which they condemned, from the people among whom the lot of these restorers of the ancient fabric of the faith had been cast. They carried their assumption of superior sanctity to the degree of refusing to eat with any but members of their own sect; and the exclusion was so strictly maintained as to lead to the separation of even the nearest relations. They seem to have been regardless of giving offence, to have been careless of consequences, and to have imbibed at least so much of the original spirit of Mahometanism as freed them from all repugnance to the use of violence when it could be employed in propagating the faith. They were met by their opponents in a corresponding spirit, and some zemindars unfortunately were led to exercise their authority in hostility to the new opinions. These zemindars, being Hindoos, had little sympathy with the reformers. They were habitually averse to change of any kind; their feelings on this account were against the new sect, and the more strongly, because its members were far more bitter and uncompromising enemies of Hindooism, than those Mahometans who were content to yield to their prophet such a measure of obedience only as was ordinarily current. Another motive for the interference of the Hindoo zemin-

dars has been suggested in their desire to derive a profit from the controversy, the most obvious method of gratifying it being the infliction of fines on the parties complained against. In an exaction of this kind did the general disturbance originate. A zemindar had inflicted petty fines on several persons, some of whom paid the amount while others resisted. Some servants of the zemindar were dispatched to enforce payment from the obdurate, but without success. Not only was the required payment refused, but the persons sent to demand it were beaten, and one of their number forcibly detained. The zemindar came down with a greater force, and a petty disturbance ensued, in the course of which a thatched building used as a mosque caught fire and was consumed. The police were now called in, and ultimately the case was brought before the magistrate's court. By this time, the ferment had greatly increased. The fine levied by the zemindars was ordinarily spoken of as a tax on the beard, it being a point of conscience with the reforming Mahometans to cultivate that ornament of their persons with extraordinary care; and the name added greatly to the previous unpopularity of the exaction.

In the magistrate's court, charges and counter-charges were made, and positive testimony on one side was met by contradictory testimony equally positive on the other. None of the parties were subjected to punishment, but some of the Mahometans were bound over to keep the peace. This partial success seems to have encouraged the zemindars

CHAP.
XXVII.

to indulge in further vexatious proceedings. A suit instituted in the zillah court of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs by one of the zemindars against some of the reformed Mahometans was alleged to have a fraudulent origin, and it was further stated that the defendants were forcibly carried to the zemindar's house, where by maltreatment they were compelled to pay a part of the demand upon them, and to give security for the remainder. In the meantime preparations had been made by the Mahometans for presenting an appeal against the decree of the magistrate in the case of the affray. From some cause never explained, this design was abandoned, and the persecuted sect adopted the resolution of seeking redress by force. They assembled in large numbers and proclaimed their hatred of Hindooism by an ostentatious slaughter of cows, sprinkling the blood on the Hindoo temples, and committing other acts of the like character. In the first outbreak not only was a cow immolated, but a Brahmin wounded—a double source of scandal to the Hindoos. In a subsequent affray several of the holy order suffered from wounds, and one so severely as to cause his death. A European magistrate immediately repaired to the scene of riot with a detachment of local troops, in the hope that his presence thus supported would restore order; but he was disappointed. His authority was defied, his troops resisted and beaten off, several of them killed, others dangerously wounded, and it was not without difficulty that the magistrate escaped unharmed. The magistrate of an adjoining district, on hearing

of the disturbances, advanced with such force as he could command, to aid the cause of peace. On learning the result of his brother-magistrate's attempt, he determined to wait till he could form a junction with him; but this intention was frustrated by false information, which led him into the midst of the insurgents at a moment when no additional assistance could be obtained, and when his own party, alarmed by the prospect before them, were gradually deserting him. Finding it hopeless to contend, he retired, but not without loss, several of his party being killed. He immediately applied to the commanding officer at Barrackpore for a force to protect the country, and a regiment was dispatched for the purpose without delay. Previously to this, the authorities at Calcutta, on learning the state of affairs, had directed the march from that place of a regiment with two guns and a small party of cavalry. Though miserably armed—clubs in many instances supplying the place of more formidable weapons—the insurgents drew up in position for resistance, and received the troops with shouts of defiance; but a few discharges from the guns shook their confidence, and they took refuge in a bamboo stockade which they had erected. Thither they were pursued, and it is scarcely necessary to add, that their defeat and dispersion were almost immediate. About fifty were killed and three hundred and fifty made prisoners. Thus terminated the affair in November, 1831.

A. D. 1831.

The disturbances were restricted to Baraset :

CHAP.
XXVII.

their occurrence was accidental—they were speedily suppressed, and after their suppression the country returned at once to its former state of quietness. Except for the instruction afforded by such events, the outbreak would have no claim to notice in a general history of the British Empire in India. But no opportunity for recalling attention to the situation of the British government in that country should be lost, and the disturbances in Baraset afford one. Two sets of Mahometans engage in disputes on the comparative soundness and purity of their belief and practice. Some disciples of another creed, possessing local influence and authority, exercise an offensive and, as it should seem, an illegal interference. An affray takes place, the consequences of which are a general rising of one set of the Mahometan disputants, a general disruption of the public peace, and the loss of many lives. Such events are not of frequent occurrence in India, but the elements out of which they may arise are always in a state of preparation. The majority of the people are, as to religion, divided into two great parties, each subdivided into smaller sections, the members of which, differing widely in many respects, agree in clinging each to his favourite opinions in a spirit of the blindest and most devoted bigotry. With one of the great divisions, intolerance is a part of their creed, and the slightest cause of excitement may, without a moment's notice, give rise to an ebullition of wild and murderous fanaticism. The danger is increased by the necessity which exists for vesting

at least some degree of authority in native hands, where it is almost certain to be exceeded and abused. The duty of an European and Christian government, under such circumstances, is difficult, but it is obvious. Such a government, while cautiously abstaining from giving approval or encouragement to any form of false religion, should not only maintain and administer even-handed justice among all its subjects, whatever their creed, but it should be careful to make it apparent that such is the fact. It should enter into no disputes between rival parties, nor between rival sections of parties; but it should compel all to respect the rights of their fellow-subjects and the peace of society.

Interference beyond this, were it not forbidden by higher motives, is at variance with sound policy. Those in whose favour it should be exercised would not be grateful. The native character is by no means deficient in shrewdness, and the exhibition by a Christian government of a preference for either of the creeds of India would be regarded, even by the votaries of the favoured system, with suspicion, perhaps with contempt; while, to the opposite party, such preference, if frequently exercised, or long persisted in, would be the prelude to revolt. The British government in India must know its subjects only as members of the great family of human nature, and of the civil community over which that government has been called to exercise sway. It cannot destroy the wide-spread elements of danger from religious fermentation, but it must be careful to render them

CHAP.
XXVII.
—

harmless by maintaining impartiality, and resorting to its coercing powers only when necessary to avert public mischief or private wrong. Such is the just and proper course of action; and though to pursue it will require much prudence and some resolution, there is happily little temptation (excepting that arising from the seducing influence of the love of ease) to abandon it. No European can be supposed to entertain a predilection for any of the modifications of superstitious error which prevail in India. Such predilection is scarcely compatible with the existence of sound mind.*

But whatever be the intentions of government, whatever the anxiety of its servants to perform their duty, it should never be forgotten that there exist formidable impediments to justice in the propensity of native agents to turn to their own advantage the power with which they are intrusted, and in the difficulty, almost invariable and sometimes altogether insurmountable, of correctly ascertaining facts. These obstacles are noticed in the following manner in the report of Mr. J. R. Colvin, an officer deputed by the government to inquire specially into the disturbances in Baraset:—"The entire root of the mischief which has occurred lies deep and cannot easily be removed. The powers possessed by zemindars enable them to exercise a

* Unhappily there have been a few instances in which private individuals have become enamoured of the superstitions which they found prevailing in India, but probably inquiry would lead to the conclusion that the existence of such cases does not invalidate the position laid down in the text.

petty jurisdiction among their ryots, and to make petty exactions on all kinds of pretences. The corrupt character of the people and the defects of our own instruments pervert our administration of justice, and render it a matter of the greatest uncertainty whether we shall arrive at the truth or not, in all cases in which men of wealth or influence will be injured by its detection; and our confined intercourse with the people, and consequent ignorance of many of their feelings and circumstances, allow false representations to be frequently imposed on us with the utmost boldness, and but slight risk of discovery." Similar testimony is borne by nearly all whose experience qualifies them to be heard on the subject,* and in estimating the difficulty of maintaining good government in India, the necessity for European superintendence in every department, and the inaptitude of the native instru-

* Complaints of the like nature have constantly been put forward by the most zealous and intelligent servants of the East-India Company. This may be seen by reference to the evidence on the subject submitted to parliament on different occasions. The Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1812, contains the following statement, addressed in 1803 to the Register of the Nizamut Adawlut at Calcutta, by H. Strachey, Esq., Judge of Circuit:—"In the course of trials, the guilty very often, according to the best of my observation, escape conviction. *

* * * Very frequently the witnesses on the part of the prosecution swear to facts in themselves utterly incredible, for the purpose of fully convicting the accused, when, if they had simply stated what they saw and knew, their testimony would have been sufficient; they frequently, under an idea that the proof may be thought defective by those who judge according to the Regulations, and that the accused will escape and wreak their vengeance upon the witnesses who appear against them, exag-

CHAP.
XXVII.

ments to whom the subordinate duties of administration must unavoidably be entrusted, ought never to be forgotten.

gerate the facts in such a manner that their credit is utterly destroyed. * * * * I have no doubt that, previously to their examination as witnesses, they frequently compare notes together, and consult upon the best mode of making their story appear probable to the gentleman whose wisdom it cannot be expected should be satisfied with an artless tale. * * * * Prosecutions are often instigated or carried on by the agency of persons at enmity or in rivalry with the culprits; this is frequently the case when the accused are village chokeedars [watchmen], yet most of the decoits [gang robbers] in some zillahs are these chokeedars, and few dare appear against them but those who are of the same description with themselves. * * * * The calendars, the darogahs [superintendent of police] reports the evidence on every trial, and the information of all convince us that innumerable robberies and murders, that atrocities of the worst conceivable kind, are committed, and that very often the perpetrators are before us; yet do we find ourselves, from causes of the nature above described, constrained to let them loose again to prey on society, or at the utmost to direct that they be discharged on giving security for their good behaviour: and this giving of security, it may be observed, is no pledge whatever of future good behaviour, since whoever has a few rupees, whether a man of the best or worst character, can procure security; and whoever has nothing, can seldom or never procure it." Another judge of circuit, E. Strachey, Esq., writing, in 1808, says, "With respect to myself, I must candidly confess, that every day's experience and reflection on the nature of our courts, and on the minds and manners of the natives, as far as I can see, serve to increase my doubts about our capacity to discover truth among them. It appears to me that there is a very great deal of perjury of many different shades in our judicial proceedings; and that many common rules of evidence here would be inapplicable and absurd. Even the honest men, as well as the rogues, are perjured. The most simple and the most cunning alike make assertions that are incredible, or that are certainly false. If the prosecutor in cases of decoity [gang robbery] were to be disbelieved in

It will be recollected that in the treaty with Siam, concluded under Lord Amherst's government, the pos-

CHAP.
XXVII.
—

all cases because there was perjury, scarce a decoit would be convicted. * * * * Some come to give false evidence in favour of a friend or a master ; some to ruin an enemy ; and the signs of the different modes that disguise truth are so very equivocal and often so unintelligible, that nothing can be depended on. There is not one witness in a dozen on whom you can implicitly rely for a purely true story. It has very often happened that a story which, by attending only to the plain, direct course of things, I believed to be true, has, by examining into matters apparently connected in a very distant degree with the case, turned out to be entirely false. I am afraid that the evidence of witnesses in our courts is for the most part an instrument in the hands of men, and not an independent, untouched source of truth."

In the fifth report, above referred to, is to be found, also, some illustration of the mode in which the functions of the police are rendered accessory to injustice and violence. E. Watson, Esq., assistant judge of circuit, thus writes in 1810 :—" It would be endless entering into a detail of the different modes in which confessions are fabricated and proved. The usual course appears to be, first to apprehend as many people as caprice may dictate, and then to select from the number those individuals who are to confess, and determine on the purport of their confessions. The preliminaries being thus arranged, the victims are made over to the subordinate agents or instruments of police, to be dealt with according to circumstances, and the rest are discharged. It sometimes happens that they meet with a man whom they are able to deceive by assurances of immediate pardon, and false promises of future favour and indulgence ; in such cases he is usually told that by signing a paper prepared by the buckshee [commander] for that purpose, or repeating before witnesses what he is instructed to say, he will not only escape hanging, or, at least, perpetual imprisonment, but become one of the chosen of the police, and make his fortune as a goyendah [informer] ; that all he has to do is to pretend that he was concerned in the decoity, and say that the gang was composed of particular individuals, who are named to him, and leave the rest

session of Queda was secured to the Siamese.* This country, situate on the western coast of Malacca, be-

to the darogah ; that there can be no harm in this, because all the world knows that they are the real decoits ; and, in short, the alternative is offered him, either of making a friend or an enemy of the police—either of suffering an ignominious death through their power, or of raising himself to a post of honourable ambition and profit by their favour. By these and similar artifices they catch a dupe who suffers for his credulity ; but when these means fail, which they generally do, they have recourse to compulsion. In this event the prisoners are taken out singly at night, and subjected to every species of maltreatment till they consent to subscribe before witnesses the contents of a confession drawn up for their signature by the buckshee, or to learn it by heart and repeat it in their presence. When the prisoner is thus prepared, if there appear no danger of his retracting before morning, he is left at peace for a few hours ; but if any thing of that sort is entertained, a burkundaaz [armed messenger] is sent for three or four people of the village to witness the confession instantly, and they are aroused from their sleep at all hours of the night for that purpose. It is to be observed, however, that the sending for impartial witnesses does not often occur, except where the darogah has not sufficient weight or talent to keep his place, and at the same time set appearances at defiance. A darogah who is sure of his post will, with the utmost impudence, send in a confession witnessed only by a few pykes [night watchmen] or other police dependents, who were perhaps the very instruments by whose means it was extorted. Sometimes a broken pot, an old rag, or some other article of little or no value belonging to the person robbed, is procured by a goyendah, or other inferior agent of police, and deposited in a half-dry tank or ditch, to which the prisoner is afterwards taken for the purpose of bringing it out with great formality in the presence of witnesses. Trash of this sort is sometimes thrown into the compound of a man's house, or other part of his dwelling, in the hurry and confusion

* See page 104.

longed at a former period to a prince with whom the British government had formed repeated engage-

CHAP.
XXVII.

fusion of a sham search for stolen property, and brought out with his own things by way of corroborating a confession."

Testimony of similar character, of later date, exists in the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East-India Company, 1832. Richard Clarke, Esq., a retired civil servant, who, during part of his service, had been deputy-registrar and acting-registrar of the court of Sudder Adawlut at Madras, said, "A native will in general give his evidence rather with reference to the consequences of what he may say to his own interest than from any regard to its truth or falsehood. * * * *

In order to the improvement of the native character, I think there is wanting a better moral principle in themselves individually than they are now found to possess, and a more powerful influence of moral opinion on the part of native society. At present their morality affords little internal control over their actions: it does not furnish them with a conscientious check on their conduct; and there is no control of public opinion acting upon them externally. Injustice or misconduct, which should prove successful in making the fortune of a native, would attach no disgrace to him in the estimation of his countrymen."

This witness stated prosecutions for perjury to be very frequent, and being asked, "What is the effect upon the character of a native on his having been prosecuted for perjury and convicted?" answered—"If the man is of a character to which, from rank or caste, any degree of respectability or sanctity attaches, those qualities would not be affected by his punishment in the minds of the natives. I believe that persons holding offices attached to temples have been viewed with equal reverence, and treated with equal deference in regard to their spiritual authority, while under actual punishment for perjury." Being asked—"Would it not operate as a stain upon them in society?" Mr. Clarke answered—"Not among themselves."

James O. Oldham, Esq., a civil servant, who had held the offices of zillah judge and judge of circuit, related the following fact in illustration of the character of a large portion of native evidence, and of the power of zemindary influence:—A

ments. In the year 1786, Captain Light, the master of a country ship, received from the King of Queda,

murder had been committed in the district of Moradabad. The thanadah, a subordinate police-officer, proceeded to the spot to seek for evidence. He took the evidence of a witness, who deposed that he was present at the time the murder was committed, and related a variety of minute particulars alleged to have attended it. It was necessary that the evidence should be repeated before a magistrate, and a witness accordingly appeared, who related all the particulars as reported by the thanadah, without the slightest variation. On being further questioned, however, he became confused, and at last being unable to maintain longer the character which he had assumed, he said, "The whole of the evidence I have given is by order of the zemindar. I am not the real witness, but am come to personate him by the zemindar's orders." Being reminded that he was liable to transportation for what he had done, and that the effect of his testimony, had it been believed, would have been to take away a man's life; he answered, "What can I do? the zemindar told me to do it."

William Butterworth Bayley, Esq., who had served the Company thirty years in India in various offices, including those of chief secretary to the government of Bengal, member of council there, and acting governor-general, after stating that the whole system of police and administration of criminal justice had of late greatly improved, said, "The great cause of failure in the administration of criminal as well as of civil justice, is the habitual disregard for truth which unhappily pervades the bulk of the native community, and the little security which the obligation of an oath adds to the testimony of witnesses. I do not believe that this characteristic vice of the natives of India has been fostered or increased by the establishment of our courts of justice, as is generally imagined; the same vice has been found to prevail to at least an equal extent in Mysore, in the Mahratta country, and in other parts of India to which our authority has not extended, and where our institutions were totally unknown. False testimony has in certain cases been directly encouraged and approved by the sanction of the great lawgiver of the Hindoos. The offence of perjury can be expiated by very simple

the island of Pulo Penang (since called Prince of Wales Island), as a marriage portion with the sovereign's daughter. Captain Light transferred it to the East-India Company, by whom he was appointed governor, and an arrangement was concluded with the King of Queda for the payment to that prince of six thousand dollars annually, to compensate for the loss of revenue which he was likely to sustain. In 1800 a cession of territory on the main land was made to the Company. This acquired the name of Province Wellesley, and in consideration of its surrender the payment to the King of Queda was raised to ten thousand dollars. In 1821 the remaining territories of the King of Queda were invaded by the Siamese and quickly subdued, the prince thereupon taking refuge in Prince of Wales Island. He subsequently removed to Province Wellesley, where his presence was inconvenient, with reference to some of the provisions of the treaty with Siam. With considerable difficulty he was prevailed upon to return to Prince of Wales Island, but the views

penances, and the inhabitants of India generally must undergo a great moral regeneration, before the evil which saps the very foundation of justice and bars all confidence between man and man shall be effectually remedied."

Subjection for ages to the debasing influences of superstition and misgovernment has indeed produced a deadness of moral susceptibility and a distortion of moral judgment, which are among the most fearful of the obstacles with which the British government has to contend in its efforts to introduce improvement. In such a state of things improvement must be slow, and any feeling of impatience at the tardiness of its advance is unreasonable.

CHAP.
XXVII.

by which the British authorities were influenced in effecting this change are far from clear. The residence of the King of Queda in Province Wellesley might be dangerous to the peaceable possession by the Siamese of the country which they had wrested from that sovereign; and the British government having undertaken by treaty that the usurped territories should be secured to the invaders, it was important to guard against this source of danger. The policy and the justice of the stipulation by which the English had agreed to give away the dominions of a prince with whom they had for forty years maintained relations of peace and friendship are alike questionable; but, having bound themselves to the cause of the Siamese, it might be expected that they should be anxious to maintain their engagement. The removal of the king to Prince of Wales Island, however, was a step not in fulfilment of the treaty, but in continued contravention of it; for it was expressly provided in the treaty that the sovereign of Queda should "go and live in some other country, and not at Prince of Wales Island, or Prye (Province Wellesley), or in Perak, Salangore, or any other Burman country." The article continued thus:—"If the English do not let the former governor of Queda go and live in some other country, as here engaged, the Siamese may continue to levy an export duty upon paddy and rice at Queda." The residence of the exiled king at Prince of Wales Island was consequently not less inconsistent with the intention of the treaty than his residence in

Province Wellesley. By his residence at either place, the Siamese became entitled to levy certain duties, and those who were so anxious to remove the King of Queda from Province Wellesley, while they were willing to permit his residing at Prince of Wales Island, must, it is to be presumed, have acted under a conviction, that if the English were willing to pay the penalty authorized by the treaty for non-compliance with the provision relating to the residence of the king, the other contracting party had no ground of complaint.* The governor-general expressed an opinion that the banished prince had been rather hardly dealt with. This impression was creditable to his lordship's good feelings, and, from the circumstances of the case, it is not unlikely that others shared in it. The relations so long subsisting between the English and the King of Queda might not require that the former should draw the sword in defence of the dominions of the king; but it was scarcely consistent with good faith, that the English should enter into a treaty which secured to his enemies the fruits of successful usurpation.

It had been feared, as naturally it might, that some attempt would be made to restore the king

* Whether in cases where an act is not evil in its own nature, but is one forbidden by human authority under a penalty, he who breaks the law and pays the penalty stands acquitted *in foro conscientie*, is a question upon which the opinions of jurists are divided. Sir William Blackstone and his annotator, Mr. Christian, take different sides, and other eminent authorities might be quoted upon each.

CHAP.
XXVII.

to the dominions from which he had been expelled. But though such an attempt was not unlooked for, and though it was viewed with apprehension as likely to impair the stability of the existing relations with the Siamese, it was believed, and indeed asserted,* that it could not be attended with any serious danger to the existing government of Queda.

A. D. 1831. The attempt was at last made, and at a moment when apparently it was not at all expected, though the preparations for it were made within the British territories. On the 6th of April, 1831, the Siamese were expelled from the capital of Queda by a force embarked on board a flotilla, consisting of thirty-five or forty small boats. The number of men engaged in the enterprise was supposed to be between three and four hundred; they were under the command of a person named Tuanko Kudir, a known pirate, but highly connected, being son of the King of Queda's sister. Some Siamese boats were cruising off the place, but on the approach of the invaders their crews abandoned them, and with exemplary promptitude sought to provide for their own safety. The fort was garrisoned by about two hundred men, who, as the flotilla advanced, manifested their zeal by the discharge of a few shot, not one of which took effect. The assailants were more successful as well as more daring. They rushed to the attack with considerable spirit, and

* By the chief commissioner for Singapore, Prince of Wales Island, and Malacca.

Having contrived to set fire to the buildings within the fort, carried the place by escalade in the midst of the smoke and confusion thereby occasioned.

Had the Siamese been of warlike temperament, this movement would have been well calculated to embroil them with the English. The expedition was partly fitted out from a British port, the stores were purchased in the bazars of a British settlement, and some of the boats employed had British passes. Many of those engaged in the expedition were British subjects, and a few who had belonged to a disbanded local corps were attired in the Company's uniform. Some European merchants, it appeared, were aware of the preparations, though not, it was believed, of the destination of the expedition; but the government were without suspicion. In extenuation of this apparent absence of vigilance, the following reasons were adduced by the chief resident authority—that the preparations, though somewhat extensive, were carried on with great secrecy; that the whole native community were favourable to a movement against the Siamese, whose cruelty and oppression had excited universal hatred, the feelings of the Mahometan part of the population being further inflamed by religious animosity; that some parties in Province Wellesley, on whom reliance was placed for information, were in league with those engaged in the movement and had joined them; that the island police were weak, ill paid, and, like the rest of their countrymen, favourably disposed to hostile

proceedings against the Siamese; and that the British government had neither guard-boats nor establishments of any kind for keeping watch in the harbour and examining native craft. These reasons may be admitted to account for the oversight, but perhaps they can scarcely be allowed to excuse it—more especially as the attack on Queda was not the first movement of the same description. A like attempt had been made some time before and had failed.

Some discussion took place as to the precise degree in which the exiled king was implicated in the attack on Queda. His desire to protract his residence in Province Wellesley originated, there is little doubt, in the hope of there finding the means of regaining his dominions. His pertinacity on this point had led to disputes with the British government, and payment of any portion of the allowances to which by treaty he was entitled had been for a time suspended. On his removal to Prince of Wales Island partial payment of his stipend was resumed, although, as has been pointed out, his residence in that island was not less at variance with the treaty with Siam than his residence in Province Wellesley. To what extent, however, he participated in the movement against Queda is a matter of no importance in any respect. He had been violently and unjustly expelled from his possessions; he had never, by any act, consented to the alienation, or confirmed it; and the English had no better right to give away his dominions than the Siamese had to

take them. Situated as was the King of Queda, his attempting to recover his power and territories involved no culpability, and could excite no surprise. He might thereby, indeed, occasion some embarrassment to the government from which he derived his only revenue, but that revenue was given in payment for a valuable consideration bestowed by the king while in possession of his throne, and which the English still retained. In asserting his rights against the Siamese, he was guilty of no breach of faith with regard to his British protectors. He was no party to the treaty by which they had acknowledged the claim of the Siamese to Queda, and he was not accountable for any inconvenience that might in consequence arise to them. Inconvenience had arisen, and the English, to escape it, now insisted upon the removal of the king to Malacca, a measure often pressed before, but always strenuously resisted by the king. But resistance at this period was hopeless. The king understood that, should he refuse compliance, his removal would be effected by force, and he therefore yielded the consent which it was no longer in his power to withhold.

Further to conciliate the Siamese government, and to atone for apparent disregard to the obligations of the treaty, it was deemed advisable by the British resident at Singapore to aid the recapture of Queda by blockading the mouth of the river. This proceeding was disapproved by the government of Bengal, who issued instructions discouraging any attempt, on the part of the British authorities in the

straits, to mix themselves up in any operations of a hostile character either by land or sea. These instructions arrived too late to have any effect, for when they were received, the Siamese, aided by the blockading force employed by the English, had already repossessed themselves of Queda. The narrative of these proceedings cannot be more properly closed than by quoting the just observations made from home on the subject. "The case was unquestionably one of conflicting obligations; but it is much to be regretted that, by our own default, we should have been placed in a position from which we could not extricate ourselves, but by giving our assistance to replace the Malays of Queda under the yoke of a government which, from all that we learn, appears to be most deservedly odious to them." *

Queda was not the only source of disquiet to the British government in the straits. The English, on obtaining the transfer of Malacca, seem not to have been minutely informed of the relation in which they stood towards the petty native principalities. Nanning, one of them, soon afforded occasion for dispute. It was regarded by the newly-established European authorities as an integral part of the territory of Malacca, and they believed that the British government possessed sovereign power over it. The chieftain of Nanning, called the Panholoo, appears to have taken a different view, and to have regarded himself as an independent

* Despatches from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, 21st November, 1832.

prince, the equal and not the vassal of the power which claimed to be his superior. The British government asserted its pretensions by claiming authority in Nanning for its courts of judicature, and by demanding a portion of the revenue of the country as tribute. These demands were resisted, and it was deemed necessary to support them by the despatch of a company of sepoy, whose presence it was not doubted would speedily bring the offending Pangholoo to submission. This expectation turned out to be erroneous. The officer in command of the party of sepoy found his progress obstructed by trees placed across the road, the intervals being studded with spikes. These difficulties being surmounted, the party attacked a stockade, which they carried, but the success was attended by the loss of an officer and several men. The return of the detachment to Malacca was effected with considerable difficulty, and by a route different to that by which they had advanced. Reinforcements being obtained, the Pangholoo was subdued and tranquillity restored. The relations subsisting between the Dutch government and the native princes, by which the respective positions of those princes towards the British government were necessarily governed, seem to have been but imperfectly understood, and probably they had never been defined with much accuracy.

While the settlements in the straits were thus agitated, the interior of the territories subject to the government of Bengal was not free from disturbances. They commenced in Chota Nagpore, a

CHAP.
XXVII.

A. D. 1832.

zemindary forming part of the Ramgurh district, and which, with its subordinate pergunnahs, comprised an area of about ninety-five miles in length and eighty in breadth. The movement began in January, 1832, at the south-eastern extremity, whence it extended rapidly to the northward, till the whole of Chota Nagpore proper and the adjacent pergunnah of Palamow were in a state of insurrection; or, it may rather be said, that violence and pillage were universal and indiscriminate. The state of the whole country, indeed, is depicted in the following brief but striking description of one part of it, by Mr. Neave, a commissioner employed therein. "Of Toree," said he, "I am at a loss to give any account, save that it is in a state of complete disorganization, to redeem it from which I can scarcely offer any plan." To illustrate the condition of the pergunnah, the commissioner then proceeded to state that, with the exception of a few large landholders, it was the practice of all persons within it to beat and rob, if practicable, all other persons that might fall in their way, and that nothing but superiority of physical force could ensure safety. "The system," said he, "appears to be universal: the villages are fired, the roads are blocked up, and all passers are plundered."

The government, on learning the state of the district, had been prompt in dispatching a military force for the restoration of order; but the amount was insufficient. In some cases, where tranquillity had been apparently restored, the departure of the

military was immediately followed by a renewal of disturbances. On one occasion a squadron of cavalry encountering a body of six or seven thousand of the rioters was compelled to retire with some small loss. A detailed account of the measures pursued for the re-establishment of order would possess no interest, as in their prosecution they were marked by nothing to distinguish them from the ordinary course of such proceedings. It will be enough to say that they succeeded, and the disturbances themselves would scarcely deserve notice, were it not that they afford additional evidence of the constant tendency of the wilder portion of the subjects of the British government in India to break loose from the restraints of law and order, and to return to a state where the hand of every man is against his neighbour. Such a state would ensue throughout a large extent of the populous empire of Britain in the East, were its authority from any cause withdrawn. The result would not be the substitution of another government, better or worse, in the place of that which should have passed away, but the complete annihilation of every restraint, and the free indulgence of every evil passion, to the full extent which the means of physical force possessed by each individual would permit. In the more civilized parts of India British dominion maintains a government which, by comparison with any of native origin that ever did exist, or that under present circumstances can by possibility exist, must be pronounced good. In the remainder of the country the British government

CHAP.
XXVII.

stands a bulwark against unbridled licentiousness, universal anarchy, and overwhelming misery.

The series of events next to be narrated will afford no unapt illustration of the ordinary blessings of native rule. Coorg was a small principality on the confines of Mysore, which the ambitious rulers of the latter state, Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan, had for a time held in subjection. The romantic character of the prince who held the raj of Coorg during the war carried on by Lord Cornwallis with Tippoo Saib, his imprisonment in Mysore, his escape and subsequent activity in asserting his own claims and aiding the cause of the British government, have been already noticed.* His son and successor was a person of widely different character. His career, unmarked by acts of daring valour or manifestations of generous feeling, was rendered extraordinary by a series of crimes so extravagant as to seem the result of insanity, if such a state of mind can properly be inferred from the perpetration of acts of atrocious wickedness. Late in the year

A. D. 1832. 1832, the sister of the Rajah, named Dewah Amajee, with her husband, Chinna Buswa, fled from Coorg into Mysore and claimed the protection of the British resident, Mr. Cassamajor, from the violence of their relative. The prince entertained a criminal passion for his sister, whose resistance he had threatened to visit with death. This conduct, except for its pre-eminent depravity, was in no way at variance with the ordinary course of his life, which was

* See vol ii. page 498 et seq.

but a continued series of crime and cruelty. The fugitives received from the British government the protection which they sought. In the meantime the Rajah, it was ascertained, had taken measures for increasing his military strength, the object of which proceeding was involved in doubt. It was currently rumoured that his intention was to invade Mysore. The British resident, however, was of opinion that the views of the Rajah were purely defensive, and that he was acting under the apprehension of being himself attacked by a British force. To obtain some definite information and to calm the fears of the Rajah, if any were entertained, Mr. Cassamajor was deputed to visit Coorg. The result was not very important. The British resident found the state of the country as bad as imagination could have pictured it, and he made some representations on the subject. These, as might have been anticipated, were without effect. The Rajah denied the existence of discontent, and repelled all suggestions for improvement. But he disclaimed any intention of offensive warfare, alleging that he had been led to apprehend an invasion of his own territories by the Company's forces, and ascribed to this cause the preparations which he had made for increasing the efficiency of his army. With regard to this last point, the British resident expressed a hope that his visit had not been unproductive of good in putting an end to the Rajah's fears.

The resident was to have borne a letter to the

CHAP.
XXVII.

Rajah from the governor of Fort St. George, but it did not arrive until after his return. It was then transmitted by another person, and the Rajah forwarded an answer filled with complaints against Mr. Cassamajor, and demanding the surrender of Chinna Buswah. Further letters were interchanged, the subject of some of them having arisen out of the altered circumstances of Mysore. Here it is necessary to state that, previously to the commencement of the differences with Coorg, it had been found expedient to bring into operation that portion of the treaty with Mysore which empowered the British government, in case of need, to assume the entire administration of the affairs of that country. An insurgent poligar had fled from Mysore, and, according to report, had found a refuge in Coorg. His surrender was demanded; but the Rajah, in reply, while denying the presence of the poligar in Coorg,* complained warmly of the conduct of the British government in requiring him to give up fugitives from Mysore, while his claims for the surrender of rebellious subjects were disregarded. The tone adopted by the Rajah in this and other communications was in the highest degree uncourteous and offensive.

Mr. Cassamajor, who had for some time discountenanced the belief of the Rajah's hostile intentions, had subsequently changed his opinion. In September, A. D. 1833. 1833, he recorded a minute, declaratory of his con-

* It subsequently appeared that the fugitive poligar never had been in Coorg.

viction that measures should be immediately taken to terminate the correspondence with the prince. Before this time the resident had expressed a wish to be relieved from the duty of carrying on communications with the Rajah, and he now suggested that Mr. H. S. Graeme, resident at Nagpore, but temporarily sojourning for the benefit of his health at Bangalore, should undertake the task which he was anxious to relinquish. The suggestion was adopted, and Mr. Graeme appointed. The instructions transmitted to him were altogether of a pacific and conciliatory character. Some doubt was thrown upon the accuracy of the information forwarded to the government. The reports, it was said, which had been received from the resident, as well as from other British officers in Mysore, relating to the hostile preparations of the Rajah, and to other points connected with the affairs of Coorg, had been so various and contradictory, as to lead the government to believe that much of the information afforded had been greatly exaggerated, if not entirely unfounded. In descending to particulars the same tone was maintained. The extension of protection and assistance to the refractory poligar from Mysore was not regarded as proved, and in this view the government of Fort St. George deemed it advisable to abstain from any direct requisition for his delivery. Further, the fact, if ascertained, that the poligar had found refuge within the Coorg frontier was, it was stated, of little importance, unless it should appear that he had been furnished by the

CHAP.
XXVII.

Rajah with means of maintaining himself in a hostile position towards the British government. A hope was expressed—a very desperate one it must have been—that by a cautious avoidance of subjects calculated to irritate the Rajah, that prince would be made sensible of the impropriety of his recent behaviour, and would be induced to retract the offensive language, towards the British resident in Mysore, in which he had indulged in his correspondence with that functionary. A letter, framed in a similar spirit, was addressed to the Rajah. In this paper his alleged preparations were treated as entirely defensive—as arising from “fears entertained by his highness of some hostile measures on the part of the British government,” and these fears he was urged to dismiss. To the Court of Directors the representations transmitted by the local government were of a character scarcely less favourable.

Their expectations soon experienced a shock. The Rajah declined receiving a visit from Mr. Graeme under the pretence of illness. His reluctance was attributed to the dislike which he felt for Mr. Cassamajor, and to the belief which he was supposed to entertain that Mr. Graeme had been selected by the advice of that gentleman. Some attempts were made to remove the unfavourable impression of the Rajah by complimentary and apologetic communications, but their only fruit was the expression of a wish on the part of the Rajah to receive Mr. Graeme as soon as he should be sufficiently recovered, accompanied by the extraor-

inary intimation of a desire that the new agent of the British government should be accompanied by his predecessor, Mr. Cassamajor, who, it was understood, held no favourable place in the Rajah's opinion. No time, however, was appointed for the desired meeting, and Mr. Graeme returned to Bangalore. Personal communication seemed hopeless, but its place was supplied by a voluminous correspondence, which it would be at once tedious and useless minutely to pursue. The Rajah referred to an alleged assurance, given in writing, by the British resident some years before, that all regulations for the surrender of fugitives from Coorg should be complied with. This appeared, however, to be a characteristic instance of native misrepresentation. The Rajah, on the occasion alluded to, had expressed a hope that no departure from the established practice of the reciprocal delivery of criminals seeking refuge within the jurisdiction of the other circar would take place. In reply, he was assured that, if the place were pointed out to which subjects of the Coorg circar, who had committed murder and robbery in that country, had fled, the necessary orders for their seizure would be given. This assurance, it is obvious, did not apply to the flight of the Rajah's sister and her husband. They were not criminals. They sought to escape not the punishment awarded by justice, but the penalty denounced by tyranny. They claimed not impunity for their own crimes, but protection from the crimes of others.

Mr. Graeme seems very soon to have regarded

CHAP.
XXVII.

the success of his mission as hopeless, so far as his personal efforts were concerned, but he thought it probable that better fortune might await an attempt to negotiate through native agency. Two persons were accordingly selected, one a parsee merchant of Tellicherry, named Davoshah, the other named Hamagery Merion, in employment under the principal collector of Malabar. These proceeded to Coorg under the presumed protection of passports furnished by Mr. Graeme. Ere long, however, fears were entertained for the safety of the native diplomatists, and it was deemed necessary formally to warn the Rajah of the consequences of any act of violence exercised towards them. Davoshah was then permitted to return to his ordinary place of abode: his colleague, less fortunate, was forcibly detained at Coorg. Mr. Graeme remonstrated. The Rajah persisted in detaining Hamagery Merion till the conclusion of an inquiry into certain charges of intrigue said to have been made against him, an act which he defended by reference to the case of the fugitives from Coorg, who had been stationed in the British dominions. This specimen of reasoning is by no means calculated to give a high opinion of the Rajah's logical powers. Because certain parties from Coorg are permitted, at their own express desire, to reside within the British territory, he argued that he was justified in detaining in Coorg an accredited agent of the British government, in opposition to his own wishes and in violation of the dignity of the state which he represented.

The Rajah was again addressed; again reminded of the probable consequences of the course which he was pursuing, and a period was peremptorily fixed for the release of Hamagery Merion. Soon afterwards the governor-general arrived at Madras, his lordship having previously addressed a letter from Calcutta to the Rajah intimating an intention of proceeding to Mysore at an early period, and a hope of there meeting the prince, or some confidential agent, to consider the matters under discussion and adjust the existing differences. No answer being received to this letter, the governor-general, on arriving at Madras, dispatched another, notifying his approach, and informing the Rajah that at Bangalore he should expect a reply to his former communication. At that place, too, it was stated the governor-general expected to learn that the requisition of the British government for the release of its native agent had been complied with, in which event, and after explanation upon some other points, negotiations might be renewed, and it was hoped that the friendly relations formerly subsisting might be re-established. The period for releasing Hamagery Merion expired and that person was not released. The governor-general proceeded to Bangalore, but there the required answer to his letter did not meet him. It was now quite obvious, even to the most strenuous advocates of conciliation, that conciliation had been tried long enough; the most sanguine of those who had relied on negotiation as an instrument for terminating the existing disputes were

CHAP.
XXVII.

A. D. 1834.

now at an end. Nothing short of infatuation could prolong the hope of avoiding war; and an appeal to weapons, better adapted than argument to operate on the brutal mind of the Rajah, was resolved upon. Lieutenant Fraser had succeeded to the political duties previously performed by Mr. Graeme, who was about to proceed to Europe. The former officer accompanied the expedition against Coorg, and maintained communication with the vakeels of the Rajah up to the moment when the authority of the prince was about to pass from him, and when it must have been evident to himself, and all beside, that he had no course but unconditional submission. Few words will suffice to relate the results of the expedition. On the 6th of April a column, under the command of Colonel Lindsay, entered Mercarrah, the Rajah's capital, where the British colours were forthwith hoisted, under a salute of twenty-four guns. Piles of firewood were found in various parts of the palace, apparently collected with the intention of destroying the building, but from some cause the execution of the purpose had not been attempted. On the 10th the Rajah surrendered himself. His government was declared to be at an end, and the territories of Coorg permanently annexed to the British dominions.

The occupation of Coorg opened to the conquerors a vast body of evidence relating to the crimes of its former sovereign—evidence of numerous murders, some secret, some public, some the

offspring of revenge, some the results of a barbarous policy. Women, not less than those of the sterner sex—children as well as adults, were numbered among the victims of his cruelty. Of the royal house, not a single male, except the guilty Rajah, survived. The chief agent of the prince in the work of murder, and, as was believed, the prime instigator of many of his atrocities, was his dewan, and the close of this man's life was not unworthy of the career by which it was preceded. A reward being offered for his apprehension, he fled into a jungle a short distance from Mercarrah, upon one of the trees of which he was found hanging. Whether the dewan was his own executioner, or whether summary justice was inflicted by some other hand, cannot be certainly known, as the fact of his being discovered dead in the situation which has been described stands unillustrated by any explanatory evidence. But there is little reason to doubt that he added to the list of murders in which he had been concerned, either as principal or accessory, that of himself, and thus by the last act of despair avenged the numerous victims of his cruelty in the heart of the country which had been the theatre of his crimes. His profligate master was more fortunate. Relying, it may be presumed, on his royal privilege for earthly impunity, he did not brave the vengeance of heaven by prematurely rushing upon its judgment. He found that indulgence which it is the practice of the British government to extend to the fallen, and though subjected, as he must have anticipated, to restraint, he was pro-

CHAP.
XXVII.

vided for in a manner befitting, not his character, but his rank. Had his lot been cast in times when native power was predominant, and had he fallen before that which for the time possessed the ascendancy, his fate would have been very different. That his life should have been spared would perhaps have been beyond reasonable hope; but had this boon been granted, he would most probably have been doomed to linger out the wretched remnant of his days in perpetual darkness. By the bounty of the British government he enjoyed not merely life, but all the means of rendering life agreeable, save one. That one no human power could supply to a man who, in looking back on his past career, could discern nothing but a frightful array of the most atrocious crimes—tyranny and oppression, robbery and violence, unnatural lust, ferocious cruelty and wholesale murder.

In removing such a monster from the throne which he disgraced, the British government conferred a valuable boon upon the unhappy people who had suffered under his misrule; and he must entertain a very extravagant view of the rights of princes who can regard the act of removal as needing any lengthened justification. The annexation of the conquered territory to the British dominions is not, on the first view, so clearly justifiable, but a very few words of explanation will shew that, in this instance also, the right course was taken. The Rajah was childless, and he had taken effectual measures to cut off all pretensions to the succession not

derived from himself. The vacant throne was without a claimant, and the power which had occupied the country was called upon to provide in some manner for the administration of the government. A stranger might have been placed on the musnud; but there was no reason for the exercise of such self-denial on the part of the British government, more especially as the people manifested a strong desire to become British subjects. The existence of such a desire removed every pretence for hesitation, since it was indisputable that the change which they wished was for their own advantage, and that no rightful claim stood in the way of its accomplishment.

The administration of Lord William Bentinck was not fertile in great or interesting events. Those occurrences which have been selected for relation will not bear comparison, in point of importance, with the events of previous years; and for posterity, the period during which Lord William Bentinck held the chief place in the Indian government will have few attractions. Nothing which it is consistent with the character of history to notice remains for report or observation, but the diplomatic arrangements concluded under his lordship's rule, and the internal changes effected by him. The former were neither numerous nor important. The treaty rendered necessary by the refractory conduct of the Rajah of Colapore received its ratification from Lord William Bentinck. In Scinde a treaty was concluded with the Rajah of Khypoor, by Colonel

CHAP.
XXVII.

Pottinger,* principally with a view to the navigation of the Indus. With Hyderabad, in Scinde, arrangements having the same object were concluded by the same officer.†

Oude was, during Lord William Bentinck's administration, as at most other times, a source of apprehension and difficulty. To such a height had misgovernment arrived, as to overcome the reluctance of the home authorities to interfere in the affairs of native states; and the government of Bengal was authorized to assume for a time the management of the affairs of Oudé. Lord William Bentinck, however, abstained from exercising his authority, an act perfectly in accordance with the general character of his administration.

Turning to matters of internal arrangement, it becomes necessary to advert to the measures for the retrenchment of expense, which may be regarded as the most peculiar if not the most striking features of the policy which marked the period under review. At the time when Lord William Bentinck proceeded to India, various causes combined to impose on the Indian government the observance of all practicable frugality. At home, the profuse expenditure which had distinguished the administration of Mr. Pitt, and in spite of which that minister had retained, for an unprecedented period in the history of administrations, the confidence of those who had the largest

* Now Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart.

† Recent events render any detail of the particulars of these treaties unnecessary.

stake in the prosperity of the country, was no longer countenanced either by official practice or public approbation.

CHAP.
XXVII.
—

Opinion on almost every question had taken a turn, and whereas, not long before, the free outlay of money was disregarded whenever any object of national importance was to be obtained, every fraction of expenditure was now carefully watched; every kind of charge was scrutinized with a view to its reduction, and even the necessary and unavoidable expenses of the state were yielded grudgingly, and limited to the smallest sum believed to be required for ensuring the requisite service. An inquiry into the causes of this revolution would here be out of place; it is enough to say that retrenchment and reform had become fashionable. Of the doctrines of the day the ministers for the time being will generally be the advocates. Indebted to their advocacy, in some instances, for the elevation which they have attained—dependent upon a continuance of the same course for their retention of power—acting under the eye of a watchful opposition, ever ready to take advantage of any apparent indifference to principles which are supposed to be popular, and gathering from habit confidence in opinions which may originally have been taken up with little examination, they will infuse the spirit of their policy to a greater or less extent into every department of public business which falls under their supervision. Financial saving being the point to which almost every thought of the public men of

CHAP.
XXVII.
—

England was at this time directed, India naturally engaged a portion of the consideration so largely bestowed at home.

In this manner might the temporary prevalence of economical views in the cabinet be accounted for. There was indeed another cause which will hereafter appear. In the administration of Indian affairs, however, the enforcement of all practicable economy was neither new nor strange. The records of the Company exhibit a constant anxiety on the part of its authorities to retrench unnecessary expenditure, and to mitigate the burdens of the people whom they governed to the greatest available extent. With them the feeling has not been subject to intermission—it has been steady and unfluctuating. But at this time there was a special cause in operation, prompting frugality in the management of the Indian finances—the pressure to which, from the state of circumstances, they were subjected. Great expenses had been incurred, and the usual consequence had followed, that much difficulty was found in meeting them. Under a sense of this difficulty new measures of retrenchment were thought to be demanded, while others prescribed long before, but never carried into effect, were revived and ordered to be adopted. Among them was the diminution, in certain cases, of extra allowances long enjoyed by the military at distant stations under the name of batta.

The mode in which these allowances were regulated had varied considerably down to the year 1796,

when a uniform system was established, under which officers in garrison or cantonments were to receive what was termed half batta, with quarters or house-rent; in the field they were to receive full batta; and in the Vizier's dominions, in addition to full batta, a further allowance of equal amount, thus giving to the officer stationed there an advantage equal to that which they appear to have previously enjoyed under the name of double batta. Orders had been given from home for the abolition of double batta; but when the arrangement by which it was in fact retained under another name was reported, the Court of Directors, though expressing some disappointment, did not think fit to disturb that which had been done.

The answer of the Court of Directors to the despatch communicating the adoption of the above regulations was dated in 1798. In 1801 the court, however, ordered the discontinuance of the extra allowance to officers serving in the Vizier's dominions. The subject had in the meantime attracted the attention of the government of Bengal. It was understood that the expense of residing in Oude, the ground on which the allowance was granted, had been greatly exaggerated by report, and it was believed that the effect of maintaining the privilege was to make every officer anxious to go to Oude and unwilling to return. The regiments stationed elsewhere, it was alleged, lost their best commanding officers, who, from the desire of the government to gratify men whose merit entitled

CHAP.
XXVII.
—

their wishes to attention, were transferred, at their own solicitations, sometimes pressed with great earnestness, to the Vizier's dominions. Further it was represented, that as the extra allowance commenced on going into the field beyond the province of Oude, the grant of it operated as a check upon the natural and honourable desire of officers to be employed on active service. On these grounds, with little reference to financial considerations, but rather from a regard to the spirit, activity, and discipline of the army, the Bengal government had anticipated the orders of the court for abolishing the extra allowance. They at the same time made another change. Great expense had been incurred in erecting and repairing quarters for officers at certain half batta stations. To guard against this for the future, the officers were to be required to provide themselves with quarters, and to compensate them for the loss, they were to receive, not the established allowance for house-rent, but full batta instead of half batta. This latter arrangement was adopted without any communication with the home authorities; but, on being reported, it was approved. The two changes appear to have been considered by the government of Bengal as parts of a single plan. They were so reported to the Court of Directors, the following remark being introduced into the letter in which they were communicated:—"The loss of the Vizier's allowances will be compensated to the aggregate body of the officers of the army by the grant which his Excellency in council has made to

them in certain cases of extra batta, in consideration of their providing themselves with quarters.”*

This view of the question was not confined to the Bengal government; it appears to have been entertained by the army: a point important to be noticed, as it was at a future period the origin of much dissatisfaction.

No further change was either made or meditated till the year 1814. A general review of the state of the military establishments of India appears then to have taken place at home, and it was ordered that the allowance of full batta at those stations where half batta and quarters had previously been granted should cease, and that, for the future, half batta and house-rent should be substituted. A revised scale of allowance for house-rent was at the same time furnished, the effect of which was to increase the amount at Madras and Bombay, but to diminish it at Bengal.

These orders arrived in India while the government were engaged in the Nepal war. The Pindari and Mahratta war followed, and for a time the authorities had far more important claims upon their attention than any arising out of disputable questions of allowances. When leisure was found for examining the subject, the Bengal government, instead of acting immediately upon the orders from home, deemed it proper to address to the Court of Directors a representation against their being carried into effect. The ground of their remonstrance

* Military letter from Bengal, 28th of May, 1801.

CHAP.
XXVII.

was the alleged compact previously adverted to. The court, they represented, "could not have been aware that full batta in Bengal stands on the footing of a compromise, for which the government stands virtually pledged, *in foro conscientiae*, since the order for granting full batta to the whole was contemporaneous with that for withdrawing double batta from a part." In place of the immediate reduction ordered, the Bengal government suggested that it should be prospective—that it should apply to no officer then in the service, but only to cadets who might thereafter enter it. The court rejected the suggestion, and severely censured the conduct of the Bengal government in making it, on the ground that such a proceeding tended to create expectations, which being ungratified, disappointment and dissatisfaction would ensue. Adhering to their former orders, they directed them to be carried into effect, but in a modified manner: the change was not to affect officers who at the time of the promulgation of the orders might be serving at the stations to which they applied, nor to the officers who should be sent to those stations on the next succeeding relief.

These orders were transmitted in November, 1823. The Marquis of Hastings had then quitted the government, but the prescribed retrenchment seems to have found no greater favour in the eyes of that nobleman's successor than in his. The local government still refrained from acting on them, and again transmitted an appeal against being required to enforce them. The ground they took

was on one point the same with that on which the preceding government had made its stand—the presumed compact between the Company and its officers. But they added, that if saving were the object, the financial situation of the Company at that time did not call for such a mode of effecting it. The financial state of India, however, at the time when these statements came under consideration, was not such as to lend them much aid, and the feeling then prevalent in regard to the administration of Lord Amherst was calculated to prejudice rather than to advance the success of the attempt to shake the resolve of the home authorities. The instructions heretofore controverted by the local government under two successive chiefs were once more repeated, and it fell to the lot of Lord William Bentinck to enforce them, which he did by general orders, dated the 29th of November, 1828.

The half batta question, though of some importance to the officers serving at the stations affected by it, would possess little interest for any other persons, were it not for the extraordinary warmth with which it was debated, and the protracted resistance offered to the mode of settlement prescribed from home. For thirty-two years (from 1796) the subject had been a source of disquiet and dispute. For fourteen years following 1814, positive orders from home had been either neglected or resisted. A governor-general was at length found ready to perform that from which his predecessors had shrunk ; but difficulty and disputation were not

CHAP.
XXVII.

to be at an end. The commander-in-chief differed from the governor-general. He proposed to suspend the issue of the standing order, and avowed his adherence to the opinion maintained by preceding governments, that the subsisting arrangement partook of the nature of a compact, and that the Company were precluded thereby from making the intended reduction. This opinion he seemed to have taken little pains to conceal, and to the publicity which it acquired the court ascribed much of the dissatisfaction which prevailed in the army with regard to the new regulation. Whether with reference to the existing differences, or from some other cause, Lord Combermere determined to resign the command of the army in India, which he had held not quite four years. Two of the members of council, both men of great ability and great experience,* seem to have regarded the change with apprehension, although they were more guarded than their military colleague in giving expression to their views. The governor-general therefore may claim the praise or the blame which by different judgments may be awarded to the reduction which he was the instrument of effecting. In this case he was indeed a mere instrument, but as he did not at all times exhibit a like measure of docility, it may be presumed that he was desirous of effacing the recollection of former errors by a signal manifestation of obedience. With regard to orders of such long standing, orders which had been so fully

* Sir Charles T. Metcalfe and W. Butterworth Bayley, Esq.

discussed, and often repeated, there could be little hope of changing the purposes of the home authorities by any fresh array of argument; but as diffidence of his own judgment was not among the weaknesses of the governor-general, it is probable that this consideration weighed little in determining his course.*

The publication of the general order produced, as was to be expected, great excitement in the army of Bengal. Numerous memorials complaining of the change effected by it were transmitted home; some of them, it is to be regretted, marked by an entire want of that calm and respectful tone which ought to characterize all communications addressed by those who serve to those entitled to their obedience, and the absence of which is an offence against good taste, not less than a breach of duty. Whether or not a more temperate course would have been attended with better success it is impossible to determine, but an offensive mode of prosecuting even a good cause is calculated to injure it, and it is not surprising that the remonstrances of the army on this occasion were without effect. It is not less extraordinary than lamentable, when military men, trained from their earliest youth in

* The opinion of Lord William Bentinck, shortly before he quitted India, appears to have been hostile to the reduction. In a Minute recorded by him in August, 1834, he thus adverted to the subject: "Trifling, however, as this deduction is upon the aggregate amount of the pay of the Bengal army, it has been severely felt by the few upon whom it has fallen, and has created in all an alarm of uncertainty as to their future condition, which has, perhaps, produced more discontent than the measure itself."

CHAP.
XXVII.

habits of subordination, and requiring, most properly, from those under their command prompt cheerful, and respectful obedience, are found to forget that duty which is inculcated by every act of their daily life—by every thing above, below, and around them. That the army should have felt the reduction as a grievance is not surprising: that they should have appealed against a measure so regarded by them was natural; but that in thus prosecuting a fair and reasonable desire to protect their interests they should overstep the bounds of duty and decorum, was neither natural nor excusable.

The half batta reduction was but one of a series of retrenchments in which the governor-general engaged, and not a very important one. Lord William Bentinck had come to India as a reformer, and his zeal was quickened by repeated exhortations to economy from home. The civil service received the benefit of his lordship's regulating hand, and if the amount of savings which he was enabled to effect were small, his enemies cannot deny that the amount of change was considerable, or that the seeds of disorder were so liberally distributed as to ensure an abundant harvest through many succeeding years. One fault which his lordship discovered, or thought that he discovered, in the civil service, cannot, with justice, be imputed to him. "While I am of opinion," said he, "that it would be difficult to form any agency more efficient than the civil service, and while I deem it necessary that its integrity as a body, and the secure prospect of honour and reward should be preserved to it, it is impossible to be insensible at

the same time to some of the disadvantages belonging to this in common with all exclusive orders. In all will be found the same disposition to view with satisfaction things as they are."* The governor-general, by whom this opinion was recorded, partook not of the failing which he denounced. He viewed nothing that existed with satisfaction: and although the short period of service usually enjoyed by the occupants of his high office did not enable him to change every thing, he made abundant use of the time and opportunities of which he was master. But the assertion that the members of the civil service have been generally disposed to view with satisfaction things as they are is at variance with facts—so widely at variance with them, that it must appear ludicrous to any one acquainted with the history of British rule in India. From the time of Warren Hastings the government has been a constant series of experiments, most of which have been abandoned before sufficient time had been allowed to ascertain the results. Change has succeeded change, with a rapidity without parallel in any other part of the world, and this among a people who, except under external influence, never change at all. The besetting sin of British rule has not been a bigotted attachment to an established order of things, but an over eager haste for improvement, leading often to evils greater than those which it sought to remedy. Of this feeling Lord William Bentinck possessed an ample portion. His readiness to pull down com-

* Minute of 10th of November, 1831.

CHAP.
XXVII.

manded the approbation of those who think destruction the greatest effort of human talent; but his attempts at construction for permanent use altogether failed. In the department last referred to he established a "rule of service," by which the emoluments of office were to be regulated, to some extent, by the period during which the holder had been effectively employed. This rule was immediately set aside by the Court of Directors, but its introduction had the effect of leading to other projects of similar character, each of which gave rise to prolonged discussion; the members of the service being in the meantime in a state of anxious uncertainty as to their position and prospects, and the attention of both the home and the local authorities diverted from the consideration of substantial and practicable improvements.

It has been already observed that, for some years preceding the administration of Lord William Bentinck, the current of opinion had set with great force in the direction of economical reform. Whoever will take the trouble of making the requisite observation will observe, that on this, as on many other subjects, opinion in a course of years exhibits an alternation of ebb and flow. At one time the servants of government are scarcely deemed worthy of remuneration exceeding that of the most ordinary labour. At another, abuses the most palpable and scandalous are permitted to exist without giving rise to the slightest alarm. Again the spirit of reform attains a fever heat, and the operation of retrenchment is commenced and carried on with a

blind recklessness of purpose, which knows but one object—to save expense, whatever be the consequences. The recurrence and the duration of these alternate states of apathy and zeal are determined, though not entirely, yet in a great degree, by the fluctuations of prosperity to which every country must be subject. In prosperous times extravagance is disregarded. When adverse circumstances arise it is deemed extravagant to satisfy the claims even of justice and necessity. At such seasons the salaries of public servants are looked to as a certain source of relief, and reduction is justified by reference to the pressure upon the public finances. This reason is so commonly and so confidently assigned, that its validity is rarely questioned; yet in truth it will not stand the test of examination. The amount of the service rendered by public functionaries is, it is to be presumed, as great in adverse as in prosperous times, and if so, it is deserving of the same amount of remuneration. If, indeed, it has been raised too high during a season of prosperity, it ought to be reduced; but, in this case, the right reason ought to be given—that reason being, not that the financial resources of the state are impaired, but that the office in which the proposed retrenchment is to be effected is overpaid. Such an abuse should not have been permitted to arise, and when redressed, it should not be under a false pretence. The financial resources of a state should be managed like those of an individual, with constant reference to prudence and to justice. Prosperity should

CHAP.
XXVII.

less and useless expenditure, nor should temporary difficulty render them insensible to the claims of justice. If the labourer be worthy of his hire, he should receive the just reward of his labour under any circumstances. Nothing short of the impossibility of rendering justice can be admitted as an excuse for withholding justice. There are many modes of useful and laudable expenditure which may be indulged during prosperity and suspended when prosperity fails; but the just remuneration of the servants of the state is an obligation unaffected by change of circumstances—at least by any ordinary change. That periods of financial pressure will arrive is not less certain than the recurrence of the vicissitudes of the seasons. By prudence the effects of the visitation may be mitigated. Preparation may be made which will render it unnecessary to resort to injustice as a palliative when the evil shall arrive: this is the proper course. But if public servants are in adverse times to be paid less than their services are worth, let those who maintain this position remember that it involves another—that when prosperity revives, such servants may, in justice, claim to be remunerated with reference not to the nature of their labours, but to the capacity of the state; if the state can afford to pay exorbitantly, it ought so to pay, simply because it has the means. This is a conclusion from which most reasoners will shrink, but it is legitimately drawn from principles very commonly avowed and acted upon.

Looking to the circumstances of their situation

he emoluments of neither the civil nor the military service of India can fairly be regarded as excessive. The time when imperial fortunes were raised by the servants of the Company has passed away. While it endured, the fortunes accumulated were not the savings from official salaries. They were sometimes the produce of lucky and perhaps lawful speculation; but, in too many instances, they were raised by practices which would not bear scrutiny. At present the utmost that a servant of the Company can hope for is, so to employ the more active period of life as to secure for its closing years such moderate provision as may suffice to avert from the season of infirmity and decline the corroding influence of anxiety; and even this he cannot effect without considerable attention to frugality. The military profession is in no part of the world overpaid. The Company's service has no advantage over the service of the Crown, except in being free from the necessity of purchasing promotion, and in the prospect of a limited provision on retirement. To counter-balance these, its members must be subject not merely, like their brethren elsewhere, to occasional residence in an uncongenial climate, as well as to the other disadvantages attending a wide separation from the land of their birth, but to such residence permanently; the climate and the separation are the constant and necessary conditions of their service—conditions for which the compensation afforded is certainly not excessive. The salaries of civil servants appear in a few instances large, but

CHAP.
XXVII.

these are the great prizes which not many can hope to attain—which none can reach without a long period of toil pursued under many discouragements. It must be remembered, too, that the offices which are highly paid require great ability as well as experience, and that they are attended by great responsibility. Rank and family connection are far less influential than at home in advancing the promotion of those who enjoy these advantages. A civil servant cannot make his way without a considerable aptitude for public business, and before he is permitted to engage in the attempt, he is required to be qualified by an expensive education at home. With a view to ensure a succession of persons properly qualified by character and mental acquirements for the duties which they are to discharge, and to secure the people of India from falling into the hands of mere adventurers, the service has been made an exclusive one, and a high test of qualification required from candidates for admission to it. It is possible that, if salaries were in some degree reduced, candidates might still be found; but looking at the vast power which must be intrusted to many Indian functionaries—to the wide discretion which must often be allowed them—to the temptations by which they are surrounded, the experiment would be unsafe. The character of the service was raised by the grant of liberal salaries, in place of the indirect acquisitions with which the Company's servants were wont to eke out the paltry allowances to which they were legally en-

titled—it would be deteriorated by any measure that should seriously affect the aggregate emoluments which now fall to its lot.*

It was not in financial affairs only that Lord William Bentinck was anxious to appear in the character of a reformer. Under pretence of improving the character of the civil service and providing for the advancement of merit, he sought to establish a system of universal espionage, better suited to the bureau of the holy office of the Inquisition than to the closet of a statesman, anxious to be regarded as the representative of all that was liberal. Every superior officer, court, and board, was required to make periodical reports on the character and conduct of every covenanted servant employed in a subordinate capacity. Like most of his lordship's projects, this plan met neither with approbation nor success, and it was soon abolished. Shortly before he quitted India, and when, consequently, it was certain that whatever inconvenience might follow no portion of it would be encountered by his lordship, he by a general order abolished the use of corporal punishment in the native army. Whether such punishment can in all cases be dispensed with—and whether the power of inflicting it be not emi-

* It will scarcely be denied that in all matters of public expenditure there is a point beyond which retrenchment cannot be carried with prudence or decency. Paine, the political writer (best known as Tom Paine), adverting to the income of the British monarch, said, that he could find an able-bodied man who would take the office for three hundred a-year; and perhaps he could, but it was not thought fit to make the trial.

CHAP.
XXVII.
—

nently calculated to avert the necessity for any punishment—these are questions of deep interest—questions which should never be discussed but in a spirit of grave and sincere anxiety to discover the truth. But, however they may be answered, the act of Lord William Bentinck must stand exposed to severe reprobation. He had no power to abolish the punishment with regard to one part of the troops serving in India, and the slightest reflection might have suggested to any mind but his own, the imprudence and inexpediency of abolishing it with regard to the remainder. When European and native troops are serving together in the field, what must be the feelings of the former on perceiving that the latter are exempted from a punishment to which they are exposed? If this reflection did not occur to Lord William Bentinck, he had far less of sober thought and deliberative power than became his character of governor-general of British India: if it did occur, his lordship cannot be acquitted of the charge of wantonly and recklessly provoking consequences which his successors might have bitter reason to lament.

But for the indulgence of similar extravagance in a variety of ways, the administration of Lord William Bentinck would appear almost a blank, and were all record of it obliterated, posterity would scarcely observe the deficiency, while it is certain they would have little reason to regret it. Yet there is one act for which it deserves not only to be remembered, but to be held in eternal honour. By Lord William

Bentinck an end was put to an atrocious system of murder, which many of his predecessors had lamented, but which none had possessed the hardihood to suppress. If every other act of his government be covered by oblivion—and his lordship's reputation would thereby sustain no loss—let one, at least, be rescued from the fate of the remainder. When future inquirers are desirous of ascertaining at what period and under what circumstances the horrible practice of Suttee, once so prevalent in India, ceased—when they seek to know to whom humanity is indebted for emancipating Hindoo widows from the necessity of destroying themselves by a death of torture on the funeral piles of their departed husbands, they will learn that it was Lord William Bentinck who afforded to the cause of truth and right this noble triumph. This recollection must not be permitted to perish—the honour of the British name forbids it. Murder is in British India no longer recognized by law; and if in the dark recesses of superstition instances may yet occur, the British nation and the British government are cleansed from participation in the guilt.

The best and brightest of his deeds has been reserved to close the history of Lord William Bentinck's administration. It remains only to state that he quitted India in May, 1835, having held the office of governor-general somewhat longer than the ordinary period; but having done less for the interest of India and for his own reputation than any who had occupied his place since the commence-

A. D. 1835.

CHAP.
XXVII.

ment of the nineteenth century, with the single exception of Sir George Barlow. His besetting weakness was vanity—the idol of his worship was popularity, and he sought to win its behests by an unrestrained sacrifice to what is called the “spirit of the age.” Economy was in fashion, and therefore Lord William Bentinck was an economist. It was a period when showy and noisy pretension was permitted, in many instances, to carry off the rewards and honours which were due only to deep and solid attainments, and Lord William Bentinck challenged praise for a system designed to work in accordance with the popular feeling—professing to foster merit, but, in truth, calculated to foster only undue influence. Punishments of the mildest and gentlest character were decreed in all cases where any punishment was to be inflicted, and Lord William Bentinck bade high for popularity upon this ground, also, by the abolition of corporal punishment in the native army. For all these acts, charity itself can assign no motive but a weak and inordinate appetite for temporary admiration. But from this imputation let the great act of his administration be excepted. Let it be hoped—let it not be doubted, that in abolishing the practice of Suttee he was actuated by higher and better motives—by a sense of what was due to the honour of the government which he administered, and to HIM by whom that government had been so wonderfully established and the empire subject to it so wonderfully extended.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE exclusive privileges continued to the East-India Company by the Act of 1813 expired in 1834. During the intervening twenty years, the doctrines of free trade had been establishing themselves in every quarter: at the end of that period their reign was at its zenith. The servants of the Crown had unreservedly avowed a conviction of their abstract truth, and much had been done towards carrying them into practical effect. The protection heretofore afforded to various branches of trade and manufactures had in many instances been withdrawn; even the old navigation laws of England, which had been regarded as the foundation of its maritime strength, and which had commanded the approbation of Adam Smith himself, had fallen before the triumphant march of liberal opinions. The altered circumstances which followed the restoration of peace to Europe had increased the cry for new openings for commercial competition, and rendered it more general and more fierce. An attack of unwonted vigour upon the privileges which the East-India Company yet retained was,

CHAP.
XXVIII.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

therefore, to be anticipated whenever those privileges should again come before parliament.

The usual period was not allowed to elapse before the note of preparation was sounded. In the year 1820 every interest in the country was suffering great distress. Free trade was, by its advocates, loudly vaunted as the only efficient remedy, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, who took the lead upon the subject in the House of Lords, gave notice of a motion for a select committee to inquire into the foreign trade of the country, which motion, on the 26th of May, he brought forward. In the course of the speech with which his lordship introduced the motion, he adverted to that which had previously been a subject of popular animadversion and complaint—the facilities enjoyed by the Americans, in regard to the trade with China, in comparison with those of the merchants of Great Britain. The motion, being unopposed by the ministers, was carried, and the committee appointed. On the 5th of June Mr. Baring, in the House of Commons, moved for the appointment of a committee on the same subject; and this motion also was carried, not only without opposition, but even without remark.

It falls not within the purpose of this work to dwell upon any of the various objects of inquiry to which the two committees directed their attention, excepting such as related to the trade of the East-India Company. The most important of these was the refusal to British merchants of the privileges already noticed as enjoyed by those of America.

American ships were allowed to carry British manufactures from Great Britain to China, a privilege denied to British ships. With the manufactures thus carried from the shores of England, an American merchant might purchase the produce of China, and bring it from thence to any part of Europe excepting Great Britain. The right to trade between China and continental Europe was not indeed a privilege granted by the British government, for that government had no power to withhold it, but the interdiction of similar communication by British traders was its act; thus Englishmen were restrained from participating in a beneficial trade, and thus were its profits thrown exclusively into the hands of foreigners. The Americans had another advantage in being enabled to carry on a profitable trade in furs between the north-western coast of America and China, in the practice of which the English were restricted. On these points, as well as with regard to increasing the facilities of trade in the Eastern Archipelago, and reducing the amount of tonnage requisite for obtaining a license for the trade with India, the two committees called for the opinion of several Directors of the East-India Company. These opinions were decidedly opposed to any further concessions, and as the statements made on behalf of the Company by Mr. Charles Grant appear to embrace all that could be urged on that side of the question, it will be sufficient to refer to them for the reasons upon which the

CHAP.
XXVIII.

opposition was founded. Mr. Grant maintained that the monopoly of the China trade was necessary to enable the Company to carry on the administration of the government of British India, and that the desired relaxation of the monopoly would be injurious to the interests of the Company in China, if at all consistent with the maintenance of their footing in that country. He argued further, that the expectations of those parties who sought to participate in the trade would be disappointed; in support of which view he adverted to the jealousy with which foreigners were regarded in China, to the restrictions imposed by the government there on its own subjects in their dealings with foreigners, and to the exactions and insults to which the latter were subjected. "The sovereign of Great Britain," said Mr. Grant, "after sending repeated embassies to the Emperor of China, has failed to obtain any change in the jealous, narrow policy of that government. The India Company, after a settled connection of above a century with the country, is confined in all its operations" to one port and one restricted channel; "and preserving these only by great circumspection. What chance, then," he asked, "of greater influence can a number of unconnected individuals possess, when their very number and appearance must be more likely to increase the repugnance of that cautious government?" He reminded the committee that the East-India Company acted as an individual, that it had a unity of councils and of operation. "It is so far," said he,

“a match for the Chinese company, the Hong. Its imports are not depreciated as they would be if brought in by various individuals, each going to market for himself; in this way one might continually offer lower than another, and the general standard of the price of imports be lowered. In the purchase of goods for exportation directly the contrary might be expected; competition would enhance their prices; and thus the trade, both in imports and exports, would be turned against the British merchant by the number of dealers. If, indeed, there were in like manner many buyers and sellers on the other side, both parties might perhaps meet at a point of equality; but it is not to be forgotten that the Chinese hong would be like the Company's factory, but one individual; therefore the disadvantage would be both ways against the numerous and unconnected foreign dealers.” Mr. Grant adverted to the danger of dispute and affray from an influx of ships and traders, with their crews and servants, actuated by the ordinary feelings and impulses, good or bad, of the country to which they belonged, owing no subjection to the Company's representative, and in all probability not disposed to yield any. The establishment of a consul on the part of the Crown Mr. Grant thought would be useless and embarrassing. The consul, he argued, “would not have that kind of weight which property and dealings give, but he would in some sort represent a great sovereign, and it might therefore not become his office to submit to indignities which the

CHAP.
XXVIII.

servants of a body of merchants could endure without incurring any disgrace." He referred to the frequent quarrels which had occurred between the Company's seamen and the Chinese, as well as the serious consequences that had resulted from them, and anticipated an increase of fresh disturbances from any approach to opening the trade. To the objection that American seamen resorted to China in great numbers without producing mischief, he answered that these were a different class of men from those employed in British ships. They received during the war double the pay of British seamen, and after the restoration of peace half as much more. They enjoyed other indulgences not granted to British seamen, were interested on their own behalf in the voyage, and were looking forward to becoming officers and commanders.

The trade carried on by the Americans between China and Europe Mr. Grant was disposed to treat as of small account. He believed that the whole amount of American importations from China to foreign Europe did not greatly exceed three hundred thousand pounds, and he asked, ought the long subsisting relations between England and China to be hazarded for the utmost possible profit of such a trade, or even for the amount of capital employed in it? The trade between China and the Indian Archipelago he represented as small and incapable of much extension. A very inconsiderable part of this trade was possessed by the Americans, the greater portion being carried on by British sub-

jects residing in India. The effect of the desired change, therefore, Mr. Grant argued, could be only to take some part of the trade from the latter class of persons and transfer it to their fellow-subjects residing in England.

The fur trade carried on between North-west America and China Mr. Grant regarded as unimportant. "If the whole of this fur trade," said he, "were in British hands, it need not employ more than one ship, or at most two, annually; but what rational hope can be entertained that the merchants of Great Britain could enter into a successful competition in this trade with the subjects of the United States, who are rather nearer to the north-west coast, and are already in actual possession of the trade?"

With Cochin-China and other countries, to which reference had been made, Mr. Grant did not think any opening for the extension of commerce existed, and he adduced as proof the fact, that though those countries were open for ships of three hundred and fifty tons and upwards, none had been sent. The restriction as to tonnage, he urged, was imposed, not for a commercial but for a political object; and though small ships might be preferable for shallow, obscure ports, where little trade could be expected, large ships were better adapted to carrying on commerce with countries like Tonquin and Cochin-China, having large, deep bays. Small ships, moreover, afforded an insecure medium of commerce among a people so treacherous as the Malays.

Such were the statements and arguments of one

CHAP.
XXVIII.

of the most able as well as most zealous advocates of the maintenance of the existing system, without change or relaxation. Other witnesses, some of them merchants of great eminence, including Mr. George Lyall* and Mr. Edward Ellice, of London, and Mr. John Gladstone, of Liverpool, offered testimony of very different effect; and, after examining the evidence on both sides and weighing its value, many impartial inquirers will be led to the conclusion that, on this occasion, the East-India Company were somewhat unduly sensitive as to the probable effect of relaxation. The concession of much that was asked was perfectly consistent with the retention of their right to the exclusive supply of Great Britain with the products of China, and of a general supremacy in the trade with that country. It was probable—it was almost certain, that the expectations which the mercantile interest entertained, or avowed, as to the extension of the market for English goods in China, would be in a great degree disappointed; but the fact, that the Americans had succeeded in introducing such goods to some extent, was beyond question, and why Englishmen should not enjoy the same advantage, whether it were great or small, it was impossible to shew.

The evils of competition, whatever they might be, were not matter for apprehension—they actually existed. The Americans were the competitors of the Company in the sale of British

* Now a Director of the East-India Company, and M.P. for the City of London.

goods at Canton, and English traders could have been no more. The East-India Company were, in fact, quite uninterested in the decision of the question, for all that was sought, in this respect, was the admission of British subjects to advantages already enjoyed by foreigners, and that with regard to a branch of trade into which the Company did not enter. The case is clearly stated in the evidence of Mr. Lyall. "The restrictions," he said, "prevent our carrying the produce of China directly to the continents of Europe or America, which trade is open to the Americans or any other power. The Americans and other powers also can take the commodities of this or any other country to China, from which British private traders are likewise excluded; and as the East-India Company do not carry on any direct trade from China to the continent of Europe or America themselves (and I believe are prevented by their Charter from doing so), the effect of the restrictions is to force a valuable trade (in which this country would participate largely) into the hands of the Americans and other foreign nations, without any British interest whatever deriving any advantage from it, not excepting the East-India Company; so that, in fact, they may be considered as virtually establishing a monopoly in favour of America, to the exclusion and prejudice of the whole British community."*

* The blunder of having suffered this state of things to continue, when, in 1813, so many old restrictions were swept away, shews how little discrimination the ministers of that date exer-

CHAP.
XXVIII.

With respect to the danger of disturbance at Canton, it was stated, that the difference of character between the British and the American seamen was exaggerated. American sailors, it appeared, did not, in all cases, participate in the advantages of the voyage, and they were believed, by competent judges, to be not more easily controllable than the same class of persons from Great Britain. At all events, some precautionary measures might have been readily adopted. The Company might have been invested with such a controlling power over all British subjects, as would have rendered it as practicable for their representatives to restrain the excesses of the crews of private traders, as those of the seamen navigating their own ships. This would, undoubtedly, have given rise to clamour, but absurd clamour should be disregarded. The limited character of the trade, as well as that of the commercial intercourse with the islands of the Archipelago and other countries, seems to afford but a very weak argument against admitting to its participation all who are fairly entitled to expect it. The same remark applies to the fur trade with America. Whether it were extensive or unimportant, lucrative or the reverse, why should any subject of the British Crown be restrained from engaging in it, or criticised as to what they conceded or what they refused. Of similar incompetence to judge of the interests of Great Britain in the East, too many instances have occurred since as well as before the period referred to: not the least striking was the surrender of Java.

pled by unreasonable conditions, when, in the exercise of his enterprise and industry, he was guiltless of interfering with the rights, and even with the interests, of any of his fellow-subjects? The fur trade, as far as the English were allowed to embark in it, was subject to this hardship. The licenses granted by the East-India Company compelled those who traded under them to sell their furs in China for money, and to pay the proceeds into the Company's chest for bills on England. The difference of price between selling for cash and that which could have been obtained in barter for Chinese produce for sale in foreign Europe or America, varying necessarily according to circumstances, was reported as ordinarily amounting to twenty-five per cent. This was certainly an inconvenient interference with the natural and ordinary course of commerce, and the result was, that the transport of furs to China passed entirely into the hands of the Americans.

The restriction as to the tonnage of ships was, it appears, imposed principally from an apprehension of smuggling; and its expediency must be determined in a great degree with reference to this point. All such restrictions, however, are in themselves evil, and a strong case of necessity is required for their justification. The other reasons assigned for maintaining this restriction do not appear entitled to much consideration. Merchants and seamen may be supposed, in most cases, the best judges of the species of craft fit for navigating the waters in any given quarter, and those acquainted with the Indian seas

CHAP.
XXVIII.

CHAP.
XVIII.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

might be allowed, without much danger, to determine for themselves the degree of risk which they incurred of being murdered by the Malays.

The reports of the two committees were, as must have been expected, favourable to a relaxation of the measures which the Company thought necessary for the protection of its privileges; but the existing compact was respected by the legislature, and no attempt was made to force a compliance with the suggested innovations. In the meantime the mercantile and manufacturing interests were gathering their strength for the fight which, at no very distant period, was to take place, and the issue of which was to determine the fate of the remaining privileges of the East-India Company.

Indistinct murmurings preceded the coming storm; and at length those anxious to participate in the restricted trade began to speak out. On the
A. D. 1829. 12th of May, 1829, the House of Lords was enlightened by a petition from Manchester, presented by the Marquis of Lansdowne. The petition, according to the statement of the noble marquis, prayed that the Lords would take into their early consideration the expediency of opening the trade to the East-Indies. It seems to have been forgotten that the trade was already open. The form of obtaining a license was required, and there was some limitation as to the ports to which ships were to proceed: such limitations, however, exist almost everywhere; and it must not be supposed that the petitioners sought unrestricted freedom of commerce. On the con-

trary, they modified their application for a consideration of the expediency of opening the trade to the East-Indies, by adding, "and of imposing such limitations upon that trade as might be consistent with the commercial and manufacturing interests of this country." The commercial and manufacturing interests of India were not deemed worth a thought. After some very general remarks in favour of the prayer of the petition, the Marquis of Lansdowne said, "he was well aware that the most extravagant expectations had been raised. Those expectations had arisen out of the depressed circumstances of the country, which induced persons to look out anxiously for an opening in which to employ their capital. The petitioners stated that the opening of the trade to India"—it being already open—"would be calculated more than any thing else to raise the manufactures and trade of this country to that prosperity from which they had fallen; and he was sure that, under such circumstances, the petition would meet with their lordships' attentive consideration." Lord Calthorp presented a similar petition from Birmingham. Lord Ellenborough, president of the Board of Commissioners, expressed his conviction of the great importance of the subject, but declined giving any intimation of the course which ministers intended to pursue.

On the same day the cry of free trade was raised in the House of Commons by Mr. Huskisson. When Mr. Canning thought fit to relinquish his seat for Liverpool, on the ground that the re-

CHAP.
XXVIII.

CHAP
XXVII

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

presentation of a great commercial town was inconsistent with the duties of an adviser of the Crown, he surrendered the borough to Mr. Huskisson, who did not participate in the scruples of his chieftain.* As the representative of Liverpool, Mr. Huskisson was, of course, the enemy of the East-India Company; and in presenting a petition praying for the abolition of such exclusive privileges as that body yet retained, he entered into a long and laboured statement, for the purpose of shewing the great extension of trade which had taken place since the cessation of the Company's exclusive privileges with regard to India in 1813. It appeared, however, from a counter-statement made by Mr. Astell, chairman of the Company, that the accuracy of the alleged facts with which Mr. Huskisson had been provided was by no means equal to the vivacity of the expectations which he had been instructed to profess. With regard to the comparative prices and qualities of tea, one of the points at issue, Mr. Huskisson subsequently declared that he knew nothing, except what had been told him, and what he learnt from price-currents. On another point, which related to the amount of tonnage employed in the India trade at different periods, Mr. Huskisson did not venture any explanation or defence.

A.D. 1829. On Thursday, the 14th of May, Mr. Whitmore

* Mr. Huskisson was not at this time in office, having been compelled to quit it in consequence of his vote on the proposed disfranchisement of East-Retford; but he had been in office while member for Liverpool.

submitted a motion for inquiry, which was negatived without a division: it, however, furnished occasion for a very long speech from the mover, and some shorter ones from other members. Mr. Whitmore divided his subject into three heads—Great Britain, India, and China. Under the first Mr. Whitmore argued that a great opening might be obtained for the produce of our vast manufacturing power, and referred to the great increase which had taken place in the exportation of goods, and especially cotton, since 1813.* He appeared to feel disappointed at not finding a corresponding increase of imports, but attributed the deficiency, as usual, to the Company's monopoly of the China trade. In speaking of the interests of the Indian people, Mr. Whitmore poured forth a torrent of vague declamation;† and on China he contented

* Mr. Whitmore stated that, in 1814, the total amount of manufactured cotton exported was 818,203 yards, and that in 1828 it was 43,500,000 yards; that the value in 1814 was £90,000—in 1828, notwithstanding a great fall in price, £1,900,000. He did not state that this increased exportation had driven the manufacturers of India to starvation, and brought to ruin districts and cities previously flourishing and happy; nor did he state that the difference in the quality of English and Indian cotton goods vastly exceeded the difference in price.

† One or two extracts from Mr. Whitmore's printed speech (published by himself) may be sufficient to illustrate its tone and taste:—

“The monopolist, stripped of all his gorgeous but borrowed plumes, stands forth in his true character—an enemy to justice, a spoiler of other men's wealth, a destroyer of national resources, a contemner of the rights and liberties of the people.”

“If I were a friend to monopoly, instead of being its most

CHAP.
XXVIII.

himself with repeating such statements as he found suitable to his purpose in Mr. Crawford's work on the Eastern Archipelago. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Goulburn, thought the session too far advanced to admit of inquiry, and suggested its postponement until the next. Mr. Huskisson was for entering upon inquiry at once, as was also Mr. Hume. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald* and Mr. Robinson† supported the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Wynne lamented the continuance of the China trade for so long a period in the hands of the Company. Mr. Baring took an intermediate view between the opinions that had been advanced by other speakers, and appeared to have equal doubts as to the advantages and disadvantages of any course. Sir Charles Forbes thought the union of sovereign and merchant in the Company disadvantageous; but added, that, objectionable and faulty as the Company's government might be, it was preferable to that of our colonial governments; and he congratulated the natives of India on being placed under the government of the Company instead of the Crown. With regard to the China

inveterate enemy, I should say, banish every free trader from the limits of your charter, burn his ships, rifle his property, ruin his family; you would thus only follow out your own principles, and act consistently, if not justly."

* Afterwards Lord Fitzgerald and Vesey, and for some time before his death, in 1843, exercising with universal respect the powers of President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

† Now the Earl of Ripon.

trade, it was his opinion that the expectations formed of the advantages to be derived from opening it would be disappointed: that country was hermetically sealed against foreign commerce. The trade at Canton was carried on by a monopoly; the whole empire was managed by monopolies. The Hong merchants fixed the prices of the commodities, and the markets of Canton had maintained such a uniformity of prices for twenty years that the article of cotton had seldom varied beyond eight or ten tales per pecul. Trade was interdicted at every other port in China; and it was within his own knowledge, that an enterprising individual had fitted out a vessel for the purpose of forcing a trade in other ports of the empire, who had not only been unable to effect his object, but had been obliged to purchase provisions by stealth and with hard dollars. As to the trade with India, that, he contended, was to be increased only by that House. Let ministers begin by reducing the duties upon the commodities of India. A small duty was imposed upon English manufactures, and a heavy one upon Indian commodities. He asked, Was that reciprocity? Was that free trade? He hoped that the inquiry proposed would embrace, not our own interests merely, but those of the people of India. These statements and opinions, from one distinguished alike by his position in the commercial world, by his knowledge of India, and by his devotion to the interests of the people of that country, ought to have commanded deep attention.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

Mr. Astell afterwards addressed the House, in a speech marked by great ability as well as by great moderation. He said he had abstained from refuting the arguments and exposing the errors of the mover, in the belief that the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enter upon inquiry in the next session would have been satisfactory. He was a friend to inquiry, because he deplored the ignorance which pervaded the country with respect to India, to which he attributed the prevailing prejudice against the Company; prejudice which, he was persuaded, full and impartial investigation would disperse. Referring to the alleged increase of exports to India, he denied that it was by itself a proof of increased prosperity. To be satisfactory upon this point, the increased export should be accompanied by an increase of import from India. The Company had long been alive to the necessity of encouraging production in India. The article of cotton had received especial attention. But the muslins of India, once so famous, had been supplanted by the manufactures of Manchester and Glasgow. European articles, he said, were to be obtained at the presidencies as cheap as in England. He should be glad to have an opportunity of examining the whole subject in the next session, but, in the meantime, he must maintain that the Company had not been inattentive to the prosperity and happiness of the people of India. The more the institutions which we had introduced became known, the more would the benefit of our dominion

be acknowledged. The country was improving under our government. Experiments ought to be undertaken cautiously, and conducted temperately. Most especially should we bear in mind, that we were not to look merely to the extension of the commercial resources of our own country, but that our first duty was to look to the advancement of the happiness of the millions in the East subjected to our rule.

Mr. Warburton complained of the impediments thrown in the way of Europeans desirous of visiting India, at the same time that he complained of the want of sufficient protection for the natives against injuries inflicted by such persons. Against one part of the existing system for the government of India he was singularly bitter. The constitution of the Board of Commissioners he thought highly objectionable. With respect to the persons who composed that board, no doubt they had the interests of our Indian possessions sincerely at heart; but how was it possible, he asked, that they could do any good when they held office only by the tenure of a day? The moment they had learned to do their duty they were removed to some other office, and new persons were introduced, just as ignorant of the state of India as their predecessors when they first became members of the Board. This subject, he declared, required the serious attention of the House.

Lord Ashley made some remarks in reply to part of

CHAP.
XXVIII.

CHAP.
XVIII.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

Mr. Warburton's statements. He was followed by Mr. Brougham,* whose speech was devoted principally to pointing out the difficulties of the subject. He wished the entire abolition of the Company's monopoly, and if the mercantile question only stood in the way, it could, he said, be easily dealt with: but the difficulty was, how the removal of this monopoly could be accomplished with perfect security to the other great interests that were concerned—with safety to the essential interests of the immense country governed by the Company, and with safety, also, to its long-established government. When he said this, it would be at once conceived, that he did not wish to transfer that government to this country, because, though an anomaly, yet the government of India, as regarded the interests of the people and the maintenance of due and legal subordination, could not, he thought, be placed so safely in other hands, even if they lived to see the Company cease to be traders, and aspire only to be governors of a mighty empire. Taking into view every thing connected with the subject, he thought it better to defer inquiry until an early period of the next session. A short reply from Mr. Whitmore closed the debate. The result has been already mentioned.

Early in the session of 1830 the question of the renewal of the privileges of the East-India Company was introduced in both houses by the govern-

* Now Lord Brougham and Vaux.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

A. D. 1830.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

ment. In the House of Lords, on the 9th of February, Lord Ellenborough moved for a select committee "to inquire into the present state of the affairs of the East-India Company, and the trade between the East-Indies, Great Britain, and China." In his speech prefacing the motion, Lord Ellenborough adverted with some indignation to the fallacies and erroneous reports which, he observed, had been scattered through the country. Among these, he gave a prominence to one assertion, most industriously propagated—that the territorial finances of India derived no benefit from the commercial funds or profits of the Company. So far from that being the case, it would, his lordship said, appear from the documents laid before parliament, that, during the course of the sixteen years that had elapsed since the modified renewal of the Company's privileges, the territorial finances of India had been aided, either directly or indirectly, by as large a sum from the Company's commercial profits as had been appropriated to the payment of dividends to the proprietors of East-India Stock. In other words, the Company had applied to the benefit of the people whom they governed, a portion equal to that enjoyed by themselves of the net profit derived from the exclusive trade, against which so much interested clamour was raised. Lord Ellenborough, in other parts of his speech, alluded to the increased consumption of tea, and the reduction that had been effected in the price of that commodity; to economical reform, then an unceasing topic of discussion; to the substitution of

CHAP.
XXVIII.

native service for that of Europeans; and to the desire shewn by the East-India Company to increase the commerce of India with England, as manifested by a large reduction of the duties imposed on the importation into the former country of the manufactures of the latter, as well as by a corresponding reduction in the duties on the export of indigo and cotton, articles of great importance to British manufacturers. The Marquis of Lansdowne signified his approbation of the motion, and expatiated on the importance of the duty which the House was called upon to perform; after which the debate diverged into a discussion of a personal nature, which it is unnecessary to pursue. Lord Ellenborough's motion for the appointment of a committee was carried.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, Mr. Peel (now Sir Robert Peel) moved for the appointment of a select committee. Having stated his reasons for referring the whole subject to one committee, he proceeded to speak of the conduct of the East-India Company. Looking to the representations of which he was in possession, viewing the documents that were in his hands, he was bound to say, that any investigation into the conduct of that body would, he believed, tend to their credit. Contrasting the administration of the Company with that of any other colonial establishment that ever existed, he was convinced that their conduct had redounded greatly to their honour. On the commercial part of the question he refrained from giving

any opinion, while on that which he admitted to be the most important of all, the welfare of the people of India, he urged the propriety of endeavouring, while keeping them under British rule, "to atone to them for the sufferings they endured, and the wrongs to which they were exposed in being reduced to that rule; and to afford them such advantages, and confer on them such benefits, as may in some degree console them for the loss of their independence."

CHAP.
XXVIII.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

Here are admissions which do not seem warranted by facts. There is scarcely an instance in which any portion of the people of India have suffered wrong by being brought under British rule; and as to consoling them for the loss of their independence, the slightest knowledge of the practice of native governments is sufficient to shew, that under them no portion of individual independence subsists—that personal liberty and property are both held at the caprice not of the sovereign merely, but also of his minions; that to possess wealth is only to possess a title to the privilege of being plundered, and that the administration of what is called law has nothing to do with the maintenance of right; but that a judge, under such a government, stands towards a similar functionary in a well-regulated state, in the same relation in which a professional poisoner stands to a physician. So far from needing consolation for having been emancipated from the curse of being governed by their own countrymen, the subject-

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

tion of India to the mild yoke of Britain must be regarded by all impartial men as a subject for congratulation.

After some remarks from Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Peel submitted a list of the proposed committee. Sir James Macdonald and Mr. Hume objected to the introduction of the names of two or three East-India Directors, and General Gascoyne (member for Liverpool) took the same course, because one of the members named had written a pamphlet in favour of the East-India Company. The members who were either led by their inclinations, or compelled by their position, to oppose the renewal of the Company's charter, seemed to think that no committee could be a fair one unless composed entirely of persons devoted to one side of the question into which they were to inquire.

This was noticed by Mr. Astell, who observed that he knew not why the defenders of the East-India Company were not to be heard in the house, or in the committee, as well as its professed opposers, nor why a gentleman who had been the public advocate of opinions hostile to the renewal of the Company's charter, and because he had presented petitions to the same effect, was on that ground to be appointed a member of the committee, while Directors were to be excluded, because their leanings were presumed to be the other way. "He had hesitated," he said, "about making these remarks, but they had been drawn from him, and he called

upon the House to say whether his connection with the Company was, under the circumstances, a fitting ground for his exclusion."

These observations called up Mr. Huskisson,* who maintained that there was a difference between the Directors and persons who had not the same degree of interest in the concerns of the Company. The applicability of this remark it is not easy to perceive. If a man entertain a strong feeling on any subject, it matters not by what motives that feeling is produced. The Directors were naturally supposed to be favourable to the retention of the Company's privileges: many members of the House entertained, and had expressed, strong opinions in opposition to them. Why are one set of partisans less eligible members of a committee of inquiry than another? Both may be excluded without unfairness, but to exclude one party and admit the other would be monstrous. The fact, if true, that the assailants of the Company were perfectly independent in their hostility, would avail nothing. But it was not true. Can any one say that the representatives of Liverpool and Bristol, pushed on by whip and spur to break down an exclusive trade, of which their constituents wished to partake, were more independent than the Directors of the East-India Company? Mr. Huskisson, indeed,* during the latter years of his parliamentary career, main-

* Mr. Huskisson appears to have been the member alluded to by Mr. Astell.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

tained free trade doctrines with an earnestness which, if not the effect of conviction, must have originated in the less worthy sources of vanity or vengeance.* But his colleague, General Gascoyne, was not supposed to be deeply read in abstract doctrines of any kind, nor had he ever claimed the distinction to be derived from their advocacy.

Mr. Baring, who followed Mr. Astell, balanced the advantages and disadvantages of admitting East-India Directors to the committee, until it appeared almost impossible to determine in which direction the scale turned: on the whole, he seemed to conclude that it was preferable to have them. He thought the choice of the committee

* Mr. Huskisson's complete illumination on the subject of free trade came late. When his youthful admiration of the French revolution had been either removed by reflection or stifled by prudence, he obtained employment under the Anti-Jacobin administration of Mr. Pitt, by whom popular theories were not tolerated, and whose commercial policy, though somewhat more liberal than that of his predecessors, was yet remarkably cautious and guarded. With the party of which that statesman was the head, Mr. Huskisson continued to hold office for about twenty years, without breathing a whisper of free trade. Times changed, and Mr. Huskisson entered upon a mission for the dissemination of free trade doctrines with all the enthusiasm of a new convert, reserving only one important branch of trade from that perfect freedom which he claimed for all others, Mr. H. at that time representing a constituency (Chichester) whose welfare depended on the prosperity of agriculture. Not satisfied with upholding this exception in his place in parliament, he wrote a pamphlet for the purpose. Subsequently, when he became the member for a great commercial town, his zeal in the cause of this one favoured exception experienced a perceptible decline.

fair, but he said that he should go into the discussion with a strong impression that the task imposed upon them was beyond their power.

These views appeared to be adopted by Mr. Bright,* who, however, claimed that for himself which he denied to the committee. He should reserve to himself, he said, the right of judging the question just as if no committee of inquiry had been instituted. Mr. P. Thomson, who followed, accused his predecessor in the debate of inconsistency, he having, in a former session, been loud in calling for a committee. After Mr. Huskisson had objected to so many county members being placed on the committee, and General Gascoyne had given notice of an intention (which he did not fulfil) to move an instruction to the committee to take into consideration the trade with China, and the propriety of removing impediments in the way of a free trade with India, the committee was finally agreed to.

The committees of the two houses entered, without delay, upon the duty, for the discharge of which they had been appointed. The China trade was the first subject of inquiry, and the investigation was conducted, in the Commons committee more especially, with great and searching minuteness. Mr. Huskisson was one of the most active and diligent members. He was, as has been seen, a devoted partisan of one side of the great question in dispute, and the zeal which he brought to the service of the cause was on one occasion exhibited

* Member for Bristol.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

in a remarkable manner. The Company were by law * precluded from putting up their tea for sale at any price which, upon the whole of the teas put up at any one sale, should exceed the prime cost, with the freight and charges of importation, together with lawful interest from the time of the arrival of such tea in Great Britain, and the common premium of insurance as a compensation for the sea risk incurred. In the course of the examination of one of the witnesses called before the committee, it appeared that losses upon the outward trade to China were considered by the Company as losses upon remittances made to China for the purchase of teas. This fact was eagerly seized upon by Mr. Huskisson, who contended that it was a violation of the law, and that the Company had thereby forfeited their charter. He was not content with expressing a mere opinion on the point; he gave notice of an intention to propose that the committee should make a special report, giving it the weight of their united authority. This notable plan of annihilating the hated privileges of the Company at a stroke was defeated by the clear and convincing statements of a witness subsequently called—Mr. J. C. Melvill, auditor of the East-India Company's accounts.† His explanation of the operations of the Company was, "that all the Company's arrangements and remittances to China were made with a view, solely and exclusively, to

* 24 Geo. 3, cap. 38.

† Now Secretary to the Company.

supplying their treasury at Canton with funds for the purchase of tea."

CHAP.
XXVIII.

This principle is the key to the whole series of operations performed by the Company for the purpose, and which are thus described:—The Company every season endeavoured to form the best practicable judgment of the quantity of tea that would be required to enable them to comply with the obligation imposed by law, of keeping a year's consumption on hand, and of the cost of such quantity. The next step was to provide the means of paying for it. This was effected in various ways. The Company bought cotton in India for consignment to China, which cotton was paid for in rupees received in reimbursement of that portion of the territorial charges of India which was payable in England. This was one mode. Another was, the receipt of dollars in China in exchange for bills upon India, which bills were paid in rupees procured in the same manner as in the former case. A third mode was, the purchase of British manufactures for consignment to China, which were necessarily paid for in sterling money. In addition to these various operations, a very small sum was provided by bills drawn in China upon the Company in London. These were the arrangements made for effecting the Company's object; and with regard to all, it was maintained, and most justly, that the prime cost of the tea which they contributed to introduce into England was the sum expended in sterling money in providing the means of purchase, whether by

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

direct pecuniary remittances or by consignments of goods, which, with reference to this object, could be regarded in no other light than as remittances, together with the freight and charges of the homeward investment of tea. There seems little difficulty here, but various cavilling objections were taken to this mode of computation. It was argued that, according to commercial practice, the coin of a foreign country expended in the purchase of consignments to England should be converted into sterling money at the current rate of exchange. It was answered, that such might be the usage of merchants where funds for the purchase of consignments were provided by means of bills: it was not applicable to the transactions of the East-India Company; first, because it was not practicable to provide by bills the amount of funds required in China; and, secondly, that if practicable, such a mode would be incompatible with the existing financial relations between England and India. If the Company could buy the required quantity of tea by bills on themselves, their only means of meeting those bills would be the proceeds of the sales of the teas thus bought—that, consequently, they would be left without the means of defraying the territorial charges of India payable in Great Britain, comprising the reimbursement to the King's government of the expenditure incurred in respect of his Majesty's troops serving in India, the furlough and retired allowances of Company's officers, the cost of territorial stores sent to India, a portion

of the interest of the India debt, and other particulars. With regard to the modes of remittance adopted by the Company, it was stated that the least beneficial was the export of British manufactures; but this had been persevered in by the Company, partly from a natural inclination to push the sale of the commodities of their own country in foreign markets; partly, in former years at least, from necessity, the practice being enjoined on them; and, partly, from the expediency of providing, by various means of remittance, against the failure of funds in China—a consequence which might have resulted from a more restricted course.

With regard to the second of these reasons, it was mentioned that, so lately as the year 1826, a time when free trade was the creed of almost every party in the country, and certainly of the ruling party, the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, Mr. Williams Wynne being president, had remonstrated against a diminution of British exports, which, from the state of trade, the Company had been compelled to make. This diminution too, it is worthy of remark, was in the export to India, a country open to every merchant who chose to send goods thither. Had the diminution taken place in the exports to China, where the Company had an exclusive trade, there can be no question that the remonstrance would have been stronger and more decisive. While, however, the mode of remittance by British manufacturers was, as compared with others, ineligible, it was believed that it could not

CHAP.
XXVIII.

be altogether discontinued without reducing the advantages of other modes. If more cotton were taken from India, the value of cotton in China would be diminished; if more bills were drawn, the rate of exchange would be affected; and, on the whole, there was reason to conclude that, by the combination of various modes, the trade of the Company had been conducted as beneficially as was practicable. But, however this might be, it was evident that, with reference to such mixed modes, the proper method of fixing the prime cost of the tea was a computation founded on facts for which the rate of exchange would not afford data.

Another objection related to the charge made for interest in the Company's calculations. A doubt was expressed whether the Company ought, in fixing the price of tea, to charge interest previously to the arrival of the tea, interest from that period to the time of sale being allowed by Act of Parliament. This objection was met by pointing out that private merchants, in making similar calculations, would certainly include interest of money as part of the cost of an article, and that, if excluded in the case before the committee, the upset price of the tea would not be, as intended, the sum of the prime cost and charges, but that of the prime cost and charges exclusive of interest; the result being, that the public would have the use of the Company's capital for nothing. This result, as was justly remarked, could not be believed to have been within the intention of the legislature. It is not undeserving

of observation, that in their calculation of interest the Company displayed a singular liberality. The charge for interest upon their outward consignments from England was for six months—the proceeds of these consignments, it appeared, were not realized for ten months. Again: they were entitled by Act of Parliament to charge interest upon the stock of tea in warehouse until the period of sale. They did not avail themselves of this permission to its full extent, their charge under this head being limited to eighteen months, while the average period that the tea remained in warehouse was twenty months.

In calculating exchanges, the Company had been accustomed to compute the value of fine silver at the old Mint standard of five shillings and two-pence per ounce. This had become obsolete, gold having for some time been the only standard in Great Britain, and it was urged that by adhering to the old silver standard the Company had fallen into irregularity and error. It appeared that, upon an average of all the years from the renewal of the Company's term of the government of India and exclusive trade to China to the period of inquiry, there was only a small fractional difference between the value of the rupees at the market price and according to the old standard.

It is unnecessary to pursue further the captious and querulous objections raised by the enemies of the Company, and successfully disposed of by its witness, Mr. Melvill. It is sufficient to observe, that his evidence effectually silenced the assertion,

CHAP.
XXVIII.

that the Company had forfeited their charter by a systematic violation of the law, and the threats which were superadded to that assertion. It was henceforth clear, that, whatever might be its fate for the future, the Company must enjoy its privileges for the remainder of the period secured by law, or be despoiled of them by a breach of national faith.*

A.D. 1830.

Portions of the evidence taken before the committee had been reported to the House from time to time. On the 8th of July the chairman presented a report on the China trade, eminently distinguished by clearness, completeness, and impartiality. It exhibited a lucid and comprehensive abstract of the evidence without any expression of opinion. A shorter report on matters unconnected with the China trade, and being no more than an introduction to a part of the evidence, was also presented. On this occasion Mr. Trant expressed a hope that, in the following session, the committee which might be appointed would especially consider Indian affairs with reference to the interests of the natives of India. General Gascoyne reiterated his

* In one of his efforts to convict the Company of a systematic breach of the law, Mr. Huskisson fell into an absurdity inexplicable in a man of so much shrewdness. He supposed an adventure, in which the Company were to lose 500 per cent.; that is, were to lose five times as much as they placed in hazard; and asked with perfect gravity, whether they would feel the law not strained by fixing a rate which should cover that loss? The question does not appear in the printed evidence, it having been struck out in charity to Mr. Huskisson's reputation.

former complaints as to the construction of the committee, and condemned the report as betraying a partiality to the East-India Company. The enemies of the Company in the House were obviously disappointed by the results of the inquiry. Mr. Stuart Wortley defended the report, and Mr. Ward, the chairman of the committee, reminding the House that the report was only a summary of the evidence, stated that those members of the committee who were most opposed to the claims of the East-India Company expressed the highest opinion of its impartiality. He pithily added, that if the result of the evidence were favourable to the Company, it must be recollected that the committee had no power to constrain witnesses in their answers. Mr. John Stuart, a gentleman whose name was placed on the committee at the suggestion of Mr. Hume, added his testimony to the fairness of the report.* The committee of the House of Lords reported in a manner less elaborate than the Commons committee, but with some admixture of opinion.

In October the chairman and deputy-chairman of the Company were invited to an interview with the Duke of Wellington, prime minister, and Lord Ellenborough, president of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India. The Duke of Wel-

* The report on the China trade is attributed to Mr. Arbuthnot. It is believed to be the first report drawn up on the principle of giving a brief summary of the effect of the evidence, with references in the margin to the questions and answers, where it may be found at length. The example of thus framing a parliamentary report has since been followed in several instances.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

lington, in opening the business, suggested the probability of the Company being permitted to retain the government of India, but deprived of the monopoly of the China trade. The chairman, Mr. Astell, pointed out the financial difficulties which would arise from such a course; the advantages which resulted both to India and Great Britain from the continuance of the Company's trade with China, and the necessity that the security of the Company's capital should be guaranteed in the event of any change. It was observed in reply, that the Company would have the security of their fixed property in India, and with regard to the assistance afforded to India from the China trade, it was hoped that the reductions of Indian expenditure which had been and might hereafter be made, would bring the charges within the revenue; that if not, the deficit must be made good by loans, or otherwise, as parliament might direct; but that, on the supposition of the revenues of India being no longer assisted by the profits of the China trade, it would be necessary to subject the expenditure to general and efficient control.

The communication of the King's ministers having been submitted to a committee of correspondence,* a minute was recorded by that body, declar-

* At this time, the members of the Court of Directors were, for the more convenient transaction of business, distributed into three committees, called the Committee of Correspondence, the Committee of Buying and Warehouses, and the Committee of Shipping. The first, which managed the territorial correspondence, consisted of the nine senior members of the Court, exclusive of the chairman and deputy-chairman, and these being

ing that they could not recommend the Company to be a party to such an arrangement as that suggested by the minister of the Crown. It was remarked, that this was the first occasion, since the existence of the present system, on which a proposal had been submitted which, while it conferred no one advantage on the Company, put their commercial capital in hazard; leaving them without any security for the large sums which they had embarked in the government of India, except that which might be afforded by the property which they held in their own right, and which could not properly be taken from them. The advantage derived to India from the surplus profits of the China trade beyond ten-and-a-half per cent. (the amount to which the proprietors' dividends were limited) was pointed out, as well as the financial danger to be apprehended from the proposed change. These views, on being submitted at a later period to a Court of Directors, were approved and adopted by them.

Within a very short period of the interview which gave rise to the minute above mentioned, an important change in the King's councils took place. The administration, of which the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were the chief members, resigned, and a new one was formed under Earl

members of all committees, the total number was eleven. From its construction, it is obvious that the Committee of Correspondence must have possessed great weight and influence, both in the Court of Directors and with the Company. The distribution of the Court of Directors into three committees still prevails, but the names and allotment of duties are changed.

CHAP.
XXVIICHAP.
XXVIII.

Grey. It was composed of Whigs of various shades of liberality, with the intermixture of three or four members of the party of Mr. Canning. Among the latter was Mr. Charles Grant, the new president of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.*

One topic of absorbing interest occupied the principal share of attention, both in the cabinet and in parliament; but in this place it is proper to advert only to such proceedings as were connected with the Company's tenure of government and exclusive trade.

A. D. 1831. On the 4th of February, 1831, Mr. Grant moved the re-appointment of the Committee of Inquiry. Mr. Whitmore thereupon took occasion to express an opinion, that enough was already known to enable the House to take steps towards laying open the China trade. Mr. Hume concurred; while Mr. Cutlar Fergusson and Mr. Astell dissented from the views of Mr. Whitmore. On the 15th of April, Mr. Grant moved that notice be given of payment of the debt due by the public to the Company at the expiration of three years, preparatory to the cessation of its exclusive trade. On the 21st of April, on occasion of the Marquis of Lansdowne presenting a petition to the House of Lords from Glasgow, praying for a free trade to China, free trade to India, and permission freely to settle in India, Lord Ellenborough avowed, that it was

* This gentleman (now Lord Glenelg) has already been referred to on occasion of the renewal of the Company's privileges in 1813, as one of its most zealous and eloquent champions. His father, bearing the same christian name, was for many years an active director of the Company. Some of his efforts on its be-

the intention of the government of which he was a member to open the trade to China, and that, to enable them to effect that object, their efforts had been devoted to reducing the expenditure of India. This mode of supplying deficiency, vaguely hinted at in the communication made to the chairman and deputy-chairman of the Company, by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough while in office, was now avowed by the latter nobleman; and by exhibiting a motive previously concealed, the declaration assists in explaining the intense anxiety which had for some years been displayed to reduce expenditure, not only in cases where it was excessive, but in all cases without exception.

A dissolution of parliament having taken place, it became necessary on the meeting of the new one to re-appoint the committee on East-India Affairs, and a motion to that effect was made by Mr. C. Grant on the 28th of June. Mr. Whitmore complained that the directors of the Company had thrown impediments in the way of obtaining information. The charge was indignantly repelled by Mr. Astell, who maintained that the course pursued in the committee was strictly in accordance with the terms of its appointment. Mr. Cutlar Ferguson averred, that the directors had given every facility for inquiry by allowing access to their records, and charged Mr. Whitmore with having thrown every thing into confusion by the method, or rather want of method, with which he had conducted his inquiries in the committee. Mr. C. Grant

A. D. 1831.

also vindicated the directors from the suspicion of throwing any obstruction in the way of the inquiries which the committee had considered it their duty to institute. Mr. Hume agreed in the observations of Mr. Astell, who he said had clearly stated that, till the Company petitioned, the matter was in the hands of government; and Mr. Hume thought government should suggest some mode of conducting the business. Sir John Malcolm recommended that the various subjects before the committee should be looked upon as forming parts of an entire system; and Sir Charles Forbes, after reproving some members of the former committee for non-attendance, said that he hoped the interests of the East-India Company would be duly attended to, as the country owed to that Company a debt of gratitude. Sir James Macdonald thought inconvenience arose from there being two parties in the committee strongly opposed to each other; and Mr. Robinson attributed the difficulty to members going into the committee with pre-conceived opinions. The committee was re-appointed.

Notwithstanding the general feeling of satisfaction which had been expressed in the house with the conduct of the directors of the East-India Company in the inquiry, a feeling in which Mr. Whitmore appeared to be almost the only member who did not partake, and in which Mr. Grant had distinctly avowed that he participated, that gentleman, on the following day, complained to the chairman and deputy, that the opponents of the Company charged the directors

with a disposition to withhold information; that this notion was very prevalent, and that it was countenanced by the directors contending that the Company not being before the house, were not called upon in their corporate capacity, either to produce evidence in support of their own pretensions, or to expose the errors and mis-statements of their opponents. He added that the public were impressed with notions unfavourable to the Company, and that they were expected to come forward. In reply, the chairman, Mr. Campbell,* pointed to the progress that had been made by the committee; to the facility with which any further information might be obtained, either from the records of the Company, to which the Court were at all times ready to furnish access, or from the testimony of well-informed men; to the improbability that if a Court of Proprietors were convened, any thing they might do could be made available during the current session; and to the inconvenience and inexpediency of the Company petitioning without some communications of the views of ministers, similar to that made by the First Lord of the Treasury and President of the India Board during the late administration. The Court of Directors, it was added, might be disposed to meet the views of the ministers of the Crown, as far as could be done without compromising the interests of their constituents, or their own character; but the court would not recommend to the proprietors either to petition for a charter, or to receive one, unless the interests

* Now Sir Robert Campbell, Bart.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—C
X

of the proprietors were thereby secured, and the Company at the same time enabled to discharge all the obligations which might be imposed on them, with advantage to the State and credit to themselves.

Mr. Grant did not dispute the propriety of the conditions contended for by the chairman, but he said, the opponents of the Company complained that, from the difficulties and obstacles to which he had alluded, they were unable to make out their case, and could not, therefore, continue to take the lead: he thought, therefore, that it devolved upon the Company to come forward and shew grounds for the renewal of the charter. It was properly answered, that in reality the case of the Company was established by the failure of their opponents, and that when the Company petitioned parliament, they would be prepared to shew the expediency of maintaining the present system. Finally, the necessity, in reference to the numerous engagements of the Company at home and abroad, of an early communication of the views of government was pressed upon the president of the Board. Mr. Grant then said, that as it would not be possible to accomplish the presentation of a petition from the Company during the session, there was no alternative but for himself to take a more direct and leading part in the proceedings of the committee, than under ordinary circumstances he should have deemed it expedient for a minister in his situation to adopt. This, it will be recollected, was the very course recommended by Mr. Hume, and by him alone, in the House of Commons, on the preceding day.

The truth is, that the ministers were embarrassed. The opponents of the Company had enjoyed all possible facilities for shewing the evils resulting from its privileges, and they had failed; yet those privileges were doomed, and with or without a reason they were to fall.

Mr. Whitmore on the 20th July presented a petition from certain British and native inhabitants of Calcutta, praying the abolition of the East-India Company's monopoly.* A. D. 1831. This gave rise to some

* In reference to the views of the mercantile community of India, and the mode by which they were supported, a writer in the *Asiatic Journal* for July, 1833, notices several remarkable facts. He says, "We are in a condition to prove, that although the press of India is acknowledged, even by the loudest advocates of its liberty, to be, as regards the measures of the government, practically quite as free as the press of this country, it is or has been labouring under a thralldom, as respects the East-India question, of the very worst kind. It appears that a large portion of the Calcutta newspapers, which, to a certain extent, supply those of England and the rest of India with facts and notions concerning the subsidiary parts of the East-India question, have been under the direct influence and control of the mercantile interest at Calcutta, which influence and control, if we can trust to a Mofussil paper, have been abused. The fact that most of the papers of that presidency were influenced by the mercantile interest, and had no voice in opposition to that interest, was some time back proclaimed by the *Calcutta Courier*. More recently the *Meerut Observer* has directly connected several of the Calcutta journals with the houses of agency which have failed, and has charged them pretty plainly with guilty subserviency to their views. 'We can no longer forbear,' it observes, 'noticing the secret influence that is exerted over a portion of the Calcutta press, which tends to give security to dubious mercantile transactions, and to screen popular individuals from the scrutiny of public opinion.' As far as we can find out, it does not appear

CHAP.
XXVIII.C
X

conversation, in which Mr. Cutlar Fergusson and Sir John Malcolm took part; but the result possessed little of interest, and nothing of novelty. The session closed without any further discussion of the subject, without any intimation of the intention of ministers, and without any result flowing from the evidence obtained by the committee, the tendency of which was decidedly in favour of a renewal of the Company's privileges.

Parliament again assembled on the 6th of December. On the 8th Lord Ellenborough, in moving for certain returns connected with India, adverted to the omission of any notice of the subject in the King's speech, and inferred from thence that it was

that more than one paper has noticed this imputation, and that paper is the *Bengal Hurkaru*. The other journals seem to have suffered judgment to go by default. The *Bengal Hurkaru* admits a connection with two agency houses, one of them that of Alexander and Co., which has lately failed. Amongst the statement of assets belonging to the other insolvent firm of Mackintosh and Co., we observe included, 'Share in the *India Gazette*.' Having shewn the fact of connection, and consequently that of control, we may, without at once adopting all the accusations levelled at this part of the Calcutta press by the *Meerut Observer*, surely draw some inference from the 'ominous and disgraceful silence' observed by the papers in question with regard to facts, which no one can believe were not within the knowledge of their conductors, or at least of their proprietors. The mercantile community of Calcutta being immediately interested in the overthrow of the existing system of Indian administration, may, therefore, be said to have been the chief instruments of betraying the people of England, for selfish objects, into their present state of morbid excitement upon the East-India question, by means of their salaried partisans in England, and their influence over the press in Calcutta."

not the intention of ministers to bring the question before parliament during that session. He disapproved of the postponement, expressed his belief that the Act of 1813 had been passed without proper consideration, and referred to an opinion to that effect, delivered by those who had since become the King's advisers. He thought the re-appointment of the committee indispensable; and if not revived, said he would submit a motion on the subject. A full inquiry into the financial affairs of India, he thought, was called for, as upon that would depend the question, whether the Company would be able to carry on the government without assistance from this country. Earl Grey admitted that ministers did not intend to bring on any measure on the subject of the East-India Company's charter during that session; pledged himself that ample time should be given for discussion, and intimated that he considered great part of the difficulty and responsibility attending the settlement of the question to have been obviated, by the extensive inquiries which had taken place through the committees of the two houses.

On the 27th of January, 1832, Mr. Charles Grant A. D. 1832. moved once more for the appointment of a committee. Mr. Courtney and Sir James Macdonald supported the motion. Mr. Goulburn wished to know, whether the committee were to report opinions, or only to collect evidence and put it in form. In reference to a suggestion of Mr. Grant, for dividing the committee into a number of sub-com-

CHAP.
XXVIII.C
X:

mittees, Mr. Goulburn also inquired whether, if the suggestion were adopted, such sub-committees were to report to the House, as to the particular topics of investigation submitted to them. Mr. Stuart Wortley also proposed a question as to the functions of the sub-committees. In answer, Mr. Grant said, the words of his resolution were the same as those used on a former occasion; that the precise duties of the sub-committees would be best regulated in the committee, and that the general committee only would report to the House.

A.D. 1832. The committee met, and in the course of their labour collected the largest mass of evidence on Indian affairs extant. On the 16th of August they reported to the House. Though not entirely free from the expression of opinion, the report is for the most part an abstract of portions of the evidence, with references to the minutes and appendices on which it is founded. The close of the session prevented any discussion in parliament, and the usual repose of a vacation suspended all reference to the subject until the end of the year.

Among the subjects which had occupied the attention of the committee, the most important and most exciting was finance. The accounts of the Company were divided into two great branches,—territorial and commercial. The most desperate efforts were made to shew that the commerce of the Company had been sustained at the expense of the territory—that the Company had no capital, and that the trade was a constant drain upon the revenue.

On the other hand it was maintained, that the Company had capital to a very large amount, and that the profits of their trade had not only paid the dividends on its stock, but had afforded a large surplus for the benefit of the territory, a surplus which would have appeared much greater, had not the adjustment of accounts between territory and commerce been made at a rate of exchange injurious to the latter, and arbitrarily imposed by the Board of Commissioners in opposition to the representations of the Court of Directors, for no apparent purpose but that of concealing the obligation incurred by that branch of finance, in regard to which the Company was only a trustee, to that in which it was a principal, administering its own affairs. These accounts, inevitably attended with some degree of intricacy, were thus involved in a labyrinth of confusion, well suited to the views of those whose object was to misrepresent and distort. Here, again, the Company found an able advocate in Mr. Melvill, by whose lucid, masterly, and convincing evidence, the errors and misrepresentations of their adversaries were exposed, and the question, whether territory had gained at the expense of commerce, or commerce at the expense of territory, triumphantly settled. Notwithstanding this, however, the accounts, at the suggestion of one of the leading opponents of the Company, were submitted to a professional accountant, selected by the Board of Commissioners. This gentleman (Mr. Pennington), after seven months' investigation, reported, that in the fifteen years commencing 1814-15, when

the separation of territory and commerce took place, in conformity with the provisions of an Act of Parliament, territory had gained from commerce, exclusive of interest, £3,507,423, by the use of the Board's rate of exchange in repaying the sums advanced by commerce to territory; that the average annual profit of the India and China trade during that period was £1,009,047, and that from the management of private goods and other sources, £364,564; and that of the commercial profits during the fifteen years a sum of £4,923,021 had been directly applied to territorial purposes, to the liquidation of Indian debt, or in a manner that operated to prevent its increase.*

* The debts of India were incurred in defence of the country, and this the legislature, in repeated Acts of Parliament, had solemnly recognized. At the close of Mr. Pennington's report he referred to a table framed by an opponent of the Company, by which it was shewn that the territorial payments, including interest, between 1808-9 and 1827-28, exceeded the receipts by £16,576,570, while the increase of debt within that period was £16,947,711. "Upon this showing," Mr. Pennington observes, "it cannot be alleged that commerce received any assistance from territory during those nineteen years. The mischief must have been done before, and the wrong committed between 1794 and 1809." He adds, "If it could be conceded that the loss of interest occurred by the necessity of keeping, as well before as since the separation of accounts in 1814, a large balance of cash in the *territorial* treasuries of India, ought to be sustained by the commercial branch, in addition to the loss resulting from the dormant balances in the *commercial* treasuries of India and the treasury at home; if it be further conceded, that the advances for the capture of Ceylon and the Eastern Islands, the payment to the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore, the increase of dead stock in India, and the differences of accounts between the different presidencies, amounting altogether to be-

In December, the chairman received a communication of the views of government as to the conditions upon which the charter should be renewed, one of the most important among the proposed changes being, that the China monopoly should cease. The Company were to retain their political functions; but their assets, commercial and territorial, were to be assigned to the Crown, on behalf of the territorial government of India. In return, an annuity of £630,000 was to be granted, payable in England by half-yearly instalments, to be charged upon the territorial revenues of India exclusively, and to form part of the territorial debt of that country,—to be unredeemable for a limited period, after which it might be redeemed, at the option of parliament, by the payment of one hundred pounds for every five guineas of annuity. The new annuitants were to retain the character of a

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D. 1832.

tween four and five millions, were a charge upon the Company's trade, it might be admitted that, though there are mistakes and omissions in his statements [those of the framer of the table], he has succeeded in making out his main position, namely, that the debt of India has been invariably incurred in support of the Company's commerce. But these concessions cannot be made. The payments above mentioned, and the necessity of having constantly a floating balance of six to eight crores in the territorial treasuries of India, originated in territorial and political causes, and not in the wants of commerce. These payments and that necessity are quite sufficient to account for the increase of the Indian debt since 1793, without supposing that any part of its produce has been applied to the augmentation of the Company's commercial property. The augmentation of that property since 1793 appears to have resulted from the gradual accumulation of commercial profit, together with the increase of subscribed capital at that time authorized."

joint-stock company. Some changes were suggested in the arrangements for the education of civil servants, with a view to create competition. Every British subject was to have the right of proceeding to the principal seats of government in India without license; but the right of visiting the interior, or of residing there, and of acquiring and holding property, was to be subject to regulation and restraint by the local government. It was further proposed to add to the power of the Board of Commissioners, by the following modifications of the system previously in operation :—That the receipt of a final and conclusive order from the Board for the transmission to India of any despatch, should bind the court to send such despatch by the first ship; that in case of the refusal of the court to prepare a despatch when directed by the Board, or to send out one altered by the Board, the Board should have power to send it out themselves; that the power of the court to recall a governor or commander of the forces should not be exercised without the veto of the Board; that the Board should exercise the same control over the grant of pensions and salaries below two hundred pounds per annum, and gratuities below six hundred pounds, which they had previously exercised over those of larger amounts; and that the home establishment and expenditure should be placed under the control of the Board.

These suggestions gave rise to a correspondence, in which numerous objections were taken to them on the part of the Company. The abolition of the

exclusive privilege of trading to China was especially noticed. It was denied that the China-trade in the hands of the Company was productive of the usual effects of monopoly, inasmuch as they were compelled by law to bring forward a supply adequate to the demand, and to put up their teas for sale at the value of the prime cost and charges. The advantages of the China trade to India, both as affording a mode of remittance, and in the way of direct pecuniary benefit, were pointed out, as well as the risk in which opening the trade would place the continuance of our amicable relations with China, the probability of a deterioration in the quality of the tea imported under a free trade, and the danger to the revenue of Great Britain from an altered mode of levying the duties. The expectation that an open trade would extend the demand for British manufactures was alleged to be in opposition to facts elicited during the late parliamentary inquiry—namely, that the Americans took dollars and bills to China in preference to British manufactures; that such manufactures were not taken to any considerable extent by the commanders and officers of the Company's ships, who had the privilege of taking them free of freight; and that although large quantities had been sent by the private trade to India and the Eastern archipelago, they very rarely found their way from thence to Canton. The financial part of the proposed bargain was not considered satisfactory nor secure. The Company claimed, if deprived of their trade, full security for

their dividends, and for the eventual payment of the principal, together with the means of making suitable provision for their many servants, whose interests would be seriously affected by a change of system; and these claims were pressed on the ground that the Company possessed a vast amount of property to which their title was indisputable.

A very long letter was addressed to the chairman and deputy by the president of the Board of Commissioners in answer to these representations.

In this document, Mr. Grant argued that the opening of the China trade could never be regarded except as a question of time and circumstance—that the exclusive privilege of the Company was only a means to an end, and that with reference to this view parliament, by renewing it for a term of years only, provided for a periodical revision of the arrangements adopted—that at various times the exclusive privileges of the Company had been greatly diminished—that an expectation existed that, on the expiration of the term granted by the Act of 1813, a further relaxation would take place—that Great Britain had to contend with many commercial competitors—that as the opening of the trade to India had caused an increased introduction of British manufactures into that country, so under similar circumstances might an augmented demand for the same commodities be created in China—that if the quality of the tea imported into England were in the first instance deteriorated by competition, competition would correct the evil—that the

question of the comparative security of the revenue derived from tea was for the consideration of the state, not of the Company, and that the revenue was not likely to suffer, unless it could be shewn that an open trade would produce less of surplus profit than a trade managed under exclusive privileges—that opening the trade between England and China would, in the opinion of well-informed men, tend to increase the trade between China and British India—that the apprehended dangers to our relations with the Chinese might be averted by judicious regulations, and that the prevailing system was rendered insecure by the increase of the country trade, which increase was illustrated by reference to some returns of tonnage and value of imports into Canton—that with regard to the advantage derived to India from the Company's exclusive China trade, his Majesty's ministers could not consent that India should habitually lean on England for financial aid—and that the government plan was not disadvantageous to India, as it proposed to apply the commercial funds of the Company to the use of territory.

On the question of security to the proprietors of India stock, Mr. Grant explained that, in placing it upon the territory of India, it was not intended that the payments of their annual dividends should be postponed to the claims of other territorial creditors. The claims of the Company, he thought, could not be extended beyond the property and revenues which they administered—they had no right to a

CHAP.
XXVIII.

continuance of the monopoly of the China trade, nor to a share in any tax to which the consumers of tea might be subjected, nor to a security upon the revenues of England. While the proposed plan was regarded by Mr. Grant as unobjectionable with respect to England, and beneficial to India, by the arrangements which it would facilitate for the purchase of the remittable debt, he urged that it was favourable to the Company by securing to them their dividends; by preserving and knitting together more closely the connection between the directors and their constituency, identifying their interests with those of India, and thus increasing their qualifications for the duties assigned to them in the system of Indian administration; and by relieving the directors from avocations inconsistent with their duties as rulers of a vast empire. Both the China monopoly and the right to govern India might, it was alleged, be withdrawn at the pleasure of the State; the pursuit of trade by the Company, when deprived of their exclusive privileges, it was thought, could not be beneficial even to themselves; and the interest of the Company in the property which they regarded as exclusively commercial was, it was stated, involved in a multiplicity of doubts very difficult to be escaped, except by such a compromise as was offered by the ministerial plan. The mere institution of inquiry, it was said, would be fatal to the Company—time would be required for such an inquiry—in the meanwhile the charter would expire, and the China monopoly terminate.

In such an event, from what funds, it was asked, were the dividends to be paid?

CHAP.
XXVIII.

Much financial discussion followed. This was succeeded by the expression of a conviction that India would be capable of meeting the claims upon it,—by some remarks on the insecurity of the China trade,—by some general observations on the advantages of the ministerial plan to all parties,—and by a threat of proposing to parliament a plan for the government of India without the intervention of the Company, if the terms of the compromise were rejected.

On receiving this communication, three questions were put by the chairman and deputy-chairman of the Company to the president of the Board—first, whether the continuance to the Company of the government of India was to be subject to the condition of relinquishing their trade in perpetuity? secondly, whether it was intended to include in the proposed assignment to the Crown of the Company's assets that part of the commercial property which consisted of money actually subscribed by authority of parliament as capital for conducting the Company's trade? and, thirdly, for what term it was meant that the annuity of £630,000 should be irredeemable? Mr. Grant answered, that the dissolution of the Company formed no part of the government plan, but that their right to trade must remain in abeyance while the Company exercised political power under the new arrangement—that the proposed arrangement must include the whole of the Com-

C
XCHAP.
XXVIII.

pany's commercial capital in whatever shape—and that the term during which the annuity should be irredeemable was open to discussion.

This was followed by a letter to Mr. Grant, in which the views of the Court of Directors on the principal points adverted to in Mr. Grant's letter, and in the communications previously forwarded, were stated, and enforced at considerable length. The primary question was regarded to be this—whether the plan of the ministers were such as would enable the Company efficiently to administer the government of India. Referring to the opinion of ministers in favour of continuing the government of India with the Company as founded upon experience, it was observed, that the experience which was possessed was that of a system which it was proposed essentially to alter; and while it was admitted that it might be desirable for the Company to relinquish all connection with the trade of India, if the requisite remittances could be effected satisfactorily without it, the contemplated cessation of its trade with China was regarded as fraught with serious objections—as calculated to diminish the influence, character, and independence of the Company, and thus to incur the risk of converting it into a mere instrument for giving effect to the views of the Indian minister of the Crown, whose sway, it was apprehended, would be almost absolute, and little restricted by the vigilance of parliament, in consequence of the appearance of a check in the Company, which, it was feared, would be but illusory

In reference to this last point, the court objected to that part of the ministerial plan which proposed to increase the powers of the Board and restrain those of the Company. Especial notice was taken of the intention to reserve to the Board the authority of sending out despatches disapproved by the court, without allowing any appeal;* and the court earnestly pressed the expediency, with a view to the security of India as well as to the constitutional principles of this country, of allowing an appeal on the merits of important cases on which the court and the Board might differ, or at least of providing for publicity, by the communication to parliament of such cases of difference between the two authorities.

Other points, in respect to which it was designed to increase the powers of the Board, were noticed, and the court then passed to the effect of the proposed changes in a financial point of view. The necessity of retaining the China trade, as an aid to the revenues of India, was strongly urged, and the claims of the latter country to the advantages resulting from the Company's trade powerfully maintained. The Company, it was alleged, had only derived a fair

* By 33 Geo. 3, cap. 52, an appeal lay, in certain cases of difference between the court and the Board, to the King in council. The object was to protect the Company's commercial affairs from the interference of the Board; but it is clear that such an appeal is open to an objection similar to one which has been urged against an appeal from a decision of the Lord Chancellor to the House of Lords—that it is virtually an appeal from the Lord Chancellor in a small wig to the Lord Chancellor in a large one.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

mercantile profit from their trade, and the merchants who might succeed it would expect the same advantage. Some apprehension was expressed as to the power of effecting remittances, and it was anticipated that it would be necessary either to submit to sacrifice in the rate of exchange, in order to raise the requisite funds by means of drafts upon India negotiated here, or to make advances in India and in China on bills secured by a lien upon cargo. Doubts were thrown out as to the extent of any increased demand for British manufactures in China, and the facts previously brought to the notice of the Board were again briefly referred to.* These facts had been met only by an exposition of the principles of free trade, and by a reference to the results of opening the trade to India. To this mode of reasoning it was answered, that, setting aside the privileges of the Company, a great check to commercial enterprise was offered by the conduct and policy of the Chinese, and that the results of opening the trade to India had not been precisely those which were supposed—that the increase in value of exports from this country to India during the Company's last term, namely, from 1793 to 1814, was in a larger ratio than from the time of opening the trade; that though the quantity had increased during the latter period, the increase was much more than accounted for by the diminution in price, while both as to value and quantity the comparison would exhibit a

* See page 287.

result favourable to the former period by excluding cotton manufactures; and that these were, to a great extent, a new article of export since 1814, sent into the markets of India, not as the consequence of free trade, but of the improvement of machinery and of other causes affecting trade generally. But, even were the fact otherwise, it was asked, what analogy is there between China, where an Englishman can plant his foot on one spot only, and that merely by sufferance, and where a jealous government imposes whatever regulations it thinks proper for the protection of its own manufactures, and India, where there is resident a large and increasing body of Europeans, and where the British government may provide, as it had done, by fiscal regulations, for the encouragement of the manufactures of Great Britain to the prejudice, if not to the entire destruction, of those of India?

In reference to the trade between India and China, the court, after shewing that the statements illustrative of the alleged increase were in some degree deceptive, as the earlier exhibited the imports into Canton from British Indian ports only, while the later gave the imports from all the ports in the East Indies, made the following remarks:—"The court must beg to remind you, that the cause of the large increase of the private trade from India to China since 1813-14 is to be traced to the rapid growth of the smuggled trade in opium. Out of the total value of private imports into Canton from India, amounting in 1829-30

C
X
CHAP.
XXVIII.

to 18,447,147 dollars, no less a proportion than 13,468,924 dollars was the value of opium. The trade in this article is prohibited by the laws of China, and it is consequently one in which the Company have never engaged. Had they done so, the comparative statements of the Company's and the private trade, to which you have referred, would have exhibited very different results. This explanation, the court think, goes very far to deprive any arguments, founded upon the growth of the private trade, of the weight which might otherwise have attached to them. And here the court cannot refrain from expressing their apprehension of what may probably be one consequence of an alteration of the existing system of our commerce with China. At present the Chinese government receive regularly a large revenue from the Company's trade; and, secured in the possession of this income, it is not very strict in enforcing its own laws against the trade in opium, which is so important to the Indian revenues. But if the general trade with China, instead of being under the management of one body, answerable for and controlling the whole, were transferred to the hands of private individuals, each pursuing his course according to his view of his particular interests at the time, there cannot be much doubt that the high notions of the free traders to which you have alluded, so utterly at variance with the jealous policy of the Chinese government, would not long be confined within the bounds which that policy has prescribed. Hence a

danger, by no means improbable, that the whole of the British trade would gradually become a smuggled one, and that in such an event the government of that country, finding their revenue from the trade no longer secure, might put an end to it altogether.*

In the tea trade it was pointed out that competition must be imperfect; because, though the trade might be thrown open as far as England was concerned, it would still in China be confined to the Hong, to which the Committee of the House of Lords, in 1830, reported the Company's influence to be a necessary and efficient counterpoise. The danger to be apprehended to the revenue of England from opening the trade was again glanced at, notwithstanding the rebuke with which its previous introduction had been visited, and the probable inefficiency of any officer of the Crown stationed at Canton compared with that of persons who were the sole managers of an extensive and valuable trade, was suggested.†

On the question of accounts it was declared, as it always had been, that the court had no desire to

* It is worthy of remark, that the conduct of the free traders has gone far to justify the apprehension expressed in the passage above cited. The trade has been suspended, and an expenditure of much treasure and some blood has been necessary to obtain its re-establishment. Even since that event, the British representative, Sir Henry Pottinger, has been compelled to address to his countrymen in China a lecture on the necessity of observing the laws.

† In this instance also the anticipations of the court have been verified.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

avoid the most searching scrutiny. Indeed, the most searching scrutiny had already been made; and it might well excite surprise, if not indignation, that in the state which the question had attained, any attempt should be hazarded to revive opinions long before exploded and assertions repeatedly and triumphantly refuted. "During the last three years," it was said, "Committees of parliament have been diligently employed in investigating the Company's accounts: information of every kind required for their elucidation has been promptly supplied; evidence tending to impugn their accuracy has been freely received, and has given rise to evidence of an opposite character. A professional accountant has been called upon by the Board to render assistance in this matter, and voluminous details have been furnished, sufficient for the completion of any investigation, however minute, which the most scrupulous objector could desire; besides all which, the amounts of two of the most material of the claims, those for the balance of war expenditure and with regard to the home bond debts, were long since vouched for by the decision of a committee of parliament. Yet now, within six weeks of the time when his Majesty's ministers have determined to bring the subject of the Company's affairs under the consideration of parliament, and to propose a final dissolution of the connection between the territory and the trade, you suggest that, previously to the Company's taking to themselves any part of the property claimed as their own, it will be necessary

to apply a searching scrutiny to their accounts, unless they acquiesce in such a compromise as that which you have proposed. And you ask, what, in the meantime, will be the situation of the East-India stock-holders? From what funds are the dividends to be paid?" To these menacing questions, the Company had a very ready and very satisfactory answer. The dividends, it was calmly stated, would be paid in the ordinary course from the proceeds of the Company's sales, which would continue until 1836, owing to the operation of the Commutation Act;* and a hope was expressed that by that time the inquiry would be terminated. This difficulty disposed of, the president of the Board was favoured, in return, by the suggestion of another. "What, in the meantime," the court inquired, "would the territorial branch do for funds? It can have no right to a farthing from the home treasury after April, 1834; and therefore, as you justly apprehend, 'a good deal of difficulty might occur in furnishing the funds necessary for the current home expenditure.'"

After examining and refuting some doubts on various financial points raised in Mr. Grant's letter, the court proceeded to one more monstrous than all the rest. The president of the Board had actually professed to regard as debateable the question, whether the whole of the Company's commercial property were not legally responsible for the debts and en-

* The act requiring the Company to keep in warehouse a stock of tea in anticipation of the demand.

gements which had been contracted, in the Company's name, for political and territorial purposes, and whether it would not continue so responsible, even although the Company should be wholly deprived of their political power and functions. This cannot fail to be regarded by posterity as an edifying specimen of the idea of equity entertained by cabinet ministers in the nineteenth century. It is to be hoped that the idle suggestion was thrown out heedlessly.

Thus was it answered—"We appeal to you, sir—we appeal to the King's ministers generally, whether it can consist with common justice, that the trading stock of a commercial corporation should be held liable for the political debts of the British empire in India, which empire would, in the case argued, be wrested from the Company by an act of power. The ground of the supposed liability is, that the territorial debt was contracted in the name of the Company. But, sir, if there be any validity in that reasoning, what, the court ask (and they do so with the utmost respect), what becomes of the territory itself, every inch of which has been conquered by, and is held in the name of, the Company? What becomes, again, of the civil servants of India, who are all under covenants to the Company? Or what, lastly, becomes of the India army, every member of which is bound by allegiance to the Company? Is it not abundantly clear that, as the Company using but one name, have united in a two-fold capacity, the mutual engagements and liabilities of the territorial and

commercial branches must possess their separate and distinctive characters, and therefore that the territory and the territorial debt must go together?"

While thus unreservedly asserting the real position of the Company with respect to the territorial debt, the court disclaimed any intention of resisting a settlement upon the principle of fair and liberal compromise. But they objected to the proposed annuity being secured on the Indian territory exclusively; demanded some further security of the interests of the proprietors by an effective sinking fund, based upon an investment in the national stocks of some portion of the commercial assets; suggested that, at the expiration of the term of the annuity, the proprietors should receive as much principal as was proposed to be applied out of their property to the discharge of territorial debt; and pointed out the propriety of fixing the commencement of the open trade at the completion of the period that might be allowed for winding up the concerns of the Company, and of making provision out of the Company's property for outstanding commercial obligations, as well as for compensation to servants of the Company whose interests might be affected by the change.

Mr. Grant confined his reply to a few of the topics previously discussed which appeared to him to be the more important. In reference to the increase of the powers of the Board, he observed, that now that the Company's commerce was about to cease, one source of difference between the Board and the

court, namely, that arising from a doubt whether a despatch were commercial or not, would be removed, and that if the legality of the Board's instructions were questioned, some mode of bringing the question to a final decision might be found. He further suggested, that despatches, in future, should not be signed by the directors, or any of them, but by an officer of the court, to whom, in case of necessity, the Board could address its orders, and who was to be liable to the forfeiture of his office if he disobeyed the directions which he might receive. It is not easy to see how this proposal affected the objection to the proposed change, which was substantially that it would reduce the court into a Government Board. If the objection were well founded, the suggested remedy was worse than the evil complained of.

The court's request for publicity in cases of difference was distinctly rejected. The right to control the application of the whole of the revenues of India was claimed on behalf of the Board; but it was suggested that, with regard to the charges of the home establishment a specified sum might be agreed upon, thus exempting the details from interference. The necessity of securing the annuity of the Company upon India exclusively was maintained, and this principle, it was alleged, would be infringed by any large investment in the national stocks by way of guarantee. To a small investment the same objection was not believed to exist; and it was therefore proposed to begin with a sum of £1,200,000,

which, with its accumulated interest to the aggregate amount of twelve millions, was to form a collateral security for the capital stock of the Company, and to be applicable to its future redemption ; any interest, after the attainment of this maximum of twelve millions, to be applied to the benefit of the territory of India by the court, with the approbation of the Board. An arrangement was proposed with regard to the debt from the public to the Company, which nearly corresponded in amount with that proposed for beginning the guarantee fund. It is most probable, indeed, that the amount of the former afforded the motive for fixing that of the latter. With reference to a point urged by the court, the necessity of making provision out of the Company's property for outstanding commercial obligations, and for compensation to officers affected by the change, Mr. Grant observed that the transfer of the property of the Company to the Crown involved the transfer of all obligations, whether taken on grounds of law, equity, or liberality. This was certainly a correct view of the subject ; yet it had been doubted whether the transfer of the territory involved also the transfer of its obligations, or whether the deprived party did not, in spite of the deprivation, remain liable to them. The subject of education for the civil service was briefly adverted to in the letter, and an opinion expressed that the suggestions in the original communication should be carried to even a greater extent than was there proposed.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

A further letter was addressed by the chairman and deputy, on behalf of the Court of Directors, to the government, in which, after enumerating the sacrifices which the Company were called upon to make,* they urged that the Company's dividends, as well as capital, should be secured; and proposed that a sum in the Three per Cents., standing in the Company's name, should be added to the guarantee fund. The question of the term during which the annuity was to be irredeemable was revived, and it was presumed that the Company were to be secured in the government of India for that period. The necessity of publicity in differences between the court and the Board was again urged, and the conviction of the court was avowed, that publicity should be the rule, and not the exception. The

* It was observed, that "the court must keep prominently in view what it is that the Company are called upon to surrender, and what they are to receive as an equivalent. They are asked to surrender every thing which they possess as a corporation: their capital, computed at more than twenty-one millions sterling, every item of which is commercial in its origin, and in the character which it now bears; their right to trade, most valuable when considered in connection with that capital, and with the position and influence which the Company have established here and abroad; and which right, if they chose to exercise it, must greatly interfere with, if not altogether prevent, the advantages which private merchants expect to reap from a free trade with China; their pecuniary claims, some sanctioned by a committee of parliament, both in principal and amount, and all recognized either by parliament or in parliament by ministerial statements; their lands, forts, and factories in India, for which they have as good a title as that by which any private property is held; and, finally, their claims in respect of the territory at large, which up to the present time parliament has always reserved."

expediency of continuing to the court the uncontrolled power of making small pecuniary grants was touched upon; but the proposed arrangement for the home establishment was assented to, on the understanding that the sum fixed upon by the Board as a maximum was not to be varied at pleasure, but only in consequence of altered circumstances. The independent exercise of the power of recalling governors-general, governors, and commanders, was contended for as more important than ever; and the plan for transferring all the property of the Company to the Crown was objected to on various grounds, but more especially because the court believed that the proprietors would feel a strong reluctance to abandoning the interests of men who had served the Company with zeal and fidelity, to the care of others, who, having had no opportunity of witnessing their services, must be unable to appreciate them; and with a view to relieve the Indian revenues from charge, as well as for the accommodation of the merchants of London, and for the benefit of the persons employed, it was suggested that, for a time, the Company might continue the management of goods imported in the free trade, more especially as the amount received for agency defrayed a large portion of the expense of the commercial establishment.

Previously to the transmission of this letter in answer to Mr. Grant's, that gentleman had addressed another to the chairman and deputy, intimating his opinion, that the payment of the annuity should be

CHAP.
XXVIII.

fixed for a period when, according to probable calculation, the guarantee fund would amount to six millions; that the renewed term of the Company's political functions should be about fifteen years, although he thought it worth consideration whether the Company would not stand firmer and better if the Act contained no provision as to time; and that the number of directors might be reduced. This communication was followed, five days afterwards, by one of greater length, being an answer to the letter of the court. In this document, the president of the Board declared himself irrevocably opposed to any change in the amount or application of the guarantee fund. The period of forty years was suggested as that during which the annuity should be irredeemable; but it was intimated that the term of the annuity, and that of the duration of the Company's political functions, were questions to be kept entirely distinct. The suggestion that the renewal of the Company's political functions for an indefinite period would be preferable to fixing a term, was repeated. An intention was expressed of referring all pecuniary claims of old date, respecting which the court and Board might differ, to some independent authority; and a desire avowed of co-operating with the court in fulfilling the obligations of justice and liberality towards the servants of the Company. A very brief answer was made to this letter, the court merely stating that they had convened a special general court for the purpose of communicating to it the correspondence that had

taken place, but that they declined making any recommendation to their constituents on the subject; and adding, that they feared it might be impossible for them at any time to lend their sanction to the proposed scheme, as, independently of other considerations, the condition of binding up the interests of the proprietors with India would not be carried out, unless the Company retained the administration of the country for the whole time during which their interests were identified with it. Mr. Grant replied, vindicating the views of ministers.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A.D. 1833.

The correspondence between the court and the president of the Board was submitted to a general court of the proprietors of the East-India Company on the 25th March. The chairman, Mr. Ravenshaw, introduced the subject in a speech, touching on the principal points in discussion, but abstaining from any decisive expression of opinion. The papers were then read; and this operation occupying five hours, the consideration of the subject was postponed till the 15th of April, after a motion for printing the correspondence had been made by the chairman and carried.

On the 15th of April the court again met, and the discussion of the question before it was protracted, by repeated adjournments, to seven days. After the reading of a dissent, recorded by Mr. Tucker, from certain parts of the letters addressed to the president of the Board by order of the Court of Directors, Sir John Malcolm moved a series of resolutions expressive of a disposition on the part

CHAP.
XXVIII.

of the Company to accept generally of the bargain proposed by the ministers of the Crown, but with certain modifications of the terms. The alterations suggested were, that the guarantee fund should be extended to such an amount as would, with the probable accumulations, be sufficient to redeem the annuity in forty years, and that it should be a security for the dividends as well as for the capital; that the Company should retain the government of India for a defined period, not less than twenty years, and if deprived of the government at or after the expiration of that term, should be allowed to demand the redemption of the annuity, retaining the liberty of resuming their undoubted right to trade; that all measures involving direct or contingent expenditure should originate with the Court of Directors, and a system of publicity be secured, applicable to important causes of difference between the court and the Board; and that sufficient power should be retained over the commercial assets, to enable the Court of Directors to propose a plan for providing for outstanding commercial obligations, and for the claims of commercial officers and servants of the Company affected by the new arrangements. An amendment, reprobating the denial of the right of the Company to invest their own undeniable property in the public funds, in place of drawing £630,000 per annum from the revenues of India, was moved, but withdrawn, as were also one for excluding from the resolution the words requiring that the Company's government should be renewed for a prescribed

period of not less than twenty years, and one to the effect that the Company should, for the purpose of remittance, continue to carry on the China trade in common with the public. Another amendment, for leaving the whole negotiation in the hands of the directors, and in the event of their not speedily obtaining a just compromise, directing that they should apply to the legislature, was then put and negatived. Another, proposed as a substitute for the original resolution, and the principal variation from which resolution consisted in an acknowledgment that the time had arrived for surrendering the exclusive trade with China, shared the same fate. This was followed by a further motion for an amendment, expressing apprehension from the indiscriminate access of Europeans to India; denouncing the opening of the China trade as perilous; claiming for the proprietors the power of investing their own property for their own security, or a guarantee if this power were withheld; objecting to the annuity of £630,000 per annum being made a burden upon the people of India; anticipating for the Company a successful trade with China, though deprived of all exclusive privileges and of the government of India; in the event of the Company retaining that government, calling for undiminished authority for the directors, and the right of submitting at all times any differences with the Board to the decision of parliament, and expressing sympathy with the commercial servants who would be deprived of employment. This amendment, too, was lost. An-

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

other amendment, proposing to leave out the words fixing the rate at which the annuity was to be redeemed, was also lost ; as was another, proposing to exclude the words "exercising the same powers as they do under the statute," from that part of the original motion which referred to the continuance of the Company's authority for a defined period. An amendment, approving of the abolition of the exclusive China trade, but impugning the security offered for the annuity, followed, and this was lost. Another, suggesting the abolition of the Board of Commissioners, an increase of the powers of the court of proprietors, and the continuance to the Company, for a limited period, of the right to trade to China in common with the private trader, was moved and followed its predecessors. The question was then formally put on the original resolutions, which were carried, on a ballot, by a very large majority.

These resolutions being communicated to the president of the Board of Commissioners, were laid by him before the cabinet, and the result communicated to the court. Ministers agreed to fix the amount of the guarantee fund at two millions, but refused to increase it beyond that sum ; they agreed that the fund should form a security for the dividends as well as the principal, to the extent of raising money upon its credit if necessary—to fix at twenty years the renewed term of the Company's government, and to withdraw the suggestion that the Board should have a veto on the recal by the court of governors and military commanders in

India—to give the proprietors the option of having their annuity paid off, on three years' notice, at the expiration of the term for which the Company were to continue to administer the government of India, or at any subsequent period when their government might terminate, and to confirm their right to resume trade, if they thought fit—to maintain the principle previously existing with regard to expenditure, excepting only in future that no expense should be incurred without the previous sanction of the Board; and they offered no objection to the suggestion that sufficient power should be retained over the commercial assets to enable the court to provide for outstanding obligations and for the claims of commercial officers and servants, reserving only the full power of the Board to act as might be thought fit; but they refused to sanction the establishment of any means of publicity in cases of difference between the court and the Board, and intimated a belief that no practicable means could be devised.

The concessions made by the ministers were neither few nor unimportant; but the Court of Directors still thought it necessary to press two points claimed in the resolution of the general court, but refused by ministers. They urged, that when it had been proposed that the sum set apart for the guarantee fund should be about two millions, the term of the annuity had not been fixed, and that as forty years had since been determined on, the guarantee fund, with its accumulations, at the

end of that term, ought to be equal to the amount of capital to be discharged. To act upon this suggestion required about three millions to be set apart for the commencement of the guarantee fund, instead of two millions. The other point, which the court never ceased to press upon ministers whenever an opportunity occurred, was the necessity of publicity. By this, it was explained, they did not mean the establishment of any tribunal of appeal productive of delay and expense, but only an enactment requiring that whenever the court should, after previous remonstrance, pass a resolution of protest against the orders or instructions of the Board, such resolutions should be laid before both houses of parliament. This, it was contended, could have no prejudicial effect; it would interpose no difficulty to giving full effect to the final orders of the Board, inasmuch as the communication to parliament would not be made until after the orders had been dispatched. On both points the answer of the minister was a peremptory refusal of compliance.*

* The entire reasoning by which the refusal of publicity was supported will be found in the following extract from Mr. Grant's letter, dated 4th of June, 1833 :—

“ I now proceed to the second of the two points on which the court are solicitous for farther concession. I allude to the proposition that, in any case in which orders dispatched to India by the overruling authority of the Board shall have been protested against by the directors, it shall be competent to the directors, after the transmission of such orders, to lay their resolution of protest before both houses of parliament. This proposition has engaged the renewed attention of his Majesty's ministers; and, notwithstanding the explanations of the court, the ministers cannot precisely

The decision of the government upon these questions having been laid before the Court of Directors,

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

comprehend the grounds on which the proposition is so strongly pressed. If the court mean only that they ought to have the power of inviting the attention of parliament to any matter of public policy which has placed them in collision with the Board, and which is, in their opinion, of a nature to call for such a proceeding, it is plain that this power already belongs to the court, in the constitutional privilege which, in common with all other subjects of the realm, they undoubtedly enjoy, of approaching either house of parliament by petition. Of this privilege, and of all that right of appeal which it necessarily involves, to the judgment of the legislature and to the arbitration of public opinion, and of the means with which they are thus provided of checking any illegal or unconstitutional proceedings on the part of the other branch of the home government, they are already in secure possession. No new recognition of the existence of such a power can be necessary; and probably the exercise of it would be rather embarrassed than assisted by any attempt to prescribe the mode, or to define the occasions, of putting it in action. But if any power materially different from this be contemplated, his Majesty's ministers must declare themselves unable to accede to the suggestion. It might, indeed, be enough for them to observe, that the proposition is too indistinct to be accepted in its present form; but they object to it on independent grounds. They are satisfied that, for all practical purposes, the court are already invested with sufficient powers; and they cannot but object to the introduction into the system of the home government of any principle of which they cannot admit the necessity, and which, whatever be the precise shape that it may assume, cannot fail to operate, as they apprehend, very prejudicially to the purposes of good government."

On this passage it may be remarked, that the power of approaching parliament by petition does not answer the purpose which the court had in view. Such a measure could never be resorted to but on occasions of overwhelming importance, and when some intolerable grievance pressed too heavily to be borne in silence. Such a proceeding would be a declaration of war by one authority against the other, and all possibility of subsequent co-operation for the public good would be precluded. By the

a resolution was proposed by the chairman, declining to recommend to the proprietors to consent to a departure from the required amount of guarantee, or to surrender their views on the importance of publicity. The resolution was lost, and another, expressing continued adherence to the views of the general court, but recommending compliance with those of ministers, was carried. From this, the chairman, Mr. Marjoribanks, and the deputy, Mr. Wigram, dissented.* The result of the decision of the Court of Directors was a reference of the subject to a general court, which met on the 10th, when the views of the majority of the Court of Directors were adopted and confirmed.

On the 13th of June, Mr. Grant, in his place in parliament, moved for the House to resolve itself into a committee on Indian affairs.† On the

plan suggested by the court no such effect would be produced. Certain papers would be laid before parliament as a matter of course, and the degree of attention which they received there might be expected to be proportioned to their importance.

It would be difficult to discover, in the proposal of the court, any thing to justify the charge of indistinctness. So far from being indistinct, it is remarkably precise. The imputation of indistinctness does, indeed, lie against the apprehensions that the plan would operate "very prejudicially to good government." No attempt is made to explain the nature or mode of the apprehended operation, and we may in vain draw upon imagination to supply the deficiency. The president of the Board was clearly not a disciple of Jeremy Bentham, to the extent of holding that "publicity is the soul of justice."

* Their dissent related to both points in dispute. It will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

† The house was miserably thin, and on a subsequent day

question that the Speaker do leave the chair, Sir George Staunton moved, by way of amendment, a string of resolutions relating to the China trade, which having been negatived without a division, the House went into committee. Mr. Grant's speech, introductory of the resolutions which he was about to propose, was extremely long, but most of the topics had been discussed until no fertility of invention could impart to them any novelty of illustration. He panegyricized the Company's government, contrasting it with the government of

(July 10) Mr. Macaulay thus adverted to that fact. "The house," he said, "had neither the time, nor the knowledge, nor the inclination to attend to an Indian budget, or to the statement of Indian extravagance, or the discussion of Indian local grievances. A broken head in Cold-Bath Fields excited greater interest in that house than three pitched battles in India ever would excite. This was not a figure of speech, but a literal description of fact; and if he were called upon for proof of it, he would refer to a circumstance which must still be in the recollection of the house; namely, that when his right honourable friend Mr. C. Grant brought forward his important propositions for the future government of India, there were not as many members present as generally attended upon an ordinary turnpike bill."

In reference to this, the following note appears in the *Asiatic Journal* for August, 1833:—"We have the best authority for stating, in confirmation of the above remark, that throughout the committee on the bill there were rarely more members present than sufficed to 'make a house,' and many times less than that number"—less than forty!—"that several of the members present were asleep, or appeared to be so, and that the discussions upon the most important details of this tremendous measure were principally between Mr. C. Grant, Mr. R. Grant, and Mr. Macaulay, on the one side, and Mr. Wynne, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Buckingham on the other." Thus have the interests of India often been treated in a British House of Commons.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

native princes in India, and with the government of the colonies of Great Britain and other European nations. One point in its favour, advanced by the president of the Board, was, that by the interposition of the Company between the government and the people of India, that country had been preserved from being agitated by those constant fluctuations of party and political feelings, which were so powerful here, and which would have opposed so formidable a barrier to improvement. Mr. Grant, however, objected to the union of trade with the East-India Company's government—a union which marred its efficacy; and this he thought was a generally-admitted principle until he found two members of that house taking a different view.* He objected to it, not on the ground of theory merely, but of practical inconvenience. Another evil, he thought, in the existing system was the want of a proper check on the expenditure of the subordinate presidencies; and a further evil was found in too much interference from home. Adverting to the question of the continuance of the China monopoly, he said it was one on which the nation had made up its mind; but he admitted that, if as a minister of the Crown he felt that the decision of the nation was not founded in justice, it would not become him to come forward to propose a change in conformity with it. He then pronounced a panegyric

* Sir George Staunton and Mr. Charles Marjoribanks. For Mr. Grant's opinions on this subject in 1813, see vol. iv. pp. 237, 238.

upon free trade and its results, and expressed his conviction that the time for the natural termination of the China monopoly had arrived. The profits of the China trade, he said, were declining—which was true, but the Company had not expressed any wish to be relieved on that account from the burden of supplying the people of England with tea; and the clamour raised by the mercantile interest for permission to participate in the trade shewed their conviction that there was yet some profit to be derived from it. The jealousy and caprice of the Chinese character Mr. Grant considered as forming other grounds for discontinuing the monopoly—they might rather have been adduced as reasons for maintaining it. He expatiated on the increase of the trade between India and China, and, either from forgetfulness or some other cause, produced to the house the same statements which the Court of Directors had shewn to be defective—unaccompanied too by the explanation which accounted for the increase by referring it to its true cause, smuggling.* Having noticed the plans suggested for levying the duties on teas, and the intention that the Company should not suddenly discontinue its establishments for the fabrication of silk, Mr. Grant came to the financial arrangements by which the Company were to give up the whole of their privileges and property for an annuity secured on the territory of India. After some observations intended to shew that India was capable of bearing this additional burden, he proceeded to notice the intended ex-

* See page 295.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

tension of the power of the governor-general over the subordinate presidencies—the change proposed to be made in the state of the law, by subjecting Europeans to the same jurisdiction with natives,—the removal of all disabilities for office on account of birth or religion,—the issuing of a law commission,—and the appointment of two suffragan bishops for Madras and Bombay. He then moved three resolutions, the effect of them being to approve of the opening of the China trade,—of the surrender of the property of the Company to the Crown on condition of receiving a stipulated sum from the territorial revenues,—and of the continuance of India under the government of the Company.

Mr. Wynne approved of the opening of the China trade, but he wished some further changes in the mode of governing India. He required that the number of directors should be reduced to six or eight; that they should be nominated by the Crown, and that each of them should have been resident in India twelve years. He remembered, he said, that during the time he was officially connected with the Board of Control, out of seven gentlemen with whom he had successively to communicate as chairmen of the Court of Directors, four had never been in India.* Mr. Wynne, however, seemed aware that serious

* The Court of Directors has never been without many members personally acquainted with India, and it is desirable that it never should; but there seems to be no reason why this qualification should be required from all, nor why the chairman of the court, any more than the president of the Board, should possess it. Mr. Wynne had held the latter office, and it is believed that he was never in India.

objections lay against his plan of transferring to the Crown the entire government of India. He protested against any comparison between the government of India and the government of their colonies by European nations, because India was not a colony, but a mighty empire. This may be admitted; but the point sought to be established by those who made the comparison* is unshaken. India is a dependency of Great Britain, deriving her government from that country; so also are various colonial possessions in the West-Indies and elsewhere. Here, then, is a similarity of situation. But India, which has been ruled through the intervention of the East-India Company, has been governed far better than those outlying portions of the British dominions which have been subjected immediately to the Crown. The analogy is sufficient to warrant the conclusion, and the result is most honourable to the East-India Company. Mr. Wynne thought many better ways of disposing of the patronage of India might be found than that of continuing it with the directors; and he referred to Lord Grenville's plan, proposed in 1813, and then torn to pieces by Mr. Charles Grant, the younger.† The

* Sir Charles Forbes, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Grant, and others.

† The plan, Mr. Wynne said, of putting up a certain number of appointments for competition at the universities and public schools, had, since its original suggestion, been carried into execution, alluding, it is presumed, to his own proceedings in that way. It is undoubtedly right that there should be an adequate test of qualification for the civil service, but competition does not afford either a just or an efficient one. Not a just one, for candidates

CHAP.
XXVIII.

absence of responsibility Mr. Wynne thought a great evil; and this arose from the Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners acting together. The continuance of this evil, it should have been recollected, was not with the consent of the authorities of the Company: the directors had strenuously contended for giving publicity to the differences, when any might arise, between themselves and the Board. Mr. Wynne, after some remarks on the change contemplated in the relative positions of the government of India and the subordinate presidencies, concluded by saying that he disliked delay, but recommended that the subject should be suffered to stand over to the next session.

After some remarks from various speakers, Mr. James Silk Buckingham proceeded to attack the East-India Company, and all connected with it. Mr. Cutlar Fergusson followed, and appealed to the

would frequently fail, not because they were positively deficient, but because they were inferior to others, or appeared to be so; for the results of public competition are influenced as much by the temperament of the candidates as by their acquirements. Comprehensive intellect and solid attainments will be vain, if unaided by the power of rapidly bringing them into action; while, on the other hand, nervous excitement will often frustrate the success of even the most brilliant powers. The inefficiency of competition is shewn in this, that at the utmost it can only secure the best among those who enter the field, none of whom may attain any high standard of qualification; and as the degree of learning requisite for success depends on accident—as it will vary from year to year according to the general proficiency of the candidates, a youth who would pass with comparative credit in one year would be rejected in another. The pretended test of competition is therefore no test at all.

comparative condition of the Company's territories and those of native princes, as evidence of the good government of the former. He testified, from personal knowledge, to the feeling entertained by the Indian government towards natives; and said, that if he were to point out a fault in this respect, it was that the leaning was towards the natives rather than towards Europeans. Mr. Fergusson defended the exercise of the patronage of the Company, as having been performed with a degree of good faith, honour, and integrity, never surpassed; and concluded with pointing out the difficulties of improving the state of the law in India. The discussion, if discussion it might be called, was cold, meagre, and purposeless. The resolutions were, of course, carried.

On the 17th of June they were carried up to the Lords, where some conversation took place on the propriety of laying before the House additional information. On the 28th, Mr. Grant, in the Commons, presented a bill, founded on the ministerial plan of compromise with the East-India Company, which was read a first time.

The great outlines of the bargain between the government and the Company were now settled; but there remained many points connected with the administration of the government of India to be arranged. The most important of these were, the proposed separation of the north-western provinces from the Bengal presidency, for the purpose of forming a separate government; the determination

CHAP.
XXVIII.

of the powers of the governor-general in council; and the constitution and functions of the subordinate governments. The ministerial bill was framed to give effect to the first-mentioned object. It endowed the governor-general in council with the sole power of legislation, and deprived the subordinate governments of the power of creating any new office, or granting any salary, gratuity, or allowance, without the previous sanction of the chief government. The governor-general only was to have the assistance of a council. The administration of the affairs of each presidency was to be vested in a governor alone, unless the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, should, in any particular case, determine to the contrary.

The council of the governor-general was to be increased by the addition of two members. During the progress of the bill through parliament, the number of additional councillors was reduced to one. The new councillor was not to be chosen from the servants of the Company, and his appointment by the Court of Directors was to be subject to the approbation of the Crown.* While all legislative power was con-

* From nothing that appeared in the clause relating to this appointment could any conjecture be formed of the reasons for it, of the ground of the limitation that the new councillor should be appointed "from amongst persons who" should "not be servants of the Company," or of his being destined to any particular class of duties. In its passage through parliament the clause was amended by adding a provision, that the councillor thus appointed should not be entitled to sit or vote in council, except at meetings

centrated in the chief government, its extent was greatly increased by other provisions. The governor-general in council was empowered to legislate for all persons, whether British or native, and for all courts of justice, not excepting those established by royal charter.* The formation of a uniform code of laws for India was contemplated, and with a view to this end a law commission was to be organized and paid.

On the 5th of July, in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Lansdowne moved the concurrence of their lordships in the resolutions sent up from the Commons. In introducing this motion, the noble marquis first addressed himself to the China trade. He affirmed, that the trade of the Company was a losing trade—but this the figures which he adduced did not establish; they only shewed that the profits of the trade had undergone some diminution. In answer to the position, that the character of the government of China is inconsistent with the admission of individual enterprise and private speculation, he asserted that the Chinese government, despotic as it is, could not oppose itself to the

A. D. 1833.

for making laws and regulations. From this proviso, as well as from the fact that barristers only have hitherto been selected for the newly-created appointment, the peculiar duties of the new office may be inferred.

* Under this authority, the governor-general in council has exercised the power of repealing and varying acts of the British parliament. The act which was founded on the bill under notice is specially exempted, as are also the Mutiny Acts, any act to be thereafter passed relating to India or the East-India Company, and some other parts of British law.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

wishes, the feelings, and the interests of the Chinese people. He illustrated this by referring to the opium trade from India to China—a reference from which he would certainly have abstained had he spoken a few years later. To the mode in which the Company had exercised the administration of the government of India, his lordship did justice. After a variety of financial details he adverted to the intention to render natives of India universally admissible to office; to the state of the law in India, and the necessity of compiling a code; and to the more free admission of Europeans to India—on all which points he, of course, justified the course proposed to be taken in the ministerial measure.

Lord Ellenborough, who followed, after speaking to the financial part of the question, admitted that some compromise, similar to that submitted to the House, would have taken place under the administration with which he was connected; but, he said, it was not intended to restrain the Company from trading. He expressed an apprehension that the character of the constituent body, the proprietors of India stock, would be deteriorated by the contemplated changes, and contrasted the position of the Company with respect to India before and after those changes. “Hitherto,” said his lordship, “they have derived their dividends from the profits of commerce. Those profits have relieved the revenues of India. Then they appeared as beneficent conquerors, deriving no other advantage from their conquest than what a generous system of commercial intercourse

with the conquered realized : what will be their condition now ? They will appear in the very undignified and not very popular character of mortgagees in possession, all their profits being derived from sums drawn from the Indian people." Other parts of the ministerial plan his lordship considered still more injurious. His hostility was especially directed against the proposal that Indian governors should be relieved from the restraint of councils, and that the supreme government should legislate for all India. In reference to the former he said, " When first a man comes to be acquainted with the workings of the Indian government, I admit that his first impression is, that it would be convenient that the governors should not be embarrassed by councillors. There is hardly a circumstance which would not at first sight induce him to pronounce that opinion. There is delay, embarrassment, and annoyance, in having a proposition discussed in council, in writing minutes, and going through all those operations in a small room which are gone through by the ministers here in the two Houses of Parliament. It is, my Lords, in truth, very inconvenient, but it makes the government of India a government of record ; it makes the government here a judge of the propriety of those acts done in India—but more than that, it controls the passions of the governor—it requires from him reflection as a preliminary to action—it leads to that constant record of proceedings which again establishes a certain, an ultimate, and not distant responsibility ; it is a true security

CHAP.
XXVIII.

against the abuse of absolute power. In taking the councils from the governors of India, you take from the people the best security for good government. I care not what theorists may advance—you may talk to ‘persons acquainted with the philosophy of man and of government,’ as one of the witnesses before the House of Commons expresses himself; but you know not man, nor the nature of man, if you suppose that absolute power can be exercised beneficially for a people without placing that absolute power under responsibility, and requiring from it reflection before it acts. But you propose in this case to take away this responsibility and this necessity for reflection; nay, more than this—for what are the future powers of this governor to be? Will any respectable man take the office? He is to be deprived of the power of legislation!—of the power of expending a single shilling! And yet to this man, so degraded by your jealousy, you leave the whole executive power of the government, without that control with which the prudence and wisdom of former parliaments have surrounded it.” In reference to the proposal to place with the governor-general in council the sole power of legislation for India, his lordship asked, “Can they legislate for distant places as well as if they were on the spot? Is it possible for them to legislate for the whole of India, fixed as they will be at Calcutta, so satisfactorily as a council being in the country where the laws are to be applied? It is evident they cannot. Legislation will be much better performed, as it

has been, by a local than by a distant government." To profess to open all offices to natives Lord Ellenborough regarded as "a mockery." "The very existence of our government in India," said he, "depends upon the exclusion of the natives from military and political power in that country. They should be eligible to hold every office which could be held by them with safety to the State; but we are there in a position not of our own seeking, a position from which we cannot recede without producing bloodshed from one end of India to the other. We won our empire by the sword, and by the sword we must preserve it. It is the condition of our existence there; but consistently with that condition let us do every thing to benefit the people and *for* them, although, at present, perhaps it is not possible to do much *by* the people. I confess, when I look at all the great achievements of our predecessors in that country—when I look at all they have done both in war and in peace—when I look at the glory which first dawned upon our opening career, and at the real benefits which successive great men and wise statesmen have conferred upon the natives of that great empire—I do contemplate with dismay this crude, undigested mass of ignorant theories, formed by persons who know nothing of India, and who *will* know nothing of India; who imagine that men possessing all the passions and all the prejudices which we ourselves possess, can be governed as if they were cyphers; and who place at the head of an absolute government, contrary to all

CHAP.
XXVIII.

experience, and contrary to the recorded wisdom of former governments, men possessing great and unlimited powers, but from whom reflection before action will not be hereafter required, and who will be placed in a position from which all real, ultimate responsibility will be taken away, because the records of their actions and the reasons for them will be altogether lost."

The Earl of Ripon defended the ministerial bill, and, in answer to Lord Ellenborough's remarks upon the intended abolition of councils, said this part of the subject had been misapprehended.

The Duke of Wellington spoke with much feeling and felicity of expression. He said: "Having been so long a servant of the East-India Company, whose interests you are discussing—having served for so many years of my life in India—having had such opportunities of personally watching the operations of the government of that country, and having had reason to believe, both from what I saw at that time and from what I have seen since, that the government of India was at that time one of the best and most purely administered governments that ever existed, and one which has provided most effectually for the happiness of the people over which it is placed, it is impossible that I should be present when a question of this description is discussed, without asking your lordships' attention for a very short time, while I deliver my opinion upon the plan which his Majesty's ministers have brought forward. I will not follow the noble marquis who

opened the debate into the consideration, whether a chartered company be the best calculated, or not, to carry on the government or the trade of an empire like India: that is not the question to which I wish now to apply myself. But whenever I hear of such discussions as this, I recal to my memory what I have seen in that country. I recal to my memory the history of that country for the last fifty or sixty years. I remember its days of misfortune and its days of glory, and call to mind the situation in which it now stands. I remember that the government have conducted the affairs of—I will not pretend to say how many millions of people (they have been calculated at seventy, eighty, ninety, and even a hundred millions), but certainly of an immense population—a population returning an annual revenue of twenty millions sterling; and that, notwithstanding all the wars in which the empire has been engaged, its debt at this moment amounts only to forty millions, being not more than two years' revenue. I do not say that such a debt is desirable, but, at the same time, I do contend that it is a delusion on the people of this country, to tell them that it is a body unfit for government, and unfit for trade, which has administered the affairs of India with so much success for so many years, and which is at length to be put down (for I can use no other term) upon the ground that it is an institution calculated for the purposes neither of government nor trade." His Grace then proceeded to condemn the ministerial arrangements, as being framed with-

CHAP.
XXVIII.

out regard to the situation of the Company, without regard to the relation in which its trade stood, not only with the East-Indies, and the finances and general interests of that country, but also with the interests of England, and of the metropolis in particular. He alluded especially to the misery and ruin which would arise to those deriving their subsistence from the commerce of the Company, declared his hostility to the proposed arrangements for the local governments, expressed his conviction that no influx of European capital into India would take place, and concluded by urging the necessity of upholding the power and influence of the Company. "Depend upon it, my Lords," said his Grace, "that upon the basis of their authority rests the good government of India."

Some dispute took place as to the intentions of ministers with respect to the continuance of councils at the subordinate presidencies. Lord Ellenborough had assumed that they were to be abolished. The Marquis of Lansdowne, referring to the bill which had been prepared, affirmed that they were to be retained. Lord Ellenborough, in explanation, said that, unless the speech of the president of the Board of Commissioners had been strangely misrepresented in the ordinary vehicles of intelligence, he had declared it to be the intention of government to dispense with the subordinate councils. The Marquis of Lansdowne, in answer, said that, without consulting the president of the Board, he would take upon himself to state that the report of his speech must

be incorrect, as it had always been intended that the Court of Directors should have power to appoint members of council.

This statement, however, must have been made under misinformation. The intentions of government were not left to be ascertained from a speech in the House of Commons, whether correctly reported or not. The point at issue had been the subject of correspondence between the Board of Commissioners and the Court of Directors, the court upholding the continuance of councils at the subordinate presidencies, the Board opposing it.*

* Vide the following papers respecting the East-India Company's Charter, 1833.—Summary of principal provisions of proposed bill, transmitted by Mr. Charles Grant, 24th of June, 1833, p. 260—Letter of Mr. Grant, 27th of June, p. 266—Letter from the Court of Directors to Mr. Grant, 2nd of July, p. 310—Petition of East-India Company to House of Commons, p. 404—Petition to the House of Lords, p. 450—Mr. Tucker's Dissent, p. 342—Mr. Jenkins's Dissent, p. 358. Extracts from some of these papers will be found in the Appendix to this volume. It is observable, also, that while the bill as passed by the House of Commons (27th of July, 1833) contained a clause (54) giving the Court of Directors power to appoint councils at the subordinate presidencies (with the approbation of the Board), another clause (56) declared that governors where *no councils might be appointed* should "have all the rights, powers, duties, functions, and immunities whatsoever, not in anywise repugnant to this Act, which the governors of Fort St. George and Bombay, *in their respective councils*, now have within their respective presidencies." Some modification was made before the bill passed into a law, but it was formal rather than substantial. By section 56, Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, cap. 85, the government of each of the four presidencies, Bengal, Fort St. George, Bombay, and Agra, is to be administered by a governor and three councillors; but, by the

CHAP.
XXVIII.

A. D. 1833.

After a reply from the Marquis of Lansdowne the resolutions were carried.

On the 10th of July the bill was read a second time in the House of Commons. Mr. Buckingham protested against the principle of the bill, and made a long speech in support of his views. Mr. Hume gave a qualified assent to the bill. Mr. Whitmore took objections to several parts of it. Mr. Macaulay defended both its principle and details. Mr. Wynne gave a synopsis of his formerly expressed views. Mr. O'Connell made some remarks on the landed tenures of India. Mr. Todd found fault with some of the provisions of the bill, while Mr. Robert Wallace expressed his belief that it gave universal satisfaction. Mr. Ewart said India wanted skill more than capital, and glanced at the salt and opium monopolies. Mr. Charles Grant replied. On the whole, the debate produced little to elucidate the questions agitated, or to affect their decision.

On the 12th, after some preliminary discussion, the House went into committee on the bill. Mr. Hume proposed that the tenure of the Company should be determinable at the expiration of ten

succeeding clause (57) the court, with the approbation of the Board, are empowered to revoke and suspend the appointment of councillors in all or any of these presidencies, or to diminish the number of councillors. Agra has not yet become a separate presidency, the operation of the Act with respect to it having been suspended by a later one. The councils of Fort St. George and Bombay remain, but none has been appointed for Bengal. The executive of that presidency is administered by the governor-general as governor, but without a council.

years. Mr. Lyall urged the impossibility of supposing that the Company would suspend their right of trading for the sake of having their charter renewed for so short a term as ten years. The amendment was lost. Some discussion took place on the question of relinquishing or abolishing councils in the subordinate presidencies ; on the controlling power of the governor-general ; on the establishment of a new subordinate government at Agra ; and other topics : in the course of which Mr. C. F. Russell recommended the removal of the seat of the supreme government from Calcutta to Bombay, a suggestion which was noticed with approbation by Sir Robert Inglis.

The proceedings of the committee were resumed on the 15th. After much discussion on the legislative powers proposed to be intrusted to the governor-general in council, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson moved an amendment, excepting the local limits of the settlements of Fort William, Madras, and Bombay, from its operation, which was lost. On the 16th Mr. Fergusson moved another amendment, the effect of which was to withdraw any discretionary power as to the existence of councils at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and to make the continuance of councils imperative. The amendment was supported by Mr. Hume, Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. Wynne, Sir Harry Verney, Mr. Charles Marjoribanks, Colonel Evans, and Lord Ashley, and opposed by Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. Robert Grant, Mr. Charles Buller, and Mr. Strutt. It was lost

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

A. D. 1833.

on a division. An amendment, moved by Sir Harry Verney, appointing the governor-general governor of the whole province of Bengal, with two lieutenant-governors to carry on the duties of the administration, one residing at Agra and the other at Calcutta, was withdrawn. Mr. Buller proposed an amendment, excluding the governor-general from the governorship of any particular presidency, which was supported by Mr. Strutt and Mr. Hume, but lost on a division. On the 17th of July Mr. Hume moved that a clause declaring it unlawful for persons to reside in certain parts of India without license should be omitted. The amendment was lost by a large majority. A clause respecting slavery was added, on the motion of Mr. Charles Grant. A rather stormy discussion on the proposed establishment of two new bishoprics in India followed, and after two divisions, the motion that the chairman report progress was agreed to without opposition.

On the 19th the discussion of the subject was resumed. Mr. O'Connell pleaded for a Catholic establishment in addition to a Protestant one. Mr. Grant took a conciliatory tone, and proposed that Catholic priests should be paid. Mr. Wynne approved of this course. Mr. Shiel opposed the payment of any religious teachers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Althorp) said government were as willing to sanction other churches as the Church of England; and Mr. O'Connell declared himself satisfied. Sir Robert Inglis supported the establishment of the new bishoprics; Mr. Hume

opposed it altogether. Mr. C. Buller took the same course, while Major Cumming Bruce, avowing himself to be a member of the Church of Scotland, entreated the ministers to persevere in carrying the clause, which he believed would give great satisfaction in the country. Mr. Finch, Sir Matthew White Ridley, Lord Morpeth, Sir John Maxwell, and Mr. Cutlar Fergusson having spoken in favour of the clause, and Mr. O'Dwyer, Mr. Ruthven, Mr. Halcombe, and Mr. G. F. Young against it, a division took place, and the clause was carried. The various clauses relating to the allowances of the new bishops gave rise to some discussion, as did also the provisions relating to the education of civil servants at Haileybury, and the mode of selecting them. On the latter point Mr. Wynne took the opportunity of re-publishing the opinions which he had so often advanced, in favour of distributing writerships by competition among candidates in the universities and public schools. To the ministerial plan, by which candidates were to be nominated in a four-fold proportion to the number of appointments, and the requisite number selected for Haileybury from among them, Mr. Lyall took a very powerful objection,—that it made the conduct of the boy, instead of the man, the rule of promotion. An amendment moved by Mr. Hume, reducing the salary of the governor-general, was lost, and an additional clause, moved by Colonel Leith Hay, making it imperative to retain at each presidency two clergymen of the Church of Scotland, which was opposed by Mr.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

Hume and Mr. Warburton, was carried on a division.

A. D. 1833.

The report being brought up on the 22nd of July, Mr. Wilbraham (member for Cheshire) submitted a motion in favour of abolishing the salt monopoly, which was seconded by Mr. Ewart (member for Liverpool). Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Hume supported the views of those gentlemen. Mr. Grant and Mr. Cutlar Fergusson craved time for the termination of the monopoly.* The motion was not pressed to a division. Mr. C. Buller moved an amendment, reducing the period of attendance at the college at Haileybury, which was withdrawn; and Mr. Hume renewed his motion for a clause to admit of putting an end to the Company's government after the expiration of ten years, which was lost.

* The concluding remarks of Mr. Cutlar Fergusson were very important, but they do not appear to have fixed the attention of the House. "I will take this opportunity of expressing a hope, that while such active endeavours are made to extend the manufactures of England, we should also do something for the manufactures of India. At present our cottons and woollens are imported into India on payment of a duty of two-and-a-half per cent., while at the same time a duty of ten per cent. is charged upon the cottons of India. A few years ago in Dacca alone 50,000 families obtained the means of subsistence by the cotton manufactures, but from the commercial policy this country has pursued with regard to India, not one-tenth of the number are now employed in this branch of industry. I trust that this system will be abandoned, and that articles produced by the natives of India will be admitted into England on payment of a small duty." Some reduction of the duty on Indian goods has lately been effected.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A.D. 1833.

On the 26th of July a General Court of Proprietors was held, and a petition to the House of Commons against the bill agreed upon. The petitioners complained of the want of any provision for reporting to parliament cases where the Board of Control and the Court of Directors might finally differ,—of the increase given to the power of the governor-general, and the diminution of that of the subordinate governments,—of the institution of a fourth presidency for the north-western provinces,—of the proposal to withdraw councils from the government of Madras and Bombay,—of the increase of expense which would be occasioned by the creation of new offices,—and of the retention of the college at Haileybury. The petition was presented the same evening by Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, who moved that the petitioners be heard by counsel at the bar of the House on the third reading of the bill. The motion was seconded by Mr. Hume, supported by Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Buckingham, and Sir Richard Vivian; opposed by Mr. Robert Grant, Mr. Macaulay, and the Solicitor-general, and lost on a division by a hundred to thirty-three. It was objected, that the petitioners ought to have come sooner. To this Mr. Fergusson answered, that they had not the opportunity; that the Court of Proprietors could not be summoned without giving several days' notice, and that the Court of Directors had delayed calling them together, in expectation of receiving communications from the president of the Board

CHAP.
XXVIII.

of Commissioners, which, however, he had not thought fit to give.*

This refusal of a hearing to the East-India Company, who were about to be deprived of privileges and power, the growth of centuries, was followed by a desultory debate, each member selecting for his topic any point of Indian policy on which it suited him to expatiate. Mr. Buckingham declaimed against the limited right of settlement, and the church establishment; Mr. Wynne gave utterance to his oft-repeated wish to reduce the number of

* Mr. Fergusson had occasion, of which he availed himself, of rebuking the proverbial impatience of the House with respect to Indian affairs. While calling attention to the petition he was interrupted by noise, on which he said, "I give the House full credit for the most perfect indifference to the statements of these petitioners, but I do think they are bound to preserve something like silence, instead of the incessant conversation and confusion which now prevails." And in his reply, after dwelling upon the deep interest which he felt in the bill, he said, "Have the Company, I ask, been heard upon this subject? I deny it. If a member has ventured to open his mouth in their favour, he has scarcely been able to obtain a hearing." Sir Robert Inglis on the same evening adverted to the subject. He said, "I know how little interest is excited by India, how much less by China. Adam Smith, in his 'Theory of Moral Sentiment,' has said that it would give a man of tolerable humanity more distress to be told that his own little finger was to be cut off to-morrow morning than to hear that the whole empire of China had been swallowed up by an earthquake. In the one case he would perhaps lie awake, in the other he would only think that he would lose his tea." Mr. Wynne, in reference to the bill then before the house, observed that he "did not remember any bill occupying so much time, and on so important a subject, which had excited so little attention and created so little interest."

directors; Mr. Poulett Thomson defended the burdensome and unequal duties imposed in this country on India productions. Several other members speculated on futurity; after which Mr. Grant made a short and very unnecessary reply, seeing that the fate of the bill was as certain as though it had become law. It was read a third time, when Mr. Wynne moved, by way of rider, a clause embodying one of his favourite views as to patronage, by setting aside a certain number of military appointments, to be bestowed on the sons of officers. The clause was negatived without a division. Mr. Shiel, who had previously contended that no form of Christianity should be supported in India, then moved a clause for extending support to the Roman Catholic church "and others differing" from the established churches of England and Scotland; but, on a promise from Mr. Grant to add to a future clause a proviso, leaving the governor-general at liberty to grant sums of money to any sect or community of Christians, Mr. Shiel withdrew his clause. Sir Richard Vivian then proposed a clause, restraining the governor-general in council from making laws affecting the inhabitants of the presidencies, without registration in the European courts. It was lost; when Mr. Cutlar Fergusson moved the omission of the clause vesting the governments of the presidencies in a governor, irrespective of a council.* This motion was pressed to a division, and the retention of the

* These discussions, both in committee and in the house, prove the accuracy of the remark made at page 330.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

clause carried. After various additions, which excited little or no discussion, Mr. Grant proposed his proviso (promised to Mr. Shiel), allowing the governor-general in council, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, to grant money to societies of Christians not belonging to either of the established churches of Great Britain. This was strenuously opposed by Mr. Andrew Johnstone, who said he felt bound to the course he was adopting, by a sense of his duty as an elder of the Church of Scotland. Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Pease, and Mr. Plumtree agreed in the objections of Mr. Johnstone; but, on a division, the proviso was adopted by a great majority. Mr. Wynne moved an amendment, the effect of which was to dispense with the necessity of candidates for writerships passing through Haileybury. Mr. Lyall took occasion to avow his conviction, that the four-fold plan of nomination could never be brought into effect.* Several members attacked the college: its solitary defender was Mr. Robert Grant, but the amendment was lost. The bill then passed the Commons. On the 29th of July it was read a first time in the Lords; and again on the 2nd of August *sub silentio*.

A.D. 1833.

A general court of Proprietors of the East-India Company had been held on the 31st of July, when a petition to the House of Lords, similar to that presented to the Commons, was agreed upon. This petition was presented on the 2nd of August by the

* The result has shewn this belief to have been well founded. By the 1 Vict. c. 70, the operation of the plan was suspended.

Earl of Shaftesbury, who proposed to move that the petitioners be heard by counsel, if not contrary to the sense of the House; but, as some peers opposed this proceeding, and none supported it, the noble earl took for granted that his intended motion was contrary to the sense of the House, and abstained from making it. The Marquis of Lansdowne then moved the committal of the bill without a single remark, alleging that, as Lord Ellenborough intended to move an amendment, he reserved his observations to a future period of the debate. Lord Ellenborough thereupon claimed a right of reply, if he should deem it necessary, which the Marquis of Lansdowne instantly conceded. It was certainly a novel mode of proceeding, to allot the opening and reply in a discussion on a ministerial bill to a member of the Opposition. Lord Ellenborough, to whose care a bill, brought in by his opponents, was thus suddenly surrendered, then moved, "that it be an instruction to the committee to omit all such clauses in the bill as relate to alterations in the constitution and powers of the governments of the several presidencies of India." The Marquis of Lansdowne made some observations in defence of the ministerial measure. The Duke of Wellington followed, arguing against the total discontinuance of trade by the Company, and pointing out some difficulties in the proposed constitution of the governments of India.* Lord

* With regard to the governor-general, the duke observed,

CHAP.
XXVIII.

A. D. 1833.

Ellenborough's amendment was lost, and the House then went into committee on the bill. Various clauses were dispatched with great rapidity. On the 7th of August the remaining clauses of the bill were proceeded through with equal celerity. Those relating to the government of the subordinate presidencies were omitted on the motion of the Marquis of Lansdowne, and others substituted enacting that each presidency should have a governor and council, but subjecting the appointment of a council to be revoked, suspended, or modified by the home authorities. On the 8th the amendments were reported, and on the 9th, after some discussion on the claims of various classes of creditors whose interests might be affected, the report was taken into consideration. Some amendments of a financial character were moved and negatived; after which the Marquis of Lansdowne moved that the fifth member of the council of India, who was to be a person not in the service of the East-India Company, should be excluded from sitting or voting, except when making laws or regulations, which was agreed to; as was also a modification of the clause respecting slavery, submitted by the same nobleman.

that "he would not only have augmented duties to perform with the assistance of an augmented council, but also to attend to the business of Bengal without any council." The Marquis of Lansdowne immediately exclaimed, "Not so; he will have the assistance of a council." This, however, has not been verified in practice. The governor of Bengal, as already stated, has no council.

A. D. 1833.

The fate of the bill and of the Company in connection with the government of India was now approaching to a crisis. A general court was summoned for the 13th of August by the chairman and deputy-chairman, at the request of the president of the Board of Commissioners. On the previous day a Court of Directors was held, when a motion was submitted (it is presumed from the chair), declining to recommend the acceptance of the bill by the proprietors, and referring the question altogether to the discretion of that body. An amendment was moved, which, while lamenting the cessation of the Company's trade,—disapproving of the increased power of the Board,—regretting the refusal of parliament to provide a rule of publicity,—and avowing apprehension as to the effects of the intended changes of the finances of India,—yet, in the conviction that the powers of the Board would be exercised so as not to interfere with the independence of the Company as a body acting intermediately between the king's government and the government of India, which independence all parties had admitted it to be of vital importance to maintain,—and in the belief that parliament would interfere for the relief of financial difficulties, if any should arise in consequence of the changes, agreed to recommend to the proprietors to consent to place their trade in abeyance, in order to undertake the exercise of the government of India for twenty years, under the conditions and arrangements of the bill. The amendment was carried, and the chairman and

deputy (Mr. Marjoribanks and Mr. Wigram) immediately delivered in a dissent.*

* The following is the paper referred to in the text :—

“ Differing from the majority of the Court of Directors who have this day passed a resolution recommending the proprietors to place their charter in abeyance, we record our dissent from that proceeding, and shall briefly state our reasons for doing so.

“ It is impossible for us to contemplate the annihilation of the basis upon which the East-India Company was originally incorporated, without reflecting that Great Britain owes to their exertions the valuable trade with India and China, as well as its maintenance during two centuries, amidst great embarrassment at home, and the powerful opposition of European and native enemies abroad, and that in its prosecution the Company laid the foundation of the British empire in India.

“ The extension of the Company’s territorial possessions became matter of great national interest, and led to political power, under parliamentary regulation, being engrafted upon their commercial character.

“ The union of government and trade being thus considered the system best calculated to preserve the stability of our rule in India, and at the same time to secure the greatest benefits to that country and to England.

“ The opinion of those statesmen who took the leading part in the proceedings of 1793 and 1813, proves that they were governed by the same principles in proposing the arrangements concluded, at each of those periods, between the public and the Company ; and the following extracts from the last report of the parliamentary committee, printed in August, 1832, appear to us to establish the fact that these joint functions have hitherto produced the most beneficial effects :

“ ‘ That the British sway has conferred very considerable benefits on India can hardly be doubted, since under our government the people enjoy advantages which all history shews they never possessed under their own princes—protection from external invasion, and the security of life and property.’ (a)

Again,

(a) Vide p. 19 of the Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East-India Company.

At the general court on the 13th various papers were read—the minutes of the Court of Directors

“ Again,

“ ‘ The finances of India have derived advantage from their existing connection with the commerce of the Company,

“ ‘ 1st. Through the direct application of surplus commercial profit ;

“ ‘ 2nd. By the rates of exchange at which the territorial advances from commerce in England have been repaid to commerce in India ;

“ ‘ 3rd. In consequence, as is alleged, of the remittances from India annually required for the payment of those territorial charges defrayed in England having been made through the Company’s commerce.’ (a)

“ With these admitted results, we consider that, although deprived of their monopoly of the China trade, but at the same time relieved from all the legal obligations by which their transactions have hitherto been fettered, the Company might have continued to trade with great advantage, especially as regards the question of remittance.

“ It was, therefore, with much surprise that we first perused the Hints submitted by his Majesty’s government, containing the proposition that the Company should henceforth abandon all commercial operations, and transfer to territory the whole of their assets at home and in India.

“ We, nevertheless, felt it to be our duty to give our best consideration to the proposed scheme. We did so with an anxious desire that the Company, who had already secured such great advantages to their country, should not disappoint even its further expectations, but consent to waive the exercise of the commercial rights which they possess in perpetuity, if the proprietors were fully secured in the regular receipt of their present dividend, and in the ultimate payment of their capital, and provided that such a plan were devised as would enable the Company ‘ efficiently to administer the government of India for a further term with credit to themselves and with advantage to that empire.’

“ It

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

held the previous day; the dissent of the chairman and deputy chairman; a letter from Mr. Tucker,

“ It is with these views that we became parties to the resolution passed by the proprietors at the ballot on the 3rd of May last, which formed the basis of the proposed compromise.

“ Two of the points contended for in that resolution were the extension of the guarantee fund to three millions, and the provision for publicity as a rule.

“ To the first we still consider the proprietors entitled, both in justice and in equity, from the proceeds of their commercial assets.

“ The latter provision we deem indispensable to the independence of the Court of Directors.

“ Neither point has been conceded, whilst other provisions have been introduced into the bill which render the scheme, in our judgment, still more objectionable.

“ We consider that, although some important modifications have been made in the bill introduced into parliament subsequently to the resolution of the Court of Proprietors of the 3rd of May, particularly as regards the retention of councils at the subordinate presidencies, the measure as it stands involves an unnecessary departure from the principles upon which the governments of those presidencies have hitherto been conducted, and by which they were made directly responsible to the authorities at home.

“ This change, so far from preventing the recurrence of the delay, upon which much stress was laid in the late parliamentary inquiry, will, in point of fact, increase the evil, and instead of relieving the governor-general from a portion of those duties which are now complained of as too multifarious, it will impose upon him additional labour and responsibility. It will, moreover, admit of the existence at the same time of six distinct executive authorities, which may lead to much embarrassment.

“ We think the provisions of the bill will create a considerable additional charge upon India, without conferring any adequate benefit, whilst that country will, by the same measure, be deprived of those resources, without which her financial means, as regards both income and remittance, will be put to great hazard.

stating some objections to the bill, but recommending that, with all its defects, it should be accepted ;*

“ Upon the point of remittance, we are at a loss to imagine how the same is to be effected to the requisite extent; and, if effected, we fear it will be at a very unfavourable rate of exchange, and, consequently, at a great loss to the Indian finances.

“ We are likewise of opinion that the bill leaves the assets transferred to territory to be applied and disposed of in a manner which we much fear will occasion not only a serious deterioration of property, but great disappointment and distrust; and, lastly,

“ We consider that the Court of Directors, instead of being placed by the present bill in the position in which alone they can independently, and, consequently, advantageously, discharge their duties, will be converted into little else than a mere instrument for the purpose of giving effect to the acts of the controlling Board, and it would consequently have been far better that his Majesty’s government should have openly and avowedly assumed the direct administration of India, than have attempted to maintain an intermediate body, in deference to those constitutional principles which led to its original formation under parliamentary regulation, but deprived of its authority and rendered inefficient by the present measure, and which will become, in our opinion, a mere useless charge upon the revenues of India.

“ In thus stating our sentiments, we discharge a painful, but at the same time what we feel to be an imperative duty, and with this feeling we cannot consent to incur the responsibility of recommending to our constituents to confirm the compromise, by consenting to place their chartered rights in abeyance under the provisions of the present bill.”

On the passing of the bill Mr. Marjoribanks and Mr. Wigram retired from the Chairs.

* Mr. Tucker’s recommendation was grounded on an apprehension of the consequences that might follow a rejection of the ministerial proposal, which he thus enumerated :—

“ 1st. By rejecting the plan, our stock, which at present bears a value approaching to fifteen millions sterling, would probably fall back to twelve millions, and it is not difficult to foresee that

CHAP.
XXVIII.

a paper signed by Mr. Thornhill, concurring with Mr. Tucker, both in his objections and recommendation, and a letter signed by Mr. Astell and thirteen other directors.* A motion was then made, similar

all arrangements connected with India must be thrown into a state of utter confusion.

"2nd. We should be exposed to a destructive competition in the course of conducting the Company's trade, and the eager adventurers who would instantly rush into the tea trade would soon render it the source of loss to both parties.

"3rd. However unjustly, we should probably be burthened with the home bond debt, without having any means of relief against the king's government.

"4th. That government might even interpose difficulties in the way of our obtaining reimbursement of the large sum which has been advanced from our commercial funds for territorial purposes.

"5th. A question might be raised as to our right to appropriate heretofore any commercial profits to the augmentation of our commercial capital.

"6th. The king's ministers might demur to the admission of our just claim to our lands and estates, our forts, factories, and other buildings on the territory and islands of India; and although such a proceeding would be unjust in the extreme, we must not conceal from ourselves, that such a contingency may occur, and that, if these and other arbitrary proceedings of the kind should be resorted to, the value of our commercial property must be materially affected, and it might be found difficult to realize for the proprietors even their capital of twelve millions."

* The letter follows. The Directors who signed it were, William Astell, Esq., William Stanley Clarke, Esq., George Raikes, Esq., Henry Shank, Esq., Sir William Young, Bart., Russell Ellice, Esq., William Butterworth Bayley, Esq., Richard Jenkins, Esq. (now Sir Richard Jenkins, G. C. B.), George Lyall, Esq., John Cotton, Esq., J. P. Muspratt, Esq., Henry Alexander, Esq., John Masterman, Esq., and Colonel Lushington (now Major-General Sir James Law Lushington, G. C. B.)

"We feel called upon, in consequence of the dissent of the

in spirit to the amendment carried on the preceding day in the Court of Directors, disapproving the

CHAP.
XXVIII.

Chairs, to state the general grounds which induced us to support the resolution adopted by the majority of this court yesterday.

"It is at all times matter of regret to us, when we find ourselves on any measure opposed to the opinion of the Chairs; and that regret is much increased when the difference arises on a question of such moment as that which at present divides us. We feel it the more, because we think the Chairs have succeeded, since the opening of the present negotiation, in obtaining important modifications in the plan as originally proposed, as well as in the bill now before parliament.

"We concur in many of the views entertained by the Chairs; and were we to consult only our personal feelings, we might possibly arrive at the same conclusion; but in deciding on a question involving such various interests, and encompassed on all sides with much difficulty, we feel bound to pursue that course which, upon the whole, appears to us to be most conducive to the interest of the proprietors and to the welfare of India.

"We sincerely wish that the scheme proposed by his Majesty's ministers had been based on established principles, the soundness of which had been proved by the result of long experience, rather than upon untried theories; but we cannot forget that the basis of the present compromise was agreed to by the Company on the motion of the late Sir John Malcolm, not hastily, but after seven days' discussion; not by a show of hands, but by the ballot on the 3rd May last, and by a majority of 425 proprietors out of 477. (a)

"On that occasion the Company adverted to the long and intimate connection which had existed between them and India, and declared 'that, if parliament in its wisdom should consider, as his Majesty's ministers have declared, that the advancement of the happiness and prosperity of our native subjects may be best promoted by the administration being continued in the hands of the Company, but divested of their commercial character, the Court of Directors having suggested, as it was their duty to do, the

(a) Vide page 181, Negotiation Papers.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

change, but accepting the government of India under the bill. An amendment was submitted,

the difficulties and dangers, political as well as financial, which beset the dissolution of the connection between the territorial and the commercial branches of their affairs, will not shrink from the undertaking even at the sacrifices required, provided that powers be reserved to enable the Company efficiently to administer the government, and that their pecuniary rights and claims be adjusted upon the principle of fair and liberal compromise.' (a)

"Power was also claimed to enable the Company to make suitable provision for outstanding commercial obligations, and for such of the commercial officers and servants of the Company as may be affected by the proposed arrangements.

"The resolution having been communicated to Mr. Grant, that gentleman, in his letter of 27th May, declared it to be the anxious wish of his Majesty's government 'to accommodate themselves, as far as it be practicable, to the views and feelings of the Company,' (b) and pointed out the modifications which had been made.

"The Court of Directors, on the 29th May, (c) acknowledged with much satisfaction the several modifications of the plan of government which that letter announced, and were persuaded that their constituents, equally with themselves, would appreciate the spirit of frankness and conciliation in which those modifications had been conceded. They expressed themselves satisfied with the manner in which the dividends were to be regularly paid, (d) but re-urged the fair claim of the proprietors to an increase of the guarantee fund, and likewise provision for a rule of publicity to parliament.

"Upon the reply from his Majesty's ministers of the 4th June, in which explanations were made as to the guarantee fund and the redemption of the annuities, and reasons assigned for withholding concurrence in the establishment of a rule for publicity before

(a) Printed Charter Papers, page 183.

(b) Ibid. page 185.

(c) Ibid. page 191.

(d) Ibid. page 193.

declining to accept the bill, and condemning its provisions, as well on financial grounds as on that of

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

before parliament, the Court of Directors came to a resolution, 'that they were prepared to recommend, that if it should be the pleasure of parliament to limit the sum to be set apart to two millions, the proprietors should defer thereto;' (a) and that the question of publicity should be left to the decision of parliament, the court confidently expecting that parliament would view the importance of such a provision in the same light as the court.

"The General Court of Proprietors, on the 10th June, concurred in opinion with the court, and adopted their recommendation. (b)

"The principles of the basis of the compromise were thus virtually ratified by the Company leaving the two points, as to the increase of the guarantee fund and the enacting a rule of publicity, to the pleasure of parliament.

"On the 25th of June Mr. Grant transmitted to the court a summary, containing the main provisions of the intended bill, and on the 29th a copy of the bill as it had been introduced into the House of Commons.

"It is unnecessary for us to enter at length into a review of its provisions.

"The court's objections to the measure have been fully stated in their correspondence with his Majesty's government, and some of the principal points have been urged in the Company's petition to the House of Commons, and subsequently to the House of Lords, and both houses have had before them the whole of the papers connected with the present negotiation.

"In the petition to the House of Lords, presented so late as the 5th instant, it is declared, that 'Your petitioners are seriously desirous that no obstacle should arise on their part to the arrangement which parliament in its wisdom shall deem to be best calculated to promote the welfare of India and the commercial prosperity of the United Kingdom;' but the court prayed to be heard by counsel on the following points:

"For establishing a rule of publicity;

"Against

CHAP.
XXVIII.

placing despotic power in the hands of the governor-general "over a hundred millions of British subjects,

"Against the establishment of a fourth presidency, instead of a lieutenant-governor, at Agra ;

"Against the abolition of councils at Madras and Bombay ;

"Against the maintenance of Haileybury College ; and

"On the increase of expense likely to arise from an extension of the ecclesiastical establishment.

"Both houses have declined to entertain the question of publicity, and both have resolved to maintain Haileybury College and to increase the ecclesiastical establishment, as well as to authorize a government at Agra ; but, at the same time, concessions had been made in the import and provisions regarding the councils, which are to be maintained as at present, reserving power to the Company to abolish them at a future period, should it be thought expedient.

"A very important alteration has likewise been made in the clause as to slavery, and the declaration that it should cease throughout the Indian territory is omitted.

"The question therefore was, whether the points which have not been conceded form sufficient grounds to induce us to withhold a recommendation to the general court, or whether, under all circumstances, we should not best discharge our duty to the proprietors and to India, by recommending the general court to confirm the compromise, and to place their chartered right of trade in abeyance under the provisions of the present bill.

"It should be recollected that, immediately before the acceptance of the charter of 1813, a committee of the whole court recorded it as their opinion, that the general powers of superintendence and control of the Board were, even at that time, such that, if 'exercised illiberally or vexatiously, it would be difficult for the Court of Directors to perform their functions.' Much, therefore, must depend upon the spirit in which those powers are in future administered. If, as was then observed, liberally, it may be practicable for the Court of Directors to carry on the trust reposed in them satisfactorily ; but if otherwise, then it is impossible to expect that men of character and liberal feelings will retain their seats in the direction.

over every authority in India, not excepting his Majesty's courts of justice." The amendment was lost.* A ballot having been demanded on the main question, it took place on the 16th, when the original motion was carried by a considerable majority.† On the same evening the bill was read a third time in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Lansdowne positively refusing to enter into any discussion upon its merits. The formal motion that the bill do pass was postponed until the 19th, when it was made and carried without remark. The Lords' amendments were concurred in by the Commons, and the bill received the Royal assent.

The history of the East-India Company from its commencement has been extraordinary; and the suspension of its commerce, the sole purpose for

"With this explanation of our sentiments, and with reference to the declaration of Mr. Grant, that it is the intention of his Majesty's government that the Company, in their political capacity, 'shall commence the exercise of their resumed functions in the utmost possible state of efficiency,' (a) we have resolved to recommend to the proprietors to make a fair trial of the proposed charter; and should obstacles arise, or unforeseen causes prevent or impede the execution of it by the Company, after their best endeavours have been used for the purpose, the responsibility of the failure will not attach to them."

* From the division, it would seem as though the apathy of the legislature had extended to the proprietors of East-India stock. A question, involving little short of the very existence of the Company, brought only forty-nine proprietors into court: of them, ten voted for the amendment (rejection of the bill), and thirty-nine against it (acceptance of the bill).

† For acceptance, 173; rejection, 64.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

which it was formed, is not the least extraordinary part of that history. There was some plausibility in the principal objection taken to the continuance of the Company's trade with India, that the characters of merchant and sovereign were incompatible; but that objection did not apply to its trade with China, the sacrifice of which was a tribute to ignorant and interested clamour. The Company's exclusive privileges were eminently useful in extending and maintaining our commercial relations with a country with which it is difficult to maintain intercourse at all, and those privileges were so carefully guarded that they could not be abused. No impartial person, whatever his opinions on freedom of trade, can read the evidence on the China trade given before the parliamentary committees, without feeling convinced that the Company's exclusive rights ought to have been maintained, with such modifications as might have sufficed to place British subjects on an equality with foreigners. Government determined otherwise, and the reproach of having thus determined is not peculiar to the party which happened to be then in power: Whig and Tory were alike ready to surrender the China trade of the Company to those who clamoured for its destruction. The chief, if not the only, difference appears to have been, that the latter party would have allowed the Company to share in the trade (as in the case of opening the trade with India), while the former insisted on their abandoning trade altogether. No rights, however well established, no interests, how-

ever important, are safe, where statesmen, abandoning their true position, are content to follow, instead of leading public opinion.*

* Some of the "disturbing forces" which interfere with the practical application of the doctrines of free trade are ably pointed out in the following passage from a dissent recorded by Mr. Tucker, during the negotiations of the Company with the government:—

"I do not ask his Majesty's ministers to abandon the doctrine of free trade as an abstract proposition; but I submit, that it cannot be received for practical purposes, as a rule of commercial policy, without certain conditions and limitations.

"First. The parties dealing together must act upon the principle of perfect reciprocity. This is not likely to be the case in China.

"Second. There must be on both sides security for person and property. This is not the case in Japan, nor indeed in China, at all times.

"Third. There must not be a great inequality between the quantity of labour brought into action in the course of producing the commodities interchanged, or the benefit will not be equal. Fifty years ago, labour was held to be the source of national wealth; but we have now a redundancy of manual labour, creating individual poverty and distress; and it is one great and most difficult part of the business of legislation and government, to find the means of employing labour innocently if not usefully, and to make it applicable to the purpose of distributing the general produce. If this distribution cannot be effected in such manner as to admit that labour can command food, the people will take by violence that which is necessary to their subsistence.

"Fourth. There is something in *distance*, or the remoteness of countries trading together, which may produce some disturbance in applying the doctrine of free trade.

"In a very few days we learn the variations in the principal commercial markets of the Continent, and the supply may be adjusted to the demand with a great degree of accuracy, so as to prevent any material loss from the violent fluctuation of prices; but six months, or twelve months, may elapse before we obtain certain information of what is passing in China, and different

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

The China trade of the Company was a positive benefit to India, that country being relieved thereby to the extent of the surplus profits of the trade. It was determined that India should no longer enjoy this benefit, but that the profit (or the loss, as the case might be) should be allotted to England. It is remarkable that the interests of India should

merchants, proceeding in ignorance and without concert, may engage in the most hazardous speculations.

“ This happened to the inconsiderate adventurers who first embarked in the trade to Buenos Ayres, although the distance was comparatively small !

“ This happened to the free-traders who have prosecuted the commerce with India since 1813 ; and to an extent which has spread ruin throughout the Indian community, as well as in some of the manufacturing districts of this country !

“ An attempt was made by us to open a trade with Japan while we held possession of Java, and it ended in total disappointment, entailing upon the government a heavy loss. This was not to be referred to *distance* alone, but to the jealous feeling of an arbitrary government. And does not the government of China act in that arbitrary, capricious, and unsteady manner, which is calculated to create uncertainty in the management of commercial operations ? The trade in that country exists only by sufferance from day to day.

“ I contend, that sufficient allowance is not made for the disadvantage of distance and uncertainty in applying the doctrine of free trade to China. It was the risk and uncertainty attending long voyages, and the necessity for a large capital, which first led to the incorporation of our own and other public companies. Exclusive privileges were necessary for their encouragement ; but with these privileges they were enabled to supply remote markets, whose wants they could generally estimate with a great degree of certainty, and supply with regularity and without extraordinary risk ; but individuals, who run a race of competition, cannot guard themselves against the imprudence of each other.”—Dissent, by H. St. George Tucker, Esq., 11th June, 1833 : Papers, pp. 219, 220.

be invariably sacrificed whenever they are the subject of British legislation. India has sustained pecuniary loss by the withdrawal of the China trade from the Company. The Company sustained some diminution of influence, and various classes of their servants were deprived of employment, which they had calculated would continue as long as they were able to follow it. Amidst this mass of loss and inconvenience, who has gained? It is very doubtful whether either the successors of the Company in the China trade, or their customers, the purchasers and consumers of tea, can give a satisfactory answer to the question.*

* The effect of similar changes is frequently unmitigated evil. The following remarks on the effects of violent pecuniary reforms are not inapplicable to them, and in certain quarters they may have the greater weight, as bearing the authority of an advocate of ultra liberal principles in politics and trade, Jeremy Bentham :—

“ Shall it be said, that the immediate abolition of places is a gain to the public? This is a sophism. The sum in question would no doubt be a gain if it came from any other source, if it were rechanged by commerce or in any other just way; but it is no gain to the public, when it is wrung from individuals who form a part of that very public. Would a family be the richer, because a father took from one of his children his portion in order to increase the fortunes of the others? The profit of an abolished place is divided among the whole public, but the loss presses on an individual; the gain is not perceptible, but the loss causes destruction. If we abolish all useless places and make no compensation to the holders, what is the consequence? The streets are crowded with the despoiled citizens, exhibiting marks of indigence, while we scarcely see an individual whose condition the change has benefited. The groans of sorrow, and the cries of despair, resound from every quarter, while the benefit, being so minutely divided, is hardly perceived. If joy is possessed, it arises

CHAP.
XXVIII.

The question, whether the Company ought to have accepted the government of India on the con-

not from the sense of good effected, but is a malignant satisfaction occasioned by surrounding misery.

“ What is done in order to deceive the people on the occasion of these acts of flagrant injustice? Recourse is had to pompous maxims, which have a mixture of truth and falsehood, and give to a question which is extremely simple in itself an air of profundity and mystery. The interest of individuals, say the advocates for this inhuman reformation, ought to yield to that of the public; but is not one individual as much a part of the public as another? What is this public interest? is it not made up of the mass of private interests? All these private interests ought to be considered, instead of regarding, as these unfeeling reformers do, a part of these as the whole, and another part of them as nothing. The interest of each individual is sacred, and not to be touched, or the interest of no one is thus to be regarded. Individual interests are the sole real interests. Have a care of individuals—do not disturb them, nor suffer their rights on any account to be invaded, and you will have done enough for the public. On a multitude of occasions, men who have suffered by the operation of certain laws have not dared to assert what their rights were, or have been refused a hearing, on account of this false and pernicious construction of the maxim, that private good ought to yield to public good. Treat it as a question of generosity, whom does it become to exercise it? All towards one, or one towards all? Who is the more selfish—he who desires to keep what he has, or he who would seize by force what another possesses? An evil felt, and a benefit not felt—behold the result of those boasted operations, which sacrifice individuals to the public.”

These remarks are obviously applicable to corporations, as well as to individuals. It may seem extraordinary that when the privileges of the East-India Company were attacked, the occurrence should not have called forth the sympathy and support of other corporate bodies. It failed, however, of producing this effect, and some of those who either stood by in silence or were active in the attack, have since found that the East-India Company was not the only victim called for. The hand of innovation has been at work elsewhere, and even with more sweeping effect.

dition of relinquishing the China trade, though more open to difference of opinion, will perhaps generally be determined in the affirmative. By the vigorous stand which the Court of Directors had made on behalf of the pecuniary rights of their constituents, and by the overwhelming evidence which they had submitted in favour of those rights, the Company were enabled to obtain terms which, though falling short of the claims of justice, were far better than might have been expected from the tone and language of the minister. Had the Company rejected the bargain, there can be little doubt that every possible effort would have been made to cut down their claims to the smallest amount, and that every artifice which the ingenuity of special pleading could supply would have been employed to throw on them burdens which they had no right to bear. From the constant reproduction of oft-refuted fallacies in the course of the negotiation, nothing else could have been looked for. These dangers were escaped by compromise; and there is reason to believe that this course was, on the whole, the best. The preservation of the right of carrying on the China trade in common with others was worthless. The profits had been declining, and it was obvious that they would decline more rapidly when the trade should be laid open to rash and inordinate speculation.

Next to the abolition of the Company's right of exclusive trade with China, the most objectionable parts of the new measure appear to be the refusal of

CHAP.
XXVIII.

the rule of publicity, and the transfer of so large a portion of the power formerly enjoyed by the subordinate governments to that of the governor-general. As to the first, it is certain that both individuals and bodies of men may conscientiously differ, and that their differences may be irreconcilable; but in such cases no ground for concealment seems to exist. Neither party need feel shame in avowing opinions which are the result of honest conviction. With regard to the second, it cannot but excite surprise that it should have been deemed either necessary or prudent to concentrate nearly all power in the chief government. The motives to this transfer were never adequately explained.*

Of the other changes of the Act of 1833 little need be said. Some of those proposed have not

* Mr. Jenkins (now Sir Richard Jenkins) has concisely and forcibly laid down the true policy on this question, in a dissent, dated 5th July, 1833. He says:—

“In matters of war and politics it is essential, in my opinion, that all local authority should be concentrated in the hands of the supreme government. I confess I am not aware of any great evils that have arisen from any want of control in the supreme over the subordinate governments in these or other respects; and if any have arisen, *the existing law* (a) does not seem to have been in fault, as it confers upon the governor-general in council ample authority for interference in every conceivable case. The policy hitherto pursued, however, has been, to have *one controlling power* for emergencies, but separate authorities for *ordinary circumstances*; and being satisfied that this is the true system of administration for a country of such vast extent, and so distant from the paramount state as India is, I should be sorry to see it materially infringed.”

(a) 33 Geo. 3, cap. 52, sec. 40, 41, 44, 64.

been carried into effect. The subordinate presidencies of Madras and Bombay have not been deprived of their councils, and the erection of the new presidency of Agra has been suspended by the same authority which decreed its creation.* The legislative councillor and law commission have entered on their labours, but they have not yet made much advance towards the great work which appears to have been meditated, of compiling one comprehensive code of law for the whole of British India. Difficulties indeed exist before which Justinian might have relinquished the task in despair.

But although deprived of some advantages which they had previously enjoyed under the Company's rule, the people of India have reason to rejoice that the Company is still preserved as an instrument for the government of their country. That portion of the people of England who do not desire to see the combatants for political power every thing and the rest of the people nothing, have equal reason to be satisfied with this result.† That the Company agreed to accept the important trust, under conditions to

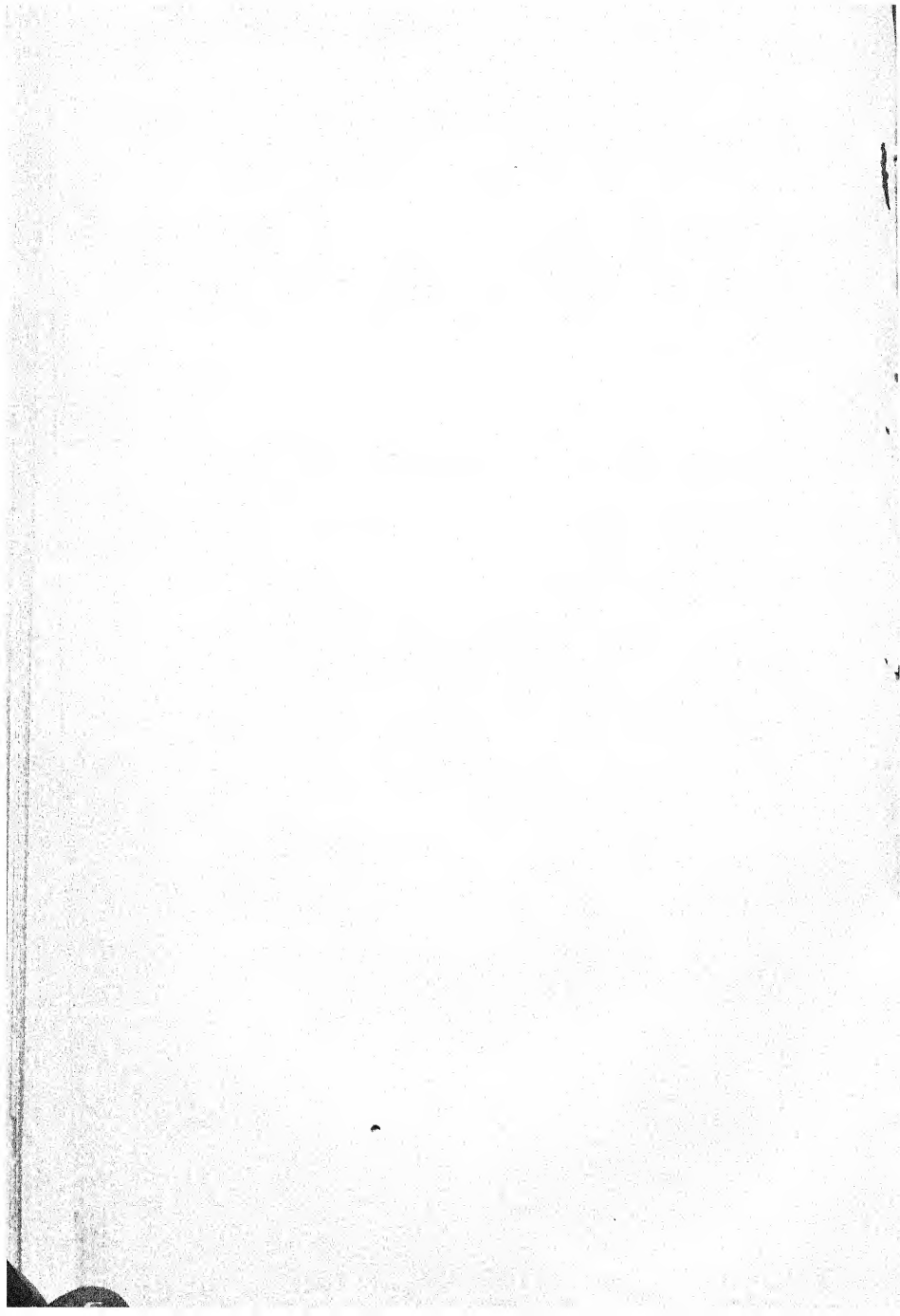
* As mentioned in note on page 331.

† The Court of Directors usually contains members of various shades of political opinion, and some having no strong political predilections at all. The patronage, therefore, is not distributed in one political channel, as it would be if transferred to the government, where the friends of the ruling party would enjoy a monopoly of it, and where (a consideration once thought important) it would generally be bestowed as the purchase or the reward of political services. The charlatan plan for tendering appointments to competition, and other fancies of the like nature, do not deserve a moment's discussion.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
—

which strong objections were entertained, may be attributed to the recommendation of the majority of the directors, headed by some whose experience, sound judgment, and high character were eminently calculated to inspire confidence in their views, and give weight to their advice. Happily this advice was successful, and India has yet to boast of being incomparably the best governed of the dependent possessions of Great Britain.

A P P E N D I X.



A P P E N D I X.

DISSENT *by the* CHAIRMAN (C. Marjoribanks, Esq.) *and*
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN (W. Wigram, Esq.)*

WE considered it to be our duty to submit the motion which was negatived in a committee of the whole Court on Friday last, the 7th instant, because we desired to maintain to the full extent what we conceive to be the views of the general court by their resolution of the 3rd of May, in which resolution we entirely concurred.

APPENDIX.

We consequently withheld our signatures from the report which submitted the resolution passed in the committee for adoption by the court.

The court having adopted it, we feel compelled to place upon the records of the Company our dissent, for the following reasons, *viz.*

1st. Because, although we are prepared to admit that considerable modifications have been made by his Majesty's ministers in the plan, as originally proposed, we still think, with reference to the general court's proceedings, that the proprietors, both in justice and equity, are entitled to have the sum of three instead of two millions set apart as a guarantee fund for their capital stock, particularly when we consider the readiness with which the propositions of his Majesty's ministers have been met by the Company consenting to place in abey-

* See page 314.

APPENDIX.

ance their valuable rights as a corporation, thereby withdrawing from competition with the British merchant the large capital and established influence which they possess in their commercial character, both in England and in India, but more particularly as regards the trade with China.

2ndly. Because we are of opinion that some legislative provision for giving publicity in certain cases of difference between the Board of Commissioners and the Court of Directors, is indispensable for maintaining the independence of the court, and consequently for the good government of India. For unless it is known that the two co-ordinate authorities act under a positive responsibility to parliament, the paramount authority may enforce their views and opinions, however contrary to good government or wholesome rule, without the possibility of the legislature becoming acquainted with the facts, by the ministers refusing the production of the papers connected therewith to parliament. Nothing can more clearly substantiate the truth of this position than what has already taken place with reference to the papers now before the general court, and which have been printed at the instance of the proprietors.

We allude to those relating to the pecuniary claims of British subjects on the native princes of India, and to the writ of mandamus on the affairs of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad. In the former is the case of the Lucknow bankers, which originated so far back as the year 1797. The claims of these parties have been pressed upon the Court of Directors on various occasions during the last twenty-two years. The court have invariably declined giving any countenance or support whatever to these claims, and the Board of Commissioners have confirmed the views of the court.

In April, 1832, after a lapse of ten years, the court

were called upon by the Indian minister to depart from that course, and to frame a despatch according to the tenour prescribed by the board, which was "to instruct the supreme government to press upon the serious attention of the King of Oude a claim which ought to have been discharged thirty years ago."

APPENDIX.

At the date of this communication from the board there were two cases before parliament involving claims of British subjects against native princes; the one on the Zemindar of Noozeed, and the other upon the Rajah of Travancore.

The court endeavoured to convey to the president of the Board of Commissioners, and through that right honourable gentleman to the rest of his Majesty's ministers, in a letter of the 9th May, 1832,* the conviction which they entertain of the pernicious tendency of the principle involved in all those proceedings. It would only weaken the force of that remonstrance to quote merely a part, and we therefore rest upon the whole as presenting irrefragable arguments in support of the court's opinion. The president waived all discussion as to the merits of the claims of the Lucknow Bankers,† but expressed dissent in every respect from the view taken by the court, and the requisition that the court would prepare a despatch was repeated. The court not having prepared instructions to the Bengal government, the board, on the 15th December (seven months afterwards) sent down a despatch with directions that the court should forward the same.

The court still felt that the question as to the policy, as well as the right of the British government to exert its authority with the Sovereign of Oude for the satisfaction of the claims in question, was long ago "accurately

* Page 1 of the printed papers respecting pecuniary claims of British subjects on native princes of India, &c.

† Page 45, letter from the president, dated the 14th May.

APPENDIX.
—

considered, deliberately decided, and solemnly and finally closed;”* and they represented to the board the strong apprehension which they entertained from establishing such a precedent, and concluded by expressing their full assurance, that the considerations urged by the court against the despatch sent down by the board would receive careful and deliberate attention, and “judging by the conviction they have produced in themselves, they cannot but entertain the strong hope and expectation that they will make a similar impression on the minds of the commissioners.”†

We trust that the arguments of the court have not been urged without effect, as the board have paused in enforcing their order of December; but what, we may ask, would have been the case, had there been a president of the Board of Commissioners determined, without awaiting such representation, or giving attention to it when made, to enforce the transmission of the despatch?

It is against such a possible exercise of power, and in the event of such power being exercised, that the facts shall reach parliament, that we contend for the rule of publicity.

The case also of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. forms another instance in which the exercise of absolute power may compel the court, under the proposed scheme, to send out a despatch, although contrary, in their opinion, to every principle of justice, and which may be calculated to lower the character of the British government throughout India, without the same coming before parliament.

The right of appeal which the court at present possess, affords the means, though not in our judgment sufficiently ample, to get the matter of a despatch, on which an extreme difference of opinion shall exist, before the

* Page 53 of the printed papers.

† Page 71 of ditto.

public; but this will cease under the new order of things. APPENDIX.

Objections on the score of political expediency may be urged against the proposition; but we think the provisions might be sufficiently guarded to prevent any ill effects, whilst its very existence would, in our judgment, tend more to insure an abstinence from acts which would bring the authorities within its operation, than any other measure which can be devised as a substitute; whilst promptness in decision would be promoted, justice would be readily afforded, and heavy law charges avoided.

It is not without feelings of sincere regret that we find ourselves placed in opposition to the opinion of so large a majority of our colleagues; but we think that we should not discharge our duty to the Company, to India, or to the British public, were we not thus to express our conviction as to the necessity of instituting means whereby parliament shall, in certain cases, acquire a direct knowledge of the measures of that branch of the executive government of this country, under whose control the affairs of India are administered.

(Signed)

C. MARJORIBANKS,

W. WIGRAM.

East-India House, the 10th June, 1833.

Some of the cases quoted in the above paper have been already noticed in either the text or notes. The general reasoning contained in the letter which is referred to, bearing date 9th May, 1832, entitles it to be subjoined, as well for its own merits as for the elucidation of the point in dispute between the court and the board.

APPENDIX. *LETTER from the CHAIRMAN and DEPUTY CHAIRMAN to
the PRESIDENT of the India Board.*

SIR :

East-India House, the 9th May, 1832.

The proceedings which are now pending in parliament on the claims of Mr. Hodges on the Zemindar of Nozeed, and of Mr. Hutchinson on the Rajah of Travancore, and the communications which the Court of Directors have recently received from the board and from yourself, respecting the claims of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. on some of the Nizam subjects, and those of the Lucknow bankers on the King of Oude, appear to the court to be of such a nature, as to make it their indispensable duty to endeavour to convey to you, and through you to the rest of his Majesty's ministers, the conviction which the court entertain of the pernicious tendency of the principle involved in all those proceedings and communications.

The pecuniary transactions of British subjects in India, Europeans and natives, with native states or the subjects of those states, in which the interference of the British government has occasionally been sought, are of three kinds, *viz.*

Claims on states whose territories have been subsequently transferred to the Company.

Claims on states in alliance with the Company; and

Claims on the subjects of the British government or on those of its allies.

With respect to the first class, the Company having become possessed of the territory, may in equity be expected to discharge, out of the revenues of that territory, the just debts of its former possessor, provided the same be judicially proved, and that the creditors agree to such equitable terms of settlement as may be suited to the new

and advantageous position in which the transfer of the country has placed them in point of security. Such was the arrangement made with the creditors of the Carnatic and of Tanjore. A commission was constituted to investigate the origin, justice, and amount of, and finally to adjudicate, the pecuniary claims in those countries. The first duty prescribed to the commissioners was to trace, in each case, the original principal sum advanced by, or due to, the claimant; and when that was satisfactorily ascertained, the commissioners were authorized to add simple interest, at rates of four, five, and six per cent. in the case of the great body of creditors, a few only being allowed twelve per cent., and that for a very limited period. The result of this investigation, as respects the Carnatic creditors, has been, that of claims aggregating thirty millions sterling, little more than one-twelfth has been admitted: the remainder have been totally rejected. We call your special attention to this important and most instructive fact, as strikingly illustrative of the general character of the money transactions of individuals with native states.

In proceeding to remark upon the second class of claims, *viz.* those on states in alliance with the Company, the court trust that they may be permitted to inquire whether, if the Carnatic had remained subject to the nabob, and if the pecuniary claims upon him to the amount of thirty millions sterling, investigated by the Carnatic commissioners, had been pressed, as they doubtless would have been, upon the authorities in this country, you, Sir, would have proposed that the British government should interfere on behalf of such creditors; still less, that they should interfere without judicial inquiry, and call upon the nabob to satisfy their demands? or whether his Majesty's ministers would have countenanced proceedings in parliament tending to such a result?

APPENDIX.

Cases of alleged hardship, as strong as any now brought forward, would have been urged: bonds would then, as now, have been produced, and plausible appeals made to the justice of the government. Let it be supposed that, in the case which we have thus put, the Board of Commissioners had resolved to coerce the nabob (as they now wish to do in analogous cases), and compel him to pay the whole amount claimed, what would have been the consequence? The result of the investigation of the Carnatic commissioners, shewing that nearly eleven-twelfths of the claims were bad, is the best answer to that inquiry. A small proportion of just debt would, indeed, through our interference, have been recovered; but at what a cost to our ally! at what a sacrifice of character to ourselves! How grossly would the power of the British government have been exercised to oppress its weaker neighbour, whom it was bound by treaty, and even in common justice, to protect! And how would the revenues of the Carnatic have been exhausted, to satisfy demands either altogether unfounded, or consisting chiefly of interests heaped upon interests! We well know that nothing could induce you to run the risk of such injustice; and we press the example upon you, to shew that we cannot interfere in any of these transactions without incurring a similar risk. The court do not forget that, previously to the assumption of the Carnatic by the Company, parliament interfered so far as to direct an inquiry into the private debts of the Nabob of Arcot, with a view to their settlement; but we are sure we need do no more than advert to the enactment, and the purpose to which it was applied. Recollecting the memorable proceedings upon that subject in the House of Commons, in February, 1785, the court do not apprehend that such a precedent will be quoted in support of a system of interference in similar cases now.

The court have no hesitation in stating their decided conviction, that interference in these matters is unjustifiable; and they confidently appeal to you, whether it be not the practice, even of the British government, to decline interference with their European allies, on behalf of individuals who have voluntarily risked their money in foreign loans, and whose position as creditors has not been affected by any of the political measures of Great Britain.

APPENDIX.

If such be the practice of the states of Europe, whose relative position towards each other places them more or less upon a footing of equality, and enables them to exercise a discretion in admitting or rejecting claims, even after interference has been exercised, it surely cannot be becoming in the British government, possessing as they do in India power absolutely predominant, to adopt a different practice, and to interfere with the weak and helpless native states on behalf of claimants who embarked freely with their eyes open, and solely with a view to their own interests, in pecuniary speculations in which our government took no concern, and of which, in point of fact, it had no cognizance; merely because some of those speculations have turned out unfortunately for the adventurers.

It is well known how easily the native governments, from their dependence and the painful feeling of insecurity which haunts them, take the alarm, and with how much dread they regard every thing which has a tendency to bring them into a collision with our government, whose study, therefore, it has been to limit, as much as possible, the number of points of contact. So sudden and so great a departure from this line of policy as would be implied in the exercise of our interference in private matters, whether pecuniary or otherwise, would assuredly excite distressing apprehensions in the minds

APPENDIX. of our allies, and involve our government in constant embarrassment.

Neither can the court admit that the cases of the private creditors of the Indian states are such as to call for the interposition of the supreme authority, even if it could be afforded without gross injustice to those states, and the greatest embarrassment and discredit to ourselves. When an individual contracts pecuniary engagements in a foreign country, he subjects himself, *quoad* those transactions, to the laws and usages of that country, to which, if he be injured, he must apply for redress. It is no sufficient answer to this argument, that the law or the usages of the foreign country are defective, since an individual must be presumed to have informed himself upon points of that nature before he invested his property. The rates of interest observed in all the transactions in question are such as would neither have been paid nor demanded without extraordinary risk; and it seems to us to be most unreasonable to expect that the British government should use its power to favour the pretensions of individuals to all the advantages, and to relieve them from all the risk and disadvantages of such speculations.

It can scarcely be necessary for us to point out, that a resolution now to interfere would be very inconsistent with the invariable practice of the court, which has received the sanction of successive Boards of Commissioners for the affairs of India. If the cause of the Lucknow bankers is to be taken up as you propose it should, be, what can the court say to the representatives of Sir Harry Darell, or to those of Colonel Frith, Major Webber, Captain Edwards, and many others, on whose behalf the British government, when solicited, has refused to lend its good offices with the vizier? or, how will it be possible to resist the multi-

tude of dormant claims, not only upon Oude, but upon other native states, which are known to exist on the part of Europeans, and also of natives, who are equally entitled to consideration with the Lucknow bankers? It is clear to the court, that if the authority of the government were to be employed in the one case, it would be immediately asked, and could not be refused, in others, and that demands would arise which it would ruin our allies to meet. In short, Sir, the court would do you injustice if they permitted themselves to think that you had any adequate idea of the mischief that would result from the adoption of the course which you recommend, a course diametrically opposed to that prescribed for the conduct of the Bengal government in the political despatch regarding the claims of the Lucknow bankers, dated the 12th of February, 1819, in which you will find the following emphatic passage, to which, as having been inserted by the board whilst the late Mr. Canning was its president, the court attach more than ordinary importance:—"We are so much aware of the difficulty of divesting a friendly communication to a weaker power of the character of authority, and are so apprehensive that the consequence of pressing upon the vizier the consideration of those claims might bring upon him others from various quarters, that we direct you to rest contented with the attempt you have already made, and to abstain from any similar proceedings hereafter, at the instance either of these or any other claimants."

The court are aware that it has been said that the loans of British subjects to native states have, in some cases, been directly beneficial to the Company. They oppose to this assertion the declaration of parliament (37th George III. cap. 142, sect. 28), that that practice

APPENDIX.

“has been productive of much mischief and is the source of much usury and extortion.”

Undue importance has, in the court's judgment, been attached by claimants and their advocates to the circumstance of the claims having arisen previously to 1797, when the law to which we have referred was passed. That enactment was, indeed, only prospective, and did not profess to affect the past transactions of individuals. It left them, in point of law, precisely where it found them, but with a legislative declaration of their impolicy and impropriety. To contend that it improved their situation is a strange perversion of a law, the declared object of which (sect. 28) was effectually to stop a destructive practice, which the “wholesome orders of the court had not been sufficient to restrain and repress.” If a measure of interference in favour of the claimants had been thought right (and it was quite as necessary for them in 1797 as at present), parliament would surely have authorized it. Was any such authority given or contemplated? The whole tenor of the proceedings of the legislature proves the contrary; and it would be rather extraordinary if, after the lapse of a long series of years, when the sources of information have for the most part ceased to be available, recourse should now be had to a system of interference, neither countenanced nor contemplated at a time when parliament was legislating upon the subject of transactions of this kind, and when the circumstances of most of the cases might have been ascertained with comparative facility.

The objections which the court have taken to interfere in the claims on our allies apply, with even increased force, to claims on their subjects. However justifiable it may be in peculiar cases, such as that of the trustees of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., to suggest a method for set-

ting a difficult and an embarrassing question (and the court, in the draft which they submitted, did this to the utmost extent that they could think just or politic), we cannot too earnestly deprecate the idea, now for the first time seriously advanced in the paragraphs as altered by the board, of using the authoritative interference of the British government in such a matter. What would be said if the government of England were to call upon any of its allies in Europe to require one of their subjects to settle accounts with a British subject? and that is precisely what the board wish to be done towards the Nizam. Nay, the proposal goes even further; for whilst it contemplates relieving the parties from all risk of loss, it actually fixes the rate of interest "according to the usage of the country," in which the risk being great, the rate was proportionally extravagant; and this would, if acted upon, authorize an adjudication of interest to the trustees of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. to almost any extent. "The usage of the country" might have been argued in favour of the Carnatic creditors; and it is the conviction of the court that, if the origin and progress of the claims of Europeans or natives upon native states, or the subjects of those states, were fully investigated, it would be found, as it was in the case of the Carnatic, that they were either wholly unfounded or principally composed of accumulated interest. The court cannot understand how, upon any principle of justice, we are to interfere to obtain for the creditors of native states, or of their native subjects, terms which were denied by ourselves to the Carnatic and Tanjore creditors; or why the authority of the British government is to be interposed, to place a British subject in a better situation than the subject of a native state, in recovering a debt from it or one of its subjects.

With respect to claims upon our own subjects or upon

APPENDIX.

the Company, such as that of Mr. Hodges, we will only further observe, that if the ordinary legal tribunals of the country are insufficient for the investigation and adjustment of them (a fact which the court are by no means prepared to admit), the defect should be remedied, and other and more appropriate means devised than committees of parliament appointed at the instance of the claimants themselves, and in which it is not possible that a judicial investigation can be satisfactorily conducted.

It will not, we are persuaded, be thought by you, that the court are influenced upon these subjects by any narrow and misplaced considerations affecting the pecuniary interests of the Company. Although the adoption of the principle which you have urged would probably lead to the exaction of many millions sterling from the natives, yet, in point of fact, the Company are not, nor can they be, otherwise interested in the subject, than as it may affect the prosperity of India. An interference with our natives allies will cause them to be impoverished and discontented, and thus the character of our government will be implicated and our political relations degraded. Claims upon the Indian territory, if conceded, will injure our native subjects, by preventing relief from, or causing increase of taxation; and if the pressure should become to them intolerable, the crisis will arise at which this country must interpose financial aid.

We confidently trust that these contingent evils will all be averted by the determination of the king's government to co-operate with the court in steadfastly maintaining, as well in correspondence with the local governments as in discussions in parliament, when claims are brought forward there, the principle of non-interference in the pecuniary transactions of the native states. If unhappily that should not be the case, the whole responsibility of any measure of interference must rest

upon those who, in spite of the warning which experience affords, shall determine to venture upon its adoption. It will then be some consolation to the court to reflect that, in making this representation, they have discharged an important duty to themselves and to the people of India.

APPENDIX.

We have, &c.

(Signed) J. G. RAVENSHAW,
C. MARJORIBANKS.

The Right Hon. Charles Grant, M.P.

&c. &c. &c.

An outline of the "Nozeed Affair" has been presented in a note at page 243 of vol. ii. It may not be inexpedient to exhibit it more at large as laid open in the following papers :—

REPORT of the COMMITTEE of CORRESPONDENCE.

At a Committee of Correspondence, the 27th September,
1831.

The chairman calling the attention of your committee to the appointment of a select committee of the House of Commons to consider a bill "for providing for the discharge of a claim in respect of monies advanced by the late James Hodges, Esq., on security of the lands of the late Zemindar of Nozeed and Mustaphanagur, in the district of Fort St. George in the East-Indies, now under the sovereignty of the Honourable East-India Company," and informing your committee that the parties at whose instance the bill was first introduced have suggested many material alterations therein, your committee deem it to be their duty now to lay before the court their sentiments upon the subject of that proceeding.

APPENDIX.

The bill, as it stood for the second reading, alleged, as the ground of the claim, that Mr. Hodges had advanced money to the zemindar for the express purpose of enabling him to pay his tribute to the Company. The court felt, that if that allegation could be distinctly proved, although it would not afford any pretence in law or in equity for demanding reimbursement out of the Company's funds, yet that there might be some consideration due to the claim as against the zemindar, and therefore the court abstained from petitioning against the bill upon its second reading. But in the bill, in its altered shape, that ground is abandoned, and it is simply alleged that, in consequence of Mr. Hodges's loan, the zemindar was the better enabled to acquit himself of his pecuniary obligations to the Company. If the bill had proceeded upon this ground in the first instance, the court would assuredly have taken measures to oppose the second reading, as they could not for an instant have tolerated the principle, that the Company were to interfere for the payment of the private debts of a zemindar, much less, that they were themselves to pay those debts, merely upon the plea that he, by contracting them, obtained a facility to discharge debts due to other persons.

The bill, in its original state, must, in the committee's judgment, have been rejected, since the allegation upon which it rested could not be substantiated; and if the select committee should present the bill as altered, and the house should permit it to pass, the Company will, by an alteration made *after* the second reading, have been deprived of the opportunity of being heard by counsel at the bar of the house against the principle of the measure; a privilege never, it is believed, denied to the meanest subject of the crown, when it is sought to attack his interests in any way, but more especially when the object is, as in the present case, to establish by a private bill a

pecuniary claim to which he would not otherwise be liable.

APPENDIX.

With regard to the merits of the case, as developed in the papers laid before the committee, it may be desirable, in the first instance, to state the names and situations of the parties implicated in the transactions which gave rise to Mr. Hodges's claim. They are as follow :

Opparow, the Zemindar of Nozeed, an estate ceded to the Company under the treaty with the Nizam in 1766.

Mr. John Whitehill, chief of the council at Masulipatam, who were intrusted with the management of all the Company's business with Opparow.

Right Honourable John Sullivan and Mr. James Hodges, both members of that council.

Colonel Flint, the military commandant in the district of Masulipatam, and

Sawmy Pillah, an inhabitant of Masulipatam, who at one time rented the zemindarry of Nozeed.

It is asserted on behalf of Mr. Hodges, one of the parties here named, that in 1775, when he was appointed to the Masulipatam council, he took upon him certain debts said to be due by the zemindar to three others of those parties, *viz.* Mr. Whitehill, Mr. Sullivan, and Colonel Flint; and that he (Mr. Hodges) lent Opparow further sums, the whole of which, with interest upon them, were subsequently consolidated into one sum of 57,666 Madras pagodas, for which Opparow gave his bond; and this statement, so far as respects Mr. Whitehill and Mr. Sullivan, is confirmed by the latter gentleman, who is still living, and who has stated in evidence before the select committee, that the object of the loans was to enable the zemindar to give a bonus to his bankers to induce them to become security for the payment of his tribute to the Company, and thus to prevent the sequestration of the zemindarry.

APPENDIX.

It is therefore apparent, that the claim originated in money dealings between the servants appointed to manage the Company's affairs at Masulipatam, and one of the zemindars under the immediate control of those servants.

Mr. Hodges, in a letter to the Madras government of the 11th December, 1784, reported that these transactions were "carried on and avowed openly, not merely with the knowledge and concurrence, but with the assistance of government;" and in a memorial to the court of the 4th of May, 1793, he stated, "that he carried on his concerns with Opparow in the face of day, and with the sanction of government."

In making these assertions, Mr. Hodges must have forgotten that, according to his own account, dated the 11th of December, 1784, his last advance to Opparow, or on his account, was made in 1776, and that it was not until 1777, after all the money had been lent, that he himself placed upon record the transactions; which he then did, for the express purpose, as stated by him, of "ensuring the future sanction of government:" and in a letter addressed by him in the same year to the Chief of Masulipatam, stating the amount of his claim, Mr. Hodges said, "I give you this official information, that our debt, and the mode of its being provided for, may be completely public;" and again, in the statement delivered in by him in 1784, he declared, "My demand on him (Opparow) then growing immense, and with no prospect of immediate relief, I brought my situation before government."

Combining this evidence, furnished by Mr. Hodges himself, with the facts not only that no sanction of the transactions whilst they were taking place is to be traced, either on the records, or in the evidence given before the select committee, but also that Mr. Sullivan, when asked

if the practice of making loans to the zemindars was at all encouraged by the Indian governments, distinctly replied, "Certainly not;" your committee feel themselves bound to assume, that when these money dealings with the zemindar took place on the part of Mr. Whitehill, Mr. Sullivan, Colonel Flint, and Mr. Hodges, they were not only unsanctioned by, but unknown to, the local government.

APPENDIX.

They were first officially communicated to the council of Masulipatam in 1777 by Mr. Hodges, upon the occasion of Mr. Pringle, Mr. Hodges, and his soucar, Verdedoss, having most irregularly assumed the entire superintendence and management of the zemindarry, which was then declared by Mr. Hodges to be "first responsible to the Company," and afterwards to be liable for the debts of Messrs. Hodges and Pringle and the soucar. This arrangement appears to have been sanctioned by Messrs. Pringle and Desvœux, both members of the Masulipatam council, the former of whom was directly concerned in loans to the zemindar.

Two years were suffered to elapse before the Masulipatam council made any communication upon the subject to the government of Madras, and they were at length apprized of it in 1779, only in consequence of their having themselves called the particular attention of the Masulipatam council to the distracted and deranged state of Opparow's zemindarry. A report was then made to the government, in which the Masulipatam council mentioned Opparow's heavy debts, and proposed that the Company should take possession of the zemindarry, and appropriate the revenues first to the payment of their annual tribute, and of one-fourth per annum of the arrears until discharged; secondly, to the maintenance of the zemindar; and, lastly, the surplus, if any, to the creditors. It is worthy of observation, that in this

APPENDIX.
—

report from the council of Masulipatam (of which both Mr. Hodges and Mr. Pringle were members), no mention whatever is made of their being creditors, or of their having assumed the superintendence of the whole zemindarry. The only notice at all applicable to their case is in the following paragraph, in which no names were mentioned:—"The payment of these (private debts) belonging to the other class, has been provided for by an agreement of some years' standing, and in this manner certain villages have been assigned over to them by Opparow, to the amount nearly of 10,000 pagodas per annum. Although this is by no means an equivalent to what they might have expected, considering the amount of the sum which they claim as due to them, they are satisfied, nevertheless, to remain upon this footing."

The Madras government replied on the 23rd of June, 1779, approving the arrangement proposed by the Masulipatam council, and recommending as managers for transacting the business Messrs. Hodges and Pringle, a recommendation which (although, indeed, Mr. Whitehill was then in council at Madras) it is hardly conceivable they would have made, had they known how these gentlemen were involved in money dealings with the zemindar.

Upon obtaining the approbation of the Madras government, the Masulipatam council entertained a proposal from Sawmy Pillah to rent the zemindarry, instead of the Company's managing it themselves; and in that proposal Sawmy Pillah offered, "For the debt due to Messrs. Hodges and Pringle, he" (Sawmy Pillah) "makes over wholly and entirely all the villages of Vyoor, amounting in a good season to about 15,000 pagodas." This proposal having been communicated to the Madras government, they (Mr. Whitehill being

second in council) were of opinion, that the Masulipatam council should be left to exercise their own judgment in the matter, and accordingly signified their approval, provided sufficient security were found for the regular payment of the Company's demands. The Masulipatam council, therefore, accepted the proposal of Sawmy Pillah, who, as the renter, placed Mr. Hodges in possession of the villages, which he continued to hold until 1784, when Lord Macartney, the governor of Madras, recorded a Minute, in which, after declaring "every kind of money transactions with the zemindars have been strongly prohibited by the Company; such dealings are injurious at all times, but when they are carried on by the very persons who are themselves intrusted with the collection of the public revenue, the pernicious tendency of them is considerably increased by the influence which those persons derive from official authority;" his lordship referred to the recognition by the government in 1779, of "any part of the transactions," as "extraordinary," as it appeared to him to be "unwarranted in its principle, and pernicious in its tendency." Considering, however, what had been done in 1779, Lord Macartney proposed, and the government resolved, to address a letter to the Masulipatam council, in which, after describing the nature of the transactions, and of the recognition of them in 1779, they said that the creditors to whom districts were mortgaged under the sanction of government, could have "no claim to the assistance of the Company but upon the following conditions, viz. First, that they cheerfully acquiesce in the surrender of the districts which they have so long and, under the circumstances above mentioned, so irregularly held under their management; secondly, that they deliver in a state of the rise and progress of their demands; and, from the time they

APPENDIX.

were liquidated by authority, a regular annual account current, specifying the receipts and balances."

In consequence of these instructions, the Masulipatam council, on the 7th December, 1784, issued a notification, of which the following is a copy:—"Notice is hereby given, that the right honourable the president and council have been pleased to order that the creditors of Opparow, to whom districts in the zemindarry of Nozeed are mortgaged under the sanction of government, be called upon for an account of their receipts and balances stated yearly, to shew that no more than legal interest has been charged, and that the zemindar has had due credit given him for the revenue collected from the mortgaged districts; and that in case of a refusal the assignments be dissolved; also that the creditors can have no claim to the future assistance of the Company but on the following conditions:—

"1st. That they cheerfully acquiesce in the surrender of the districts which they have so long held under their management.

"2nd. That they deliver in a state of the rise and progress of their demands; and, from the time they were liquidated by authority, a regular annual account current, specifying the receipts and balances.

"That, upon these conditions faithfully performed, his lordship, &c., have expressed their willingness to recommend their case to the Company, and to establish such provision for them as can with any propriety be set apart from the superior demands of the Company. But with regard to the crop on the ground in the mortgaged districts, the creditors can for the present only be allowed the first cost and charges of sowing it; and if the accounts required from them appear satisfactory, the whole produce will be accounted for to them as received by the Company.

"The chief and council hereby require an immediate compliance, on the part of the creditors of Opparow, with the above orders of the right honourable the governor in council, viz. that they do forthwith surrender up and relinquish all claims upon such districts as have been mortgaged to them, and that they do, as soon as possible, send in accounts as above specified; also, that no person may at any time hereafter have any ground for pleading ignorance of the intention of government, the chief and council hereby notify, in the most public manner, that all such creditors of Opparow as shall not send in their accounts regularly drawn out in the form prescribed by the governor in council by the 15th of January next, will from that time be considered as having no title or claim to the assistance of government in the recovery of their debts, and no right or title by virtue of any mortgage or assignment made them by Opparow."

It will be observed, that this notification of the Masulipatam council, whilst it recognized the mortgage as "under the sanction of government," avoided all mention of that which the government in their instructions had declared, viz. that the districts had been "so irregularly held" under the creditors. The sanction, it will have been already observed, amounted to nothing more than an approval of a proposal from Sawmy Pillah to become the renter, in which proposal he declared his intention to alienate certain villages. The condition of the arrangement being that the Company should be secured, Sawmy Pillah of course could only alienate for the time that he had possession; and it will be apparent, on reference to the despatch from Fort St. George dated the 11th February, 1785, para. 10, that in 1785 Sawmy Pillah's possession had ceased, as the collection of the revenue

APPENDIX.

was then "intrusted to tannadars, under the joint control of the dewan of the young zemindar, and of a manager appointed on the part of the Company;" besides which, the Madras government, having the admitted power of approving the mortgage, possessed the power also to dissolve it, which power, it will be seen, is distinctly asserted in the notice before quoted, and nowhere questioned or denied by Mr. Hodges.

Upon the conditions which have been enumerated, the Madras government promised to recommend the case of the creditors "to the Company, and to establish such provision for them as can with any propriety be set apart from the superior demands of the Company. But with regard to the crop on the ground in the mortgaged districts, the creditors can, for the present, only be allowed the first cost and charge of sowing it; and if the accounts required from them shall appear satisfactory, we have resolved that the whole produce be accounted for to them as it may be received by the Company."

It may be supposed from the passage here quoted, that the government had contemplated, temporarily at least, the setting apart some portion of the revenues for the creditors, even previously to the full liquidation of all the Company's demands. Such an idea may have arisen in the first instance from a mistaken notion of the amount of revenue which the zemindarry would yield, which, in their despatch to the court, dated the 11th of February, 1785, is stated to have been greatly overestimated; but in the same despatch, after explaining that Mr. Hodges had been allowed the crop, the government, without expressing a syllable of intention to establish any further provision for the creditors, observed, "the districts taken from Mr. Hodges are now in possession of the Company, and until the public balance is

fully discharged, which will require many years to accomplish, all the private creditors of Opparow must remain in common upon the same footing."

A communication to that effect was accordingly made by the Madras government to the Masulipatam council, who conveyed it to Mr. Hodges, telling him distinctly, "you must wait until the heavy public balance, due from the zemindarry of Nozeed to the Company, is discharged, before your case can again become an object of deliberation." It is worthy of remark, that this communication, addressed to Mr. Hodges as a creditor, bears the signature of Mr. Hodges as the chief at Masulipatam.

Mr. Hodges does not appear ever to have considered that the government had pledged themselves to allow him any thing until the Company's claims should be discharged. He remained in India until 1791, and never urged such a pretension; nor is it discoverable in any of the applications made to the court by him or by his successors. Indeed, it is quite obvious that no provision could have been made by Lord Macartney's government, which would have been practically of the least benefit to Mr. Hodges; for it cannot for an instant be supposed that that government, disgusted as they evidently were with the transaction, could ever have contemplated the waiving of the government right of priority to a greater extent than had been, as already observed, proposed by the Masulipatam council, or, in other words, by the parties themselves in 1779; viz. the creditors to come in after the Company had received their regular tribute and one-fourth per annum of their arrears; and if this had been the final arrangement, Mr. Hodges would not have been in any respect better off than he is, the Company's receipts not having amounted to that proportion.

The question then is, even so far as respects Mr. Hodges' claim on the Zemindar of Nozeed—have the cir-

APPENDIX.

cumstances of the case been such, that the Company's prior claims upon the zemindar either have been or could have been satisfied?

This claim amounted to 1,01,821 pagodas of annual tribute, and an account has been produced which shews that, up to 1803, the payments for that tribute had proved deficient in the sum of 4,87,915 pagodas. In 1803 the permanent settlement was introduced into the northern circars, and the rent fixed for the Zemindarry of Noozed was 88,000 star pagodas per annum, which is 13,821 star pagodas less than the former tribute; and the Madras government perceiving that the discharge of the old balance was incompatible with the punctual realization even of this reduced rent, determined to relinquish their claim to their arrear. The object of this arrangement was, as stated in a despatch from the government of Madras, dated 22nd February, 1803, to establish "the best foundation of individual wealth;" and it cannot be contended that the creditors are entitled, in consequence of the Company having from such a motive given up their claims, to be placed in any better predicament than that in which they formerly stood.

If the Company had not relinquished their claim to arrears, there is not the most distant reason to believe that any considerable progress would have been made in their discharge, much less that they would have been altogether liquidated; whilst there can be no doubt that the relinquishment has been beneficial to the zemindarry, which must consequently be in a better state to meet the demands of private creditors than it could have been, if the Company had drained its resources to pay their arrears.

Neither can it be said that the Company unreasonably pressed upon the zemindarry previously to 1803. If the tribute had, from the first, been fixed at 88,000 star

pagodas per annum, to which it was reduced in 1803, the amount from 1774 to 1803 would have been 25,52,000 pagodas. The accounts shew that the sum which the Company actually received fell short of that amount.

APPENDIX.

From the foregoing narrative, in which the committee have endeavoured to state the facts of the case with strict impartiality, it must be evident to every unprejudiced mind, that the claim originated in transactions of the most reprehensible nature; and whilst the committee would never urge this consideration as a bar to the strict fulfilment of whatever government may have become pledged to do, yet the claimants ought, in such a case, to be left to prosecute their claim under existing laws. To make a law expressly for the occasion is a measure of extraordinary indulgence, to which it surely cannot be said that the parties to the present claim have the slightest pretension.

It is further evident, that any claim which the estate of Mr. Hodges may have in this case must be upon the zemindar, and not upon the Company. To compel the Company, by an arbitrary enactment, to pay a debt due by another person, is a measure to which your committee cannot believe that parliament will ever give its consent. It is nowhere asserted, much less proved, that the Company ever contemplated taking upon themselves the private debts of the zemindar. Their government did, indeed, recognize these debts as due from the zemindar, and the propriety of their being ultimately discharged, but this sanction cannot by any construction be made to imply the remotest idea of paying the debt out of any other funds than the revenues of the zemindarry, after satisfying all the Company's demands. The most cursory perusal of the papers will shew that the parties always looked to the zemindar for payment, and pleaded the

APPENDIX.

government sanction only as the ground for the Company's interference and assistance.

The question as to Mr. Hodges' claim was always, in his mind and that of his representatives, one of time, dependent on the prior discharge of the Company's claims on the zemindar; and it has been clearly shewn in this paper, that those claims have never been discharged, nor could they have been, if the Company had continued to enforce them.

Upon the whole, therefore, your committee cannot but regard the proposed bill as a most unwarrantable attempt to make the revenues of India answerable for a private debt, and to confer an undue benefit on parties who have no other claim whatever to consideration, than that of having, by irregular means, obtained a recognition by government of dealings of such a character, as to call, not for approval and encouragement, but for the severest reprehension.

Your committee therefore submit to the court the expediency of their recording their earnest protest against the proposition, as unjust in itself, and as involving a most injurious precedent.

PETITION to the HOUSE of LORDS.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The Humble Petition of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies,

Humbly Sheweth :

That a bill is now pending in your right honourable house, entitled " An Act for providing for the discharge of

a Claim in respect of Monies advanced by the late James Hodges, Esq., on security of the lands of the late Zemindar of Nozeed and Mustaphanagur, in the district of Fort St. George, in the East-Indies, now under the government of the Honourable the East-India Company."

That the said bill having been read a second time in your right honourable house, the same was referred to a committee thereof, for the purpose of enabling the promoter of the said bill to prove his case before the said committee.

That your petitioners have understood and believe, that the said committee are about to report to your right honourable house, that the promoter of the said bill has proved in the preamble thereof, with the exception of the last passage in the first paragraph in such preamble, and that the same has been altered accordingly in the said committee.

That at the time of issuing the order of the president and council of Madras of the 25th day of November, 1784 (hereinafter mentioned), the debt claimed by Captain James Arthur Murray, the promoter of the said bill, was due (if due at all) from Macca Narsinva Opparow, formerly Zemindar of Nozeed and Mustaphanagur, within the presidency of Madras, to Mr. James Hodges, in whose right the said Captain Murray claims to be entitled to the debt.

That the effect of the said bill, if it should pass into a law, will be to compel your petitioners to pay the private debt of the zemindar.

That your petitioners have not, *by any contract*, become liable to pay the said debt.

That your petitioners have not, at any time, possessed or received any part of the property or possessions of the zemindar, to which they had not, *by the direct admission*

APPENDIX.

of *Mr. James Hodges himself*, a right preferable to that which he claimed in respect of the said debt.

That your petitioners have not, by any act whatever, deprived Mr. James Hodges, or those who represent him, of any right or remedy which he or they possessed against the zemindar, his property or possessions, for recovering the said alleged debt.

That the claim of Mr. James Hodges against the zemindar, amounting to 57,666 Madras pagodas, 34 fanams, and 40 cash, was made up as follows :

1st. In part of a sum of 2,750 pagodas, alleged to have been advanced by Mr. James Hodges to the inhabitants of Opparow's country.

2nd. In part of the claims of other persons against the zemindar, for monies advanced by them to him, and which claims *were assigned by such other persons to Mr. James Hodges* ; and,

3rd. As to the residue of interest on the before-mentioned sums.

That the persons whose claims against the zemindar were so assigned to Mr. James Hodges appear, by his own representations, to have been John Whitehill, Esq., John Sullivan, Esq., Colonel Flint, and Arthur Sinclair, Esq.

That the said John Whitehill, at the time of his making the advances to the zemindar which the said Captain Murray now claims, by virtue of the assignment thereof to Mr. James Hodges, was the chief of the council of Masulipatam, afterwards president of the council at Fort St. George.

That the said John Sullivan was also a member of the said council of Masulipatam ; and that the said Colonel Flint was in the military service of your petitioners, and employed in the forces stationed in the northern circars ;

and that the said Arthur Sinclair was in the civil service of your petitioners.

APPENDIX.

That from the year 1773 until 1786, Mr. James Hodges was a member of the council of Masulipatam.

That the terms and rate of interest at which the aforesaid advances were made by the said Mr. John Whitehill, Mr. John Sullivan, Colonel Flint, and Mr. Arthur Sinclair, to the zemindar, have not been disclosed by the promoter of the bill; but from the only evidence to which, at this distance, your petitioners can refer (that of official documents) it appears that a *part only of Mr. Sullivan's claim* against the zemindar was assigned to Mr. James Hodges, and that a *share of the same claim* was assigned to Mr. Alexander Pringle; and that the *share so assigned to Mr. Alexander Pringle originally carried interest at twenty-four per cent. per annum*; and that the same, and even a higher rate of interest, was charged against the zemindar by other persons at that time.

That, from the circumstances last adverted to, and the character of the pecuniary transactions in which European money-lenders were engaged with the native powers and zemindars in India, your petitioners confidently believe that, if the origin of the claims of Mr. James Hodges were investigated (which it never has been), it would appear that the same were of a nature which no court of law or equity would sanction or enforce.

That the promoter of the said bill has relied upon certain transactions which took place in India at the time Lord Macartney was governor of the presidency of Madras, as having given an *ex post facto* sanction to his claim, and as protecting the origin of such claim from investigation.

That your petitioners scarcely deem it necessary to observe, that the effect of such sanction, if admitted, could

APPENDIX.

have done no more than remove objections to which the claim of Mr. James Hodges, as a servant of your petitioners, would otherwise have been subject *as against the zemindar*, and could not have made your petitioners liable to the payment thereof; which, in fact, Lord Macartney had not, and never assumed the power to do.

That the origin of the said claim was *not* investigated by Lord Macartney.

That the acts of Lord Macartney, relied upon by the promoter of the bill as having given an *ex post facto* sanction to the said claim, proceeded, on his part, upon the supposition that the said claim had received the sanction of a former government.

That the only sanction the said claim appears to have received from any government anterior to that of Lord Macartney, were acts of those governments of which Mr. Whitehill and Mr. James Hodges were members.

That at the time of the alleged sanction being given to the said claim by Lord Macartney, the tribute or land revenue and assessment due from the zemindar to the government for the zemindarry which he rented from your petitioners, at certain fixed annual rates agreed upon, were greatly in arrear.

That the right of the government in India to be paid such arrear of tribute, *singly and in the first instance*, before any of the private creditors of the zemindar were paid, was asserted by Lord Macartney, and never disputed by Mr. James Hodges, and was in repeated instances *expressly and voluntarily admitted by Mr. James Hodges himself*.

That Lord Macartney never held out to Mr. James Hodges any expectation that his claim *would be paid by your petitioners*, or any expectation whatever, except the expectation that, when the public balance due from the

zemindar was discharged (which it never has been), his case should become *an object of deliberation with the council of Fort St. George.*

APPENDIX.

That in the month of June, 1779, the territories of the zemindar were sequestered by government, to recover payment of the stipulated tribute or assessment due from the zemindar. This sequestration was the act of the council of Masulipatam, of which Mr. James Hodges was a member.

That the villages holden by Mr. James Hodges in the month of November, 1784, the surrender of which was demanded by Lord Macartney, at that time were holden by Mr. James Hodges under the government of Madras, as sequestrators of the territories of the zemindar, and not under the zemindar. In support of which last allegation your petitioners humbly crave your lordships' attention to the following facts:—

In or previously to the month of July, 1777, the eight pergunnahs of Opparow were put under the management and superintendence of *Mr. James Hodges* and *Mr. Alexander Pringle*, the co-assignee of Mr. Sullivan's debt.

The precise time that Opparow's eight pergunnahs remained under the management and superintendence of *Messrs. Hodges* and *Pringle* does not appear; but it appears that in the month of November, 1778, his country was divided, and under the management of different persons.

In the month of June, 1779, the territories of the zemindar were sequestered, as before mentioned, by the recommendation of the council at Masulipatam, of which Mr. James Hodges was a member, to obtain payment of the public debt.

The management of the territories of Opparow under the sequestration was offered to Messrs. Hodges and Pringle, but they did not accept it.

APPENDIX.

It being considered the most beneficial mode of obtaining the benefit of the sequestration, and at the same time most agreeable to the zemindar, that his territories, whilst under sequestration, should be rented rather than kept under the management of government, the proposals of a person of the name of Swaumy Pillee, for renting the zemindarry, were accepted by the government of Fort St. George.

At the time of the lease to Swaumy Pillee, it was expected that the arrears of tribute due from Opparow to the government would be paid off in four years; and on that expectation, the government of Fort St. George consented that Swaumy Pillee should make over to Messrs. Hodges and Pringle certain villages, part of the territories of which Swaumy Pillee was lessee.

The villages so made over by Swaumy Pillee to Messrs. Hodges and Pringle (and which they held under and at the will of the government) were the same villages, the surrender of which was demanded by Lord Macartney.

That the possession of the same villages by Mr. James Hodges, from the month of July, 1779, until the month of November, 1784, was an act of bounty on the part of the government, and a voluntary concession of their prior rights, and which, by the established principles of equity, the government was at liberty to determine at its pleasure.

That Mr. James Hodges was permitted to remain in possession of the said villages until the month of November, 1784, when the exigencies of government made it an imperative act of duty to enforce its paramount claims, and the irregularity of such permission appears to have been severely censured by Lord Macartney.

That, contrary to the expectations entertained by the government of Fort St. George in the month of June, 1779, and in the month of November, 1784, the arrears

of tribute due from the zemindar increased from that time.

That from the year 1784 down to the time of the permanent settlement of 1803, the arrears due from the zemindar gradually increased, and at the date of the permanent settlement the amount of arrears due from the zemindar to the government was 4,87,915 pagodas.

That the assessment or tribute payable by the zemindars of India, previously to the permanent settlement of 1803, was from time to time arranged by government with the zemindars.

That the assessment or tribute at which the zemindar of Nozeed was assessed was, as your petitioners believe, a proper and moderate rent, and proportionate to the value of his territories; and Mr. Hodges, and the members of the council of Masulipatam, were the persons whose duty it was to regulate the same at a just amount.

That Mr. James Hodges, though a resident in India and a member of council, never alleged or pretended in his lifetime, that he had any claim against your petitioners founded upon a supposed excess of tribute demanded of the zemindar.

That the real cause of the inability of the zemindar to pay his tribute was his own improvident and rebellious conduct.

That your petitioners cannot, in justice to themselves, forbear observing, that by means of advances made to the zemindar, he was enabled to persevere in the course of extravagant conduct to which they have before adverted, *ruinous to himself, and seriously injurious to the interests of the country and of your petitioners*, inasmuch as he was by such advances enabled to divert the revenues of his country, which ought to have been applied to the pay-

APPENDIX.

ment of his tribute, to the support of rebellion against the government.

That the said *Messrs. Hodges* and *Pringle* had many transactions with the zemindar on their own account, *subsequently to the time of the assignment to them of Mr. Sullivan's claim.*

That the monies received by *Messrs. Hodges* and *Pringle*, whilst the eight pergunnahs of Opparow were under their management, ought, as your petitioners are advised, to have been applied in payment of their earliest debt, namely, that which they claimed by assignment from Mr. Sullivan and others.

That in the month of November, 1784, the debts which Mr. James Hodges claimed by assignment were principally insisted upon and submitted to Lord Macartney; and the actual transactions between *Messrs. Hodges* and *Pringle* themselves and the zemindar were withdrawn from his notice.

That money transactions between zemindars and members of council were prohibited by the government of India, and were inconsistent with the duties of a member of council; and, in particular, by an order of the Court of Directors, dated 11th June, 1777, issued to the government of Fort St. George, the receipt of which was acknowledged by Mr. Hodges on the 17th December, 1777, it was ordered, "That no Company's servant, or any person under the Company's protection, be permitted to lend money to any of the country powers in India, nor to any person or persons holding commissions under, or employed by them, directly or indirectly, to be repaid at a future time, on mortgages, or securities in the nature of mortgages upon lands, or from the produce, or any growing revenue of the country. In direct violation of which regulation, the representatives of Mr. Hodges set up a

mortgage security dated in August, 1779, and allege that Mr. Hodges was then permitted by the government of Fort St. George to enter upon the possession of the villages, from which he was removed by Lord Macartney and the government in 1784.

APPENDIX.

That on the 7th April, 1792, Mr. James Hodges presented a memorial to your petitioners, asking their assistance in procuring the restitution of the said villages.

That on the 7th day of May, 1792, your petitioners communicated to Mr. James Hodges, in writing, their resolution not to comply with the request contained in his memorial.

That on the 4th May, 1793, Mr. James Hodges again presented a memorial to your petitioners, asking compensation for the loss sustained by him in respect of the said claims.

That on the 9th May, 1793, your petitioners communicated to Mr. James Hodges, in writing, their determination not to make him any compensation in respect of his said claim.

That in the month of September, 1794, Mr. James Hodges died.

That in the month of January, 1801, Mrs. Ann Hodges, the widow and personal representative of Mr. James Hodges, presented her memorial to your petitioners, praying them to take her case into their consideration, and to grant her relief in respect of the said claim.

That on the 26th day of January, 1801, your petitioners communicated to Mrs. Ann Hodges, in writing, their resolution not to comply with the prayer of her memorial.

That in the year 1803 the permanent settlement was introduced into the territories under the presidency of Fort St. George, in which the zemindarry of Nozeed is situated, and your petitioners, on that occasion, relin-

APPENDIX.

quished the aforesaid balance of 4,87,915 pagodas, which then remained due to them from the zemindar for arrears of tribute, and restored his family to the possession of the zemindarry of Nozeed and Mustaphanagur.

That the relinquishment by your petitioners of the aforesaid arrears of tribute, and the restoration of the family of Opparow to the zemindarry of Nozeed and Mustaphanagur (attended as it was with sacrifices so great to themselves), were acts which nothing could have induced on their part, but a sense of what was due from them in the discharge of their first and highest duty, the due administration of the government and the affairs of India.

That, in the present case, Mr. James Hodges and those who represent him have not, in fact, sustained any damage or prejudice by the acts of your petitioners.

That until the instrument was produced in your lordships' committee on this bill, your petitioners were ignorant that the said James Arthur Murray held any instrument of mortgage of any part of the territories of the zemindarry of Nozeed.

That notwithstanding the positive refusal of your petitioners to entertain the memorial of Mr. James Hodges in the years 1792 and 1793, and of Mrs. Anne Hodges, his widow and personal representative, in the year 1801, no application has been made to your petitioners on the subject of the said claim from the 26th January, 1801, until the present time.

That the said claim, if valid now, was equally valid at the date of the permanent settlement of 1803.

That if the circumstances under which Mr. Hodges was removed by the government of Fort St. George from the possession of the said villages amounted to an agreement, by which your petitioners became responsible to Mr. Hodges for the debt of the Zemindar of Nozeed, upon

any event which has happened, such agreement might have been enforced against your petitioners in the courts of law and equity in India, and in this country, to which your petitioners are amenable.

That after the great length of time (now nearly half a century) which has elapsed since the transactions in question took place, it is impracticable for your petitioners fully to investigate or ascertain the truth of the case.

That your petitioners humbly submit, that in a case like the present, in which your lordships are called upon not to enforce, but to create a right, it is incumbent on the promoter of the bill not only to prove a case for charging your petitioners, which they humbly submit he has not done, but to prove a case free even from suspicion, and also to explain and justify the unprecedented delay, by which alone your petitioners feel themselves greatly aggrieved.

Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray your lordships that they may be heard by their counsel against so much of the said bill as affects their rights and interests, and that the said bill may not be read a third time in your right honourable house; and that your petitioners may have such relief in the premises, as to the justice and wisdom of this right honourable house shall seem meet.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

May, 1832.

The bill, it will be remembered, passed, and the people of India had to pay the representatives of Mr. Hodges.

The nature of the claim of Mr. Hutchinson on the Rajah of Travancore is shewn in the following papers:

APPENDIX. *LETTER from the CHAIRMAN and DEPUTY CHAIRMAN of the East-India Company to the PRESIDENT of the India Board.*

SIR :

East-India House, 28th February, 1833.

We have the honour, at the request of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, to call your immediate and particular attention to the circumstance of leave having been given to introduce a bill into the House of Commons, for favourably adjusting the claim of the estate of the late Mr. John Hutchinson upon the Rajah of Travancore.

The court's sentiments upon the subject of this claim, generally, are recorded in a report from the committee of correspondence, dated the 11th of April, 1832, a copy of which we enclose.

Since the date of that report, certain accounts have been produced to the parliamentary committee of last session on behalf of the claimant, which appear to the court so materially to strengthen the view which they before took of the subject, that they have requested us to submit to you the following statement of the result of their examination of those accounts, as shewing, contrary to the allegations of Mr. Hutchinson in his petition to the house, that the debt which he claims to be due to the estate did not arise from "money advanced to the rajah," and as also affording an insight into the objectionable nature of his transactions with that prince.

The amount of this debt is 4,89,735 Surat rupees, according to the professed settlement of accounts made with the Rajah of Travancore, by Mr. George Parry, on behalf of Mr. Hutchinson's estate, on the 13th of March, 1800; but this sum of 4,89,735 rupees is the balance of a great many entries, reaching back as far as the com-

mencement of the year 1792. In the running account with the rajah, the total of the charges against that prince is 9,59,143 rupees, and the total of the credits 4,69,408 rupees, leaving, as aforesaid, a balance against him of 4,89,735 rupees.

The charges against the rajah consist of the following items. The first entry is:—

Surat rupees.

An unexplained balance, the date annexed to it,
16th February, 1792 69,443

Then follow :

Charge for a horse sold to the rajah's minister ...	700
140 candies of pepper sold to the rajah ...	23,800
A piece of taffaty ditto	14
<i>Profit</i> charged on pepper not really sold ...	43,335
<i>Balance</i> of an account with the rajah's minister transferred to the debit of the rajah, what or wherefore <i>not explained</i>	11,004
Ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	32,446
500 candies of light pepper sold to the minister, but charged to the rajah himself	95,000
Penalty charged against the rajah for not having paid an amount borrowed, whereas the accounts (as the preceding entries testify) do not shew that a single rupee had been lent to him ...	25,000
<i>Interest at 12 per cent.</i> on the preceding sums	20,046
<i>Further interest</i> , at what rate or on what sums not stated	60,198
<i>Due for gain, cassia, coir, cables, ropes, and loose coir</i> , sold by his dewan, ESTIMATED! ...	1,00,000
<i>Exchange</i> charged against the rajah	7,805
<i>Payments</i> to the rajah on account of a <i>pepper contract</i>	50,000
	36,000
	3,757
	1,50,000
(for pepper)	10,560
	<hr/> 2,50,317

APPENDIX.

	Surat rupees.
Forfeit by the rajah, in consequence of the non-delivery of pepper by him	69,240.
<i>Interest</i> at 10, 12, and 18 per cent. per annum upon the above payments to the rajah ...	1,50,796
Total charges against the rajah ...	9,59,143

The items composing this total may consequently be thus classed :—

	Surat rupees.
<i>Unexplained balance</i> opening the accounts, professed date 16th February, 1792	69,443
<i>Balances of accounts with the rajah's minister transferred to the debit of the rajah himself, wherefore or on what account not explained</i>	43,450
A horse and pepper sold to the minister, but charged to the rajah himself	95,700
Due for gain, cassia, coir, cables, ropes, &c. &c. sold by the minister, ESTIMATED !	1,00,000
Profit charged on pepper not really sold, penalty for not having paid a sum said to have been borrowed by the rajah, and forfeit by the rajah for not having delivered pepper	1,37,575
<i>Interest</i> on the account against the rajah, on what sums and at what rate partly not explained, and including interest at 18 PER CENT.	2,31,039
<i>Exchange</i> charged against the rajah	7,805
Pepper, &c. sold to the rajah	23,814
Cash advanced to the rajah in consideration of an agreement made by him to deliver pepper ...	2,50,317
Total ...	Surat rupees 9,59,143

It thus appears, that of the aggregate debit against the rajah made by Mr. Hutchinson, and amounting to nearly 9,60,000 rupees, only 2,74,131 rupees was for

goods sold and cash advanced to the rajah, the remainder consisting of balances unexplained, and transferred from an unknown account with the minister of assumed profit, forfeits, and penalties, and of interest. It is therefore fully established by the accounts of the claimant, that the debt of 4,89,735 rupees, now claimed on behalf of Mr. Hutchinson's estate, did *not* arise from "money advanced to the rajah."

It has been already stated, that the total credits to the rajah, in the account with Mr. Hutchinson, amounted to 4,69,408 rupees.* Now, of what do they consist? The *actual cash* paid by the rajah to Mr. Hutchinson was 4,20,000 rupees; value of *pepper delivered*, 44,008; exchange, 5,400 rupees. Thus, while the rajah received cash and goods to the amount of only 2,74,131 rupees, he paid to Mr. Hutchinson in cash and goods 4,64,008 rupees, and yet a debt is still claimed from him of 4,90,000 rupees! Might it not rather be said, that if strict justice were to be done on the occasion of ripping up these old transactions, the Rajah of Travancore would have something to receive from Mr. Hutchinson's estate instead of something to pay thereto?

The court wish also to point out to you the *nature* of the *trade* of Mr. Hutchinson with the *Travancore Rajah*, as elucidated by the accounts of the complainant himself. In the first place, we find from those accounts that Mr. Hutchinson, on the 30th of April, 1793, charged the rajah with *profit* upon *pepper* which he had promised to deliver. The rajah could not fulfil both his contracts to the Com-

APPENDIX.

	Sarat rupees.			
* Total debits	9,59,143
Do. credits	4,69,408
				<hr/>
Debt now claimed	4,89,735
				<hr/>

APPENDIX.

pany and his promises to Mr. Hutchinson, and therefore Mr. Hutchinson, whose official duty it was to see that the rajah delivered pepper to the Company in preference to all other persons, entered in his accounts, to the debit of the rajah, a sum of 43,335 rupees for profit which he assumed he should have made of the pepper if it had been delivered, and this expected profit forms part of the debt now claimed.

But, further, it is apparent from the accounts, that a system of mutual accommodation subsisted between Mr. Hutchinson and the rajah; that is, sometimes the rajah sold pepper to Mr. Hutchinson, sometimes Mr. Hutchinson sold pepper to the rajah. But what were the terms of this exchange? Why, on the 7th of June, 1792, the rajah sold Mr. Hutchinson 496 candies of pepper at 84 rupees per candy. On the 30th of August in the same year, he sold him 26 candies at the same price, and on the 26th of July, 1793, two candies more at the same price. Here was a fixed price at different times, and the evils of fluctuation in the market were effectually prevented in the sales by the rajah to Mr. Hutchinson.—But let us turn to the other side, and view Mr. Hutchinson as the seller instead of the rajah.—On the 31st October, 1792 (*the same year*), he sold to the rajah 140 candies of pepper at 170 rupees per candy, and on the 30th April, 1793, charged him with an assumed profit, calculated at the same price, upon an imaginary transaction in pepper. And further, on the 30th April, 1795, he again sold the rajah 500 candies at 190 rupees per candy; and then, on the 20th November following, contracted with the rajah to deliver him 500 candies (*the same quantity*) at only 130 rupees per candy!! Thus the same pepper which in the rajah's warehouses was originally worth only 84 rupees and 130 rupees a candy went to Mr. Hutchinson, and was again lodged in those very warehouses worth 170 and 190 rupees.

Lastly, we find that Mr. Hutchinson, in October, 1795, charged the rajah with no less than a lac of rupees for *estimated* gain upon ropes, loose coir, and cables; that at the close of the same year he advanced to the rajah, under cover of a pepper contract never fulfilled, two lacs and a half of rupees, the only cash with which Mr. Hutchinson ever parted; and that, on the 13th March, 1800, his estate received back four lacs and twenty thousand rupees, being the above principal, with a real interest thereon of more than 16 per cent. a year.

We have no doubt that the foregoing statement will satisfy you that Mr. Hutchinson has not the slightest pretence to the relief which he claims from parliament; and as the principle of requiring the Indian government to exercise interference with our ally in support of such claims, and ultimately to pay the amount out of the Indian revenues if the rajah fail, is in the highest degree objectionable, and fraught with mischief and injury to those whom we are bound to protect, the court confidently rely on your resisting the second reading of the bill, against which they have resolved to petition.

The success which so unfortunately attended a recent case of the same kind, notwithstanding the powerful opposition given to it, in principle and in detail, by the Lord Chancellor, has shewn the expediency of resisting in their earliest stages these dangerous attacks on the revenues of India, or of those of the native states; and the court trust that, upon this occasion, the King's ministers will be enabled to render the attempt futile by objecting to it *in limine*.

We have, &c.

(Signed)

J. G. RAVENSHAW,

C. MARJORIBANKS.

The Right Hon. Charles Grant, M.P.

&c. &c. &c.

APPENDIX.

REPORT of the COMMITTEE of CORRESPONDENCE.

At a Committee of Correspondence, the 11th April, 1832.

Pursuant to the court's references of the 9th of November and 14th of December last, your committee have taken into consideration letters from Mr. Bury Hutchinson, dated the 8th of November and 9th of December, transmitting in the former a printed statement of his case, and in the latter a copy of a petition which he has presented to the House of Commons, soliciting that his alleged grievances may be redressed.

It will be observed from the statements contained in a subsequent part of this report, that the subject of Mr. Hutchinson's claims on the Rajah of Travancore first came under the court's consideration in 1807, and that their proceedings on that occasion were framed from a desire to obtain perfect information before any definite measures were adopted.

The following is a narrative of the circumstances of the case:

Mr. Bury Hutchinson is stated to be the legal representative of the late Mr. John Hutchinson, of the Bombay civil service, who held the office of commercial resident at Anjengo. At that time there was no political officer of the British government stationed at the court of Travancore. The Company were in the habit of contracting with the Travancore state for the supply of pepper and cloth for their annual investments, and the arrangement of these contracts brought Mr. Hutchinson into frequent communication with the rajah and his minister.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Hutchinson appears to have entered into private commercial dealings with the Rajah of Travancore. The precise terms and extent of these dealings are not clearly developed; but from the

statements at different times furnished by Mr. Hutchinson's representatives, it would seem that he lent money to the rajah, and also made engagements, in his private capacity, with that prince, for the supply of pepper, the same article which, as commercial resident at Anjengo, it was his duty to provide for the Company's investment.

Your committee deem it important here to remark, that by the court's orders to the government of Bombay, dated the 4th of July, 1777, all loans of money by the Company's servants "to any of the zemindars or people in government were positively forbid in future, on pain of suspension from our service;" and with respect to transactions in pepper, the article which it was Mr. Hutchinson's principal duty to see was regularly delivered to the Company, it is observable that, in the year (1795) in which Mr. Hutchinson entered into a pepper contract with the rajah in his private capacity, which involved the forfeiture by his highness of pecuniary penalties in the event of the pepper not being delivered, Mr. Hutchinson, in his public capacity as commercial resident, actually informed the Bombay government (*vide* Bombay Commercial Consultations, 15th May, 1795) that he apprehended the rajah was intending to "defraud the Company of their rights by gaining time to dispose of their pepper in other channels. Indeed," added Mr. Hutchinson, "from what Mr. Dyne writes, there is pepper lodged on several parts of the coast, and he has actually been shipping off at Aleppie. I am persuaded the dewan has received more money for pepper, both from the Company and others, than he is able to furnish of that article, and wishes to give all parties a proportion this year."

Towards the close of the year 1797 Mr. Hutchinson died, and a few months after the rajah died also.

A considerable debt was at this time claimed to be due to Mr. Hutchinson, and it appears that his representative

APPENDIX.

appointed the house of Messrs. Forbes and Co. at Bombay to act for his estate, and that they nominated Mr. George Parry (who had succeeded to the situation of commercial resident at Anjengo) to arrange Mr. Hutchinson's affairs with the government of Travancore. Accordingly, in 1800, a statement of the account between the parties took place; the result of which was, that after giving the rajah credit for a sum of 4,20,000 rupees paid by him to Mr. Hutchinson in 1796, there remained a balance due to the latter on the 13th March, 1800, of 4,89,734 Surat rupees, interest included. It was then agreed that this balance should be liquidated by instalments;* and that if these instalments were regularly paid, no further interest should be charged. In pursuance of this arrangement a payment of rupees 1,00,000 and three payments of 60,000 rupees each (2,80,000 rupees in all), appear to have been made to Mr. Parry by the Travancore rajah on account of the estate of Mr. Hutchinson; in consequence of which the balance claimed as due to the estate was by the year 1803 reduced to 2,09,734 Surat rupees. At this period Mr. Parry quitted the commercial residency of Anjengo, and Mr. Handley, his successor in office, was immediately nominated by Messrs. Forbes and Co. to act (conjointly with Mr. Snow, second assistant at the Anjengo factory) on behalf of Mr. Hutchinson's representatives, in recovering the balance

* 2,00,000 rupees in ...	...	...	...	1800
60,000 by 30th April	...	...	...	1801
60,000 ...	...	...	...	1802
60,000 ...	...	...	...	1803
60,000 ...	...	...	...	1804
49,734 ...	...	...	...	1805

 4,89,734

which still remained due from the Rajah of Travancore. Thus far matters had advanced, when the circumstances took place which brought the claim to the notice of the Bengal government. So far back as the year 1799 a regular political functionary had been permanently stationed at the court of Travancore, but in 1803 the governor-general in council (Marquis Wellesley) judged it necessary, owing to the prevalence of intrigues at that court, which were considered hostile to the public interests, to confine all intercourse with the rajah's durbar to the official channel of the resident. In consequence of this restriction Messrs. Handley and Snow (agents for Mr. Hutchinson's estate), on the 14th May, 1804, transmitted to the resident an application to the Dewan of Travancore for payment to them of a fifth instalment of the debt due to the estate. Major Macaulay (the resident) immediately forwarded a copy of this application to the Bengal government; and on Messrs. Handley and Snow making a second communication to him, a correspondence ensued between them on the subject of the claim, the whole of which was also forwarded to Bengal. The supreme government, on the 19th July, 1804, informed the resident that they approved his having declined to interfere in the adjustment of the demand brought forward, and directed him to inform Messrs. Handley and Snow that no interference on their behalf would be allowed till the government should be satisfied that their claim was founded in justice, and of such a nature as to require a deviation from the general principles of policy which regulated the conduct of the government towards states in alliance with it. Further correspondence thereupon took place with Messrs. Handley and Snow, and the subject was also brought to the notice of the Travancore government by the resident. Documents were produced by these gentlemen in support of the claim, while, on the

APPENDIX.

other hand, the rajah's dewan declared that the "debt called Mr. Hutchinson's debt originated chiefly in fictitious transactions, and for the greatest part had no just foundation."

On a review of all these proceedings, the authorities in India at length came to a decision, in the year 1807, that in the existing state of the question the parties should be left to settle the claim between themselves.

The subject was brought to the court's notice by the Madras government in political letters, dated the 6th March, and 21st October, 1807. The court, in reply,* after remarking on the defective nature of the information regarding the origin of the claim, desired that the Bombay government should be called on to state whether they had any knowledge of money transactions between the late Mr. Hutchinson and the Rajah of Travancore, and directed, in the meantime, that the resident should not only be restrained from interference in the adjustment of the claim, but enjoined to recommend to the rajah to decline any further payment on account of it, until its justice was made out to the satisfaction of the Madras government.

The reply of the Bombay government to the reference made to them added little or nothing to the information before the court on the subject. The chief point to be noticed in it is, their admission that the *fact* of dealings between the late Mr. Hutchinson and the Rajah of Travancore must have been within the knowledge (*as individuals*) of the parties composing the Bombay government, the trade in pepper or other products in Travancore not having then been interdicted to the commercial residents.

On the 9th September, 1812, the court, in a political despatch to Madras, again adverted to the claim brought

* Political Despatch to Madras, 7th September, 1808.

forward by the representatives of Mr. Hutchinson, and directed that another reference should be made to the Travancore government, in order to procure an elucidation of its rise and progress. The required information not having been received, and in the meantime the representative of Mr. Hutchinson having twice memorialized the court on the subject, these orders were repeated on the 20th October, 1819, 11th April, 1821, and 5th March, 1823; and at length the Madras government, in a letter dated the 24th December, 1822, laid before the court all the information which could be obtained from the records of Travancore regarding the transactions between that state and the late Mr. Hutchinson, of Anjengo. The contents of this communication failed, however, to throw any further light on the origin and nature of those transactions.

The court, in finally reviewing the subject, on the 12th May, 1824, fully concurred in opinion with the Madras council, that "the pretended debt to the late Mr. Hutchinson, even granting it to be in other respects unquestionable, was not of a character to receive the countenance of their government, and to be insisted on through its agency." On the other hand, they agreed to modify that part of their instructions of 7th September, 1808, in which it was enjoined that the Rajah of Travancore should be recommended to decline any further payment to Mr. Hutchinson's heirs till the justice of the claim was made out to the satisfaction of the Madras government, and expressed their wish to be to leave the parties entirely to themselves, and to abstain from all interference in the matter one way or the other.

The government of Travancore, however, not having been induced to make any further payment on account of this claim, the representative of the late Mr. Hutchinson has now petitioned the House of Commons to in-

APPENDIX. interfere in his behalf. The following appear to be the principal grounds on which the interference of the legislature is solicited:—

That the transactions out of which the debt claimed from the Rajah of Travancore arose were *bonâ fide*, that they took place before the passing of the Act of 1797, which prohibited loans from British subjects to native princes, and that Mr. Hutchinson's advances to the rajah were, in great part, for the purpose of enabling the latter to fulfil his political engagements and commercial contracts with the Company.

That, on the 13th March, 1800, the existence of a balance of 4,89,735 rupees due to the estate of Mr. Hutchinson was admitted by certain officers of rank appointed by the rajah's nephew and successor to investigate the accounts of the foregoing transactions, and that payments to the amount of 2,80,000 rupees were subsequently made by the rajah as part of the said balance.

That the Court of Directors, in a despatch of the 7th September, 1808, prohibited the Rajah of Travancore from making any further payment to Mr. Hutchinson's representatives, until the justice of the claim was established to the Madras government, thereby preventing such payment at a time when the rajah was able and willing to make it.

That at length, after many years had elapsed, the court* withdrew the recommendation which they had caused to be transmitted to the rajah in 1808, and expressed their wish to leave the parties entirely to themselves; but that this act of the court could in no degree conduce to the attainment of justice, while, at the same time, it must be taken as an admission that no reasonable doubt could be raised respecting the debt; and, lastly,

* In 1824.

That the Company virtually adopted the said debt when they took possession of the territories and revenues of Travancore.

APPENDIX.

The two inquiries which appear to suggest themselves in this case are: What evidence is there to shew that the representative of Mr. Hutchinson has a just claim upon the government of Travancore? and, secondly, Can the Company be considered at all responsible for the payment of any such claim, or bound to enforce, or even recommend the payment of it by the rajah's government?

In answer to the first inquiry thus much must be conceded: that the Rajah of Travancore, with whom it is alleged that the late Mr. Hutchinson had pecuniary dealings, appears, either by himself or his minister, to have admitted the existence of such dealings, and that very nearly to the extent of which Mr. Hutchinson's representatives have since maintained that they occurred: that this rajah's successors did, in 1800, come to a settlement of accounts with Mr. Parry, the gentleman appointed to act for Mr. Hutchinson's estate, by which he admitted a balance of 4,89,734 rupees to be due to that estate, and that up to 1803, payments amounting to 2,80,000 rupees were actually made by the rajah, which reduced the debt to 2,09,734 rupees. But in 1804 the existence of this claim was brought to the knowledge of the Bengal government by the British resident in Travancore, inquiries took place, and the rajah's dewan, who it would appear had been changed in the meantime, then declared that the "debt called Mr. Hutchinson's debt originated chiefly in fictitious transactions." Nothing specific, however, has been produced by the Travancore government to prove this assertion; but, at the same time, there is sufficient in the documents produced by Mr. Hutchinson's representatives to shew that that gentleman's transactions

APPENDIX.

with the rajah were of the most objectionable kind, and that a large portion of the debt consisted of accumulated interest and fines for non-performance of certain agreements.

The account between the Travancore rajah and Mr. Hutchinson's estate, drawn up in 1800, gives the following results:—

*Rajah of Travancore in account with the Estate of
Mr. Hutchinson.*

1797. Hutchinson.

Dr.		Cr.	
	Rupees.	Rupees.	
To amount admitted by the rajah as due in July, 1795 ...	4,39,383	By amount paid to Mr. Hutchinson in September, 1796	4,20,000
Sundry sums of money advanced to the rajah in 1795 and 1796 ...	2,39,757	Balance due to Mr. Hutchinson's estate on the 13th March, 1800 ...	4,89,735
Amount of 64 candies of pepper sold to him in 1796 ...	10,560		
Forfeit for non-performance of a pepper contract for 1,154 candies ...	69,240		
Interest at 10, 12, and 18 per cent. on the sums of money advanced ...	1,50,795		
	<hr/> Rupees ... 9,09,735		<hr/> Rupees ... 9,09,735

The transactions which led to the debt of 4,39,383 rupees, forming the first item in this account, cannot be fully ascertained.* It is clear that a large part of it

* The accounts remarked upon by the court (See No. I. of this list) were produced *after* this report was passed.

arose from actual loans of money to the rajah; but it is also certain, from the letter of the rajah's minister, dated 22nd October, 1795, that it included interest: and in a bond given by the dewan on 21st March, 1794, which acknowledged his having borrowed of Mr. Hutchinson coins of various denominations of the value altogether of about 1,35,000 rupees, the rajah is made to agree not only that the amount should bear interest at 12 per cent. per annum, but that, if the amount were not repaid at the end of seven months and ten days, the penal sum of 25,000 Bombay rupees should be paid in addition. Looking to this fact, and to the general character of the transactions between the Rajah of Travancore and Mr. Hutchinson, it is evident that a large portion of the old debt of rupees 4,39,383 consisted of interest and penalties; and it appears on the face of the account that 2,20,035 rupees of the new debt were of the same description. Although, therefore, there is no evidence to shew that the debt to Mr. Hutchinson originated for the most part in transactions positively "fictitious," there is sufficient, if we advert to the disadvantageous, not to say ruinous, conditions on which money was advanced to the rajah, and consider the influence which, in making those conditions, Mr. Hutchinson must have derived from his situation as the Company's resident, to place his claim in a doubtful light, the more especially, when it is remembered that Mr. Hutchinson's representatives have recovered more than the principal.

APPENDIX.

The next question is, whether, if the justice of their claim upon the Rajah of Travancore were even clear, the Company have become so implicated as to be at all responsible for the payment of it themselves, or bound to enforce such payment upon the government of Travancore.

It is asserted in the petition to the House of Com-

APPENDIX.

mons, that the Company virtually adopted the debt to Mr. Hutchinson when they took possession of the territories and revenues of Travancore. The simple answer to this is, that the Company never have taken such possession, either wholly or in part. The hostile conduct of the rajah's dewan, joined to the accumulation of a large debt to the Company, on account of the annual subsidy payable to them by treaty, led, it is true, to the occupation of Travancore by their troops in 1809, and subsequently to the assumption by their resident of the office of dewan for a period of three or four years, at the expiration of which the administration was restored to the rajah; but, as sovereigns, the Company have never held any part of the country; while, so far from their proceedings towards the rajah having deprived him of the means of paying his private creditors, there is evidence to shew that, by the management of the resident as dewan under the orders of the Madras government, his finances were extricated from a state of complete embarrassment, and placed in a condition to meet any just demands that could be made upon his government.

The last question is, whether the Company can be legally implicated in this claim in consequence of their interference in 1808, when the court directed that their resident should be instructed to recommend the rajah to make no further payment in liquidation of the alleged debt to Mr. Hutchinson's estate, until the justice of it was established to the Madras government? It is asserted in the petition of Mr. Bury Hutchinson to the House of Commons, that the Company thereby prevented the payment of a debt at a time when the rajah was willing to make it. This, however, is so far from the case, that four or five years before that step was taken, the rajah's dewan had denounced the claim as one which had arisen from fictitious transactions, and during the

whole of the interval which ensued, the court of Travancore shewed no disposition to make any further payment to the estate of Mr. Hutchinson. The only effect of the court's proceeding, therefore, must have been to relieve the rajah from any fear which he may have entertained, lest the British government should be induced to become the advocates of a claim brought against him by one of their own servants.

The court, indeed, could not well have abstained from such a measure of recommendation as that which they directed in the despatch to Madras of the 7th September, 1808. The suspicious character of the transactions alleged to have taken place between Mr. Hutchinson and the rajah, the fact that at the period when they were represented as having occurred the most corrupt practices had existed among their servants on the coast of Malabar, and the position in which the British government stood, both with respect to the rajah and to Mr. Hutchinson, must all have combined, in the opinion of the court, to call for an interference, the only object of which was to discourage an act of injustice from being committed against the rajah's government.

Mr. Hutchinson, in his petition to the House of Commons, asserts that the claim was sanctioned by several governors-general, viz. the Marquis Wellesley, Sir George Barlow, and Lord Minto.

So far as respects the Marquis Wellesley, Mr. Hutchinson does not attempt to substantiate his statement; and your committee have caused the Company's records to be fully searched, and they have not been found to contain the slightest evidence of the least disposition on the part of his lordship or his government to favour or countenance the claim.

With regard to Sir George Barlow, Mr. Hutchinson, in the printed statement of his case, states as follows:—

APPENDIX.

“ But in the year 1806 the political resident again interfered, when Sir George Barlow caused a fresh inquiry to be made, and after investigation authorized Mr. Handley, the commercial resident, to proceed for the recovery of the balance due, and in his despatch is the following remark: that, ‘in his excellency’s opinion, Colonel Macaulay’s letter to the commercial resident bears the appearance of unnecessary precipitation, in condemning the conduct of a public officer without inquiring into the real existence of the facts on which his judgment was formed.’ ”

After considerable research, your committee have traced the passage here quoted on the Bengal secret consultations of the 1st of July, 1806; and they have to state, that it occurs in a letter, not from Sir George Barlow, but from Mr. Edmonstone, as secretary to the Bengal government, and that the occasion which suggested it was a dispute between the political and the commercial residents respecting the presentation of some articles to the Princess of Travancore, and had no connection, directly or indirectly, with the case of Mr. Hutchinson, which is not hinted at in the remotest degree in the letter in question.

In support of his statement that Lord Minto sanctioned the payment of the claim, Mr. Hutchinson quotes the following passage, viz.—

“ For the reason stated in the preceding part of this despatch, the governor in council trusts that the honourable the governor-general in council will deem it proper to issue immediate orders prohibiting the interference of the military authority in the commercial concerns of the factory at Anjengo, and will direct the establishment of the commercial resident in the privileges and functions of his office as they existed before the disturbance in Travancore.”

Your committee have also succeeded in tracing the document from which the passage is quoted in the Madras political consultations of the 13th June, 1809, and they find that it has no relevance whatever to Mr. Hutchinson's claim, but refers entirely to a question affecting the relative position of the military and commercial authorities in Travancore.

It results, therefore, from what has now been stated, that Mr. Hutchinson's statement regarding the opinions of successive governors-general is totally without foundation.

It may be remarked, in conclusion, that the injury which the Company's interests sustained at the time Mr. Hutchinson was their commercial resident at Anjengo, from the frequent non-fulfilment by the rajah of his contracts to supply them with the products of Travancore, must have been at least considerably aggravated by the obstacles thrown in the way of their trade by the private dealings with the rajah in which Mr. Hutchinson was simultaneously engaged. This, and the fact before mentioned, that loans of money to native princes by Company's servants had been strictly forbidden by the court on pain of suspension from the service, will serve still further to shew that the representative of Mr. Hutchinson has no title to the countenance, either of the court or the legislature, in the claim which he persists in bringing forward.

APPENDIX.

The case of Palmer and Co. has been referred to in the body of the work, and it is so complicated that any attempt to elucidate it must fail. That of the Lucknow bankers is ably argued in a letter addressed by the secretary to the Court of Directors to the secretary to the board, under date of the 1st of March, 1833. The letter is too long to be presented entire, but an extract from it may be sufficient to shew the nature and circumstances of the claim. The board had pressed the transmission of a despatch to the governor-general, calling upon him to urge the immediate settlement of the claims by the sovereign of Oude. In remonstrating against such a step, the court, after quoting numerous former decisions in favour of non-interference, proceed to discuss the grounds upon which they were required to adopt a different course; and the passage has an interest distinct from the particular occasion upon which it was written, inasmuch as it illustrates the operation of money-lending in the East. The curse of usury is one of the most fearful evils which afflict India. The following is the passage referred to:—

“After such a series of decisions in favour of a particular line of policy, it would require a strong conviction of its unsoundness and tendency to produce evil consequences, to justify the court, in their own opinion, in consenting to depart from it: but, on the contrary, when they entirely concur in the reasons which induced former courts and Boards of Commissioners to come to the decisions, so deliberately formed, and repeatedly announced, and regard them as establishing, not only on grounds of justice and policy, but also the faith of treaties, the practical

conclusions which were founded on them, they consider themselves as under a solemn obligation not to be the willing instruments of subverting a policy which they entirely approve, and in which they deem it of the highest importance that the British government in India should persevere.

“As the anxiety, however, of the court respecting the decision of the board on this subject, makes them fearful of omitting any thing which seems to them calculated to aid in removing the impression which they deprecate, and as the draft of the despatch prepared by the board contains a statement of reasons in justification of the measure which the board would prescribe, the court deem it incumbent upon them to make known to the board the reflections which that statement has suggested. They regret that, in presenting these conclusions, with the fullness which the occasion seems to require, so much is necessary to be written; but they trust the board will ascribe this effect to its true and only cause,—the importance which they attach to the question.

“In the draft, as prepared by the board, it is said, ‘As a general principle, we have no hesitation in expressing it as our decided opinion, that the British government is not bound to interfere, and ought to be extremely cautious of interfering in the recovery of loans from native states, unless such loans were contracted with its previous knowledge, *and** unless the guarantee of the British resident was given in writing upon the face of the bond, *or*† signified by the resident in a despatch written at the time to his own government, and approved as well by

* *Qy. or?*

† *Qy. and?* otherwise the passage will import that the resident's guarantee, if appearing on the face of the bond, should be binding on the government, whether it had been made acquainted with and sanctioned it, or not.

APPENDIX.

that government as by the native sovereign contracting the loan.'

"Though it is the decided opinion of the court that such guarantees as are above alluded to, of loans to native princes or other parties by any lenders whatsoever, should be altogether abstained from by the British government, and indeed interdicted, they nevertheless have great satisfaction in seeing the principle of non-interference so broadly and guardedly laid down as it is by the board in the above paragraph. But, in the same high degree in which they estimate the importance of such a rule, must they be solicitous that, along with the promulgation of the rule, a precedent should not immediately be set, by which, if acted upon, the rule would be utterly subverted, and the precedent become the rule in its stead; a rule directly opposite to the former, both in its purport and effects.

"The principle, as laid down by the board, recognizes two conditions: 1st, that the British government should have been a party, consenting at least to the original transaction; 2nd, that it should have given its guarantee for the payment: under which conditions alone, any interference should be attempted by the British government for the enforcement of claims of debt on native princes.

"Neither of these conditions applies to the case of the Lucknow bankers. This is not alleged; and it is so clear a point, that the court do not think it necessary to enforce it by argument.

"The subsequent paragraph of the board's draft, however, says: 'We state the principle thus broadly and decidedly, to the end that the orders we are about to transmit to you on the subject of the present claim may not be liable to misinterpretation in the important particular, that where money has been advanced to a native state

without a sanction of the nature above described' (original consent or express guarantee), 'we will in no case, except under very peculiar circumstances, interfere in view to its recovery.'

"It is obvious, therefore, that the justification of the interference now proposed is, and indeed must be, placed on the plea of 'very peculiar circumstances.' With respect to this plea, the court do not deny that very peculiar circumstances may create a case of exception to the most important rules; but, in proportion to the importance of the rule, it is incumbent on those who would make the exception rigidly to investigate the circumstances which are said to be peculiar, and not only to prove that they are peculiar, but that the peculiarity constitutes a case of sufficient importance to demand a departure from an established and important line of action.

"With this view, the court have carefully considered the circumstances which are adduced by the board as forming a peculiarity of that cogent nature in the present case; and, as they have been conscientiously led to a conclusion directly the reverse of that of the board, it is their wish, as it is their duty, to point out the grounds of their conviction as fully as the nature of the case appears to require.

"In the board's enumeration of circumstances, the first which appears is this: 'That both Lord Cornwallis and his successor, the present Lord Teignmouth, had repeatedly urged the late Vizier, Asoph-ood-Dowlah, to put in a train of liquidation the large debt which he had contracted.' The 'large debt' here means *all* the debts of the Vizier. This implies, therefore, the reverse of any thing peculiar as to the debt of the present claimants. All the other debts of the Nabob were equally included; and what was done, instead of being peculiar to any, was common to all.

APPENDIX.

"It is next said, 'That, at his excellency's particular desire, the governor-general in council authorized Mr. Cherry, then the resident at Lucknow, to assist him in ascertaining his true and just debts, with a view to their being put into a train of payment. Mr. Cherry accordingly entered into a laborious investigation of the debts of that prince, and in a letter dated the 14th April, 1796, transmitted to the governor-general a list of such of them as he considered to be just. In that list are to be found the names of the Calcutta bankers.' Here, in like manner, there is not only not any thing peculiar, but there is a direct statement to the contrary. This circumstance, therefore, is altogether unavailing to the object of the board, that of making out a case of peculiarity for the interference of the British government.

"There are, however, in this statement, some things which deserve observation. The Vizier expressed a particular desire that the aid of the British resident might be lent to him, in order to make a discrimination between claims which might be, and those which could not be true. This was, therefore, no interference of the British government; it was substantially the act of the Vizier himself.

"It is also stated, that Mr. Cherry, after a laborious investigation, presented a list of such debts as he considered to be just. It is necessary here to consider the state of the facts. It could not be, that Mr. Cherry had made an investigation of the particulars of each claim, such as is made in a court of justice, and such as is indispensably necessary to enable a judge to determine with accuracy, not merely that something is due, but how much is due. The time Mr. Cherry employed in the investigation was altogether disproportionate to such a performance. We know well, by the experience of the Carnatic and Tanjore commissioners in India, how much time is required

to go into the detail of such debts, and to ascertain how much ought in justice to be paid, and how much not. All that it was possible for him to do, obviously, was, to separate the class of claims which appeared to be altogether groundless and fictitious from those which had more or less in them of what was real. If, upon this ground, any such inference is raised, as that all the claims included in Mr. Cherry's list* ought to be paid in full, we know well, from the experience of the same commissions, how erroneous such an inference would be, and what injustice would have been imposed on the Vizier, if any coercion had been applied to him on that principle. Of claims of precisely the same description upon the Nabob of the Carnatic, not more than nine per cent. has been found justly entitled to payment.

"If any stress is laid upon the circumstance, that the claims of the Dosses rest on the evidence of bonds, it is only necessary to remember, in order to shew the futility of that circumstance, how many of the claims on the two Carnatic princes rested on the same foundation, but have not been, on that account, spared either from scrutiny or retrenchment; and whoever is acquainted with the mode in which bonds are habitually manufactured in India, that for a small sum received the needy prince grants a bond for a large one, and that at the end of every six

* Mr. Cherry, in reality, never made a list. He transmitted to the governor-general the list given to him by Rajah Tickait Roy of the debts standing in the Oude government accounts, and afterwards a list of the debts as claimed by the creditors. The following instance of the difference between the two statements sufficiently shews the necessity of investigation previous to payment:—

<i>Debt of Doorka Doss.</i>		
Rupees.		Rupees.
According to the accounts of government	2,23,128	According to his own accounts 9,25,056

APPENDIX.

or twelve, sometimes four months, the bond is renewed, with the addition of interest at two per cent. or more per month, will not question the propriety of the course which has been prescribed to the commissioners, or can possibly doubt the necessity there would be of a similar scrutiny of the bonds* of the Dosses, preliminary to any proceedings on the part of the British government to enforce the payment of them.

“The next circumstance adduced in the draft of the board is the arrangement which was made with the two classes of creditors, the European and native, immediately after the proceeding of Mr. Cherry. The draft says, ‘that owing probably to the removal of Mr. Cherry, no arrangement was made for paying off the debts included in his list.’ But why should not that arrangement, which was completed in five months after the date of Mr. Cherry’s list, be considered the very arrangement to which the proceeding of Mr. Cherry was intended to lead? By that arrangement, a composition was accepted, instead of payment in full, by both classes of creditors, with a single exception in each class, the Dosses being the exception in the native class. The terms of the composition were more favourable to the European than to the native creditors, and this was the ground of the exception of the Dosses. They were willing to accept a composition, but not a less favourable one than was offered to the European creditors. This practice of compounding with their creditors, common with the native princes in India, deserves some reflection. On the supposition that a great part of the claims against them are

* That these were renewed bonds is proved by their dates in 1794, 1795, and 1796; for the debts were incurred before Lord Cornwallis left India. At how much earlier a date, with how many previous renewals, or at what interest, there is nothing to shew.

artificial, and do not represent correctly the value they received, with a reasonable interest, this is only a rude and summary mode, congenial with the mental habits of the people, of sweeping off the undue and extortionate part of the several claims: and the acceptance by so many of the creditors of the composition offered them may be, without any straining, regarded as presumptive evidence that, upon the whole, substantial justice was done to them. Upon the contrary supposition, that all the creditors who accepted the composition were defrauded, every one of those creditors deserved as much the interference of the British government as the Dosses. If it be said that they received something, the Dosses nothing, it is to be asked, how that affects the principle? Justice or injustice is not measured by the sum. Besides, the act was that of the Dosses themselves, and surely constituted no case of peculiarity requiring the interference of the British government. There was one part of their demand which the body of creditors did not receive: the Dosses, as to that part, stood in the same predicament. Another part the body of creditors did receive, the Dosses not, only because they refused to receive it. Whatever loss they sustained by this refusal is chargeable only on themselves. But men must be left to bear the consequences of their own acts. It would be a monstrous rule, that government should employ extraordinary and dangerous expedients for repairing those consequences.

“Among the other things which the court conceive themselves bound to notice in the draft of the board is, the statement that, in the early stage of the negotiation with the European creditors for the composition which they accepted, Mr. Lumsden (the resident) took ‘a part.’ The court are altogether at a loss to understand the object of this statement. It cannot be for establishing

APPENDIX.

(what alone it would be for the purpose of the board to establish) that the case of the Dosses is a peculiar case; for nothing of what was done by Mr. Lumsden related to it. As little does it prove any thing as to the justice of their claim. If it be intended to suggest the idea, that the British resident, in this case, had violated the order under which he acted, of non-interference, the court are happy, on looking into the circumstances, to find that he was guilty of no such dereliction of his duty. In the very letter of the resident, quoted for the fact in the draft of the board, the words are these:—‘His excellency, in the first instance, sent for General Martin and Mr. Johnstone, two of the principal creditors, who attended his summons; but as they did not come into the terms which were offered them, he afterwards made a proposition in writing, through me, to all the European creditors.’* And this was the whole of ‘the part’ taken by Mr. Lumsden in the negotiation: he was the channel of communication on the part of the Vizier, and at his desire, of a proposition in writing to the European creditors; an act to which it is surely needless to say the term interference can by no means be applied. He was once more the channel of communicating, in the same way, a modification of that proposition: and with this his intervention terminated: for the resident goes on to say, ‘It happened that all the creditors were at Lucknow, either in person or by their representatives, and after the discussion of the first and second days, they negotiated the business directly with the Vizier’s servants, without any intervention on my part.’†

“It is stated in the board’s draft, and seems to be considered a matter of importance, that ‘both Mr. Lumsden and Sir John Shore expressed regret at the unequitable distinction which Asoph-ud-Dowlah had made between

* 28th September, 1796, 11-213.

† Ibid.

his European and native creditors.' The value of this expression of regret, as evidence in the case, deserves to be carefully weighed, and should be looked at in its true light.

"They could use it only in consequence of their supposing that the European creditors did not receive more than their due, and that the claims of the native creditors rested on the same grounds with those of the Europeans.

"If the European creditors had received more than they ought to have received, there was no room for just regret that the native creditors received less; there was rather cause for satisfaction, that a second act of extortion on the Vizier had not been perpetrated.

"Also, if the claims of the native creditors rested on a foundation in any respect different from that of the European creditors, there was no room for drawing a parallel between them; and the native creditors, though they got less than the European, in proportion to their demands, might have got as much, or more, in proportion to their due.

"Now, it is a question which not only may fairly be asked, but which it is indispensable to ask, how the resident and governor-general could have knowledge of either of these facts; either that the Europeans had not received a payment far beyond an equivalent for the loans they had made to the Vizier, or that the demands of the native creditors did not bear a still more extravagant disproportion to the sums they had advanced? They had performed no investigation into the claims; they had not entertained a thought of tracing them to their source, and ascertaining with accuracy the circumstances in which they had originated, though they were not ignorant of the rapid process by which they had been swelled.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

“It is very clear that, in these circumstances, a casual expression, either of the resident or governor-general, indicating an opinion upon a subject with which they were unacquainted, cannot be rested upon as evidence of any value at all.

“It is to be observed, and, for the elucidation of this point, is an observation of great importance, that such pecuniary transactions with native princes were not then so well understood, nor regarded with the same suspicion and disapprobation, as they are now. Mr. Johnstone, who was one of the Vizier's principal European creditors, and whose debt amounted to upwards of seven lacs of rupees, was first assistant of the resident, and still allowed to retain his situation. The scrutiny of the commissioners into the debts of the Carnatic princes had not yet let in the light which we have now the benefit of, on the mode in which the debts of the native princes originated, and how small the proportion which the sums they actually receive bears to the sums demanded of them. It is not unlikely that the governor-general and resident, on this occasion, did really believe that no part of the debts was nominal, that the claims were all honestly made up of the principal actually lent and the stipulated interest, though it is now well known that, without inquiry and proof, such a belief was dangerous and unwarranted.

“They were acquainted, however, with the exorbitant rate of interest by which the claims had been swelled, and the reckless manner in which the incumbrances had been incurred. The letter of the resident to the governor-general, dated 1st September, 1795,* had stated as follows:—‘The ruinous system of borrowing appears more and more daily to have been the cause of the general decline of this government. The debt has increased an-

* 11-85.

nually, by uniting principal and interest at thirty-six per cent. into new bonds, to which have been added new loans at twelve months, and some at shorter periods, bills bearing discount tendered in place of ready money for *tuncaks* on the Aumils, who again charge interest on the state for anticipation on their kists, while the actual appropriation of the revenues has been involved in the mysterious intricacies of false intercourse with the Aumil's *tuncaks*, debts, and separate allowances, for purposes as confused as the general system of government has been.'

"In taking account of claims originating in such extraordinary circumstances, with a view to their liquidation, how would rational men proceed? They would take the course which has been prescribed to the commissioners on the affairs of the Carnatic princes; they would subject each claim individually to a rigid scrutiny; they would ascertain the amount of the principal actually lent; they would add to that a reasonable interest; and of so much, and no more, would they award the liquidation.

"This scrutiny did not suit the temper nor capacity of the Vizier: he took the easier method of telling his creditors that he would give them so much in satisfaction of their claims, and that with this they ought to be contented.

"It is necessary now to see what he did pay, and to go as far as we can in determining how near it approached to a reasonable payment.

"The proposition which was first made to the European creditors, and transmitted through the hands of the resident, was very nearly the same with that which had been already offered to the native creditors and accepted. It was, that instead of thirty-six per cent. per annum compound interest, they should only be paid at half that rate of interest, or eighteen per cent. per annum com-

APPENDIX.

pound interest, and that the difference should be struck off the bonds.*

“Nobody will deny that this was still very high interest; and this it had been settled should be paid to the native creditors.

“There was another condition, however, which lessened the benefit. The native creditors were to be paid by instalments in six years, the European in five; and in the meantime no interest was to run in favour of either class.

“These terms the native creditors, with the exception of the Dosses, had previously accepted. They were, however, rejected by the European class; and after negotiation, the Europeans succeeded in obtaining payment in full at the rate of thirty-six per cent. per annum compound interest, and that immediate, they foregoing only the interest due since the last date of the bonds. And this extortion is what the governor-general and the resident express their regret, that the native creditors also were not enabled to force upon the Vizier.

“It thus appears, that the payment which the native creditors were to receive, and which was rejected by the Dosses, was payment at the rate of eighteen per cent. per annum compound interest, subject to the condition of receiving this payment by one-sixth every year, without any accruing interest upon the sums deferred. Now, when two things are considered—first, the comparative smallness of the advance, in which it is most probable that each of the demands originated; and, secondly, that engagements with the native princes at such rates of interest are never *bonâ fide*, nor is the exact fulfilment of them, except by accident, contemplated by either party—

* Letter of the Resident to the Governor-general, 28th September, 1796.

it cannot be pretended, that this rate of payment to the native creditors was an arrangement to which the name of injustice can with any semblance of reason be attached: and the court have no doubt, if the question were put to the board, they would immediately answer, that they would think it unjust to interpose the authority of the British government for extorting from the King of Oude more favourable terms of payment in behalf of any creditors.

APPENDIX.

“ Another consideration here occurs, which, in the practical view of the question, is of very great importance. Asoph-ud-Dowlah died within a few months after this agreement with his native creditors, and there is nothing to shew that, in consequence of it, any thing was ever paid to them. At all events, if one of the six instalments was paid, there was nothing more. The short and uncertain possession of power by the spurious Vizier Ali did not afford him the means; and Saadut Ali refused to be responsible for his predecessor's debts. It thus appears, that the Dosses actually are in a condition little worse, if at all, than the rest of the native creditors, who, if they have received any thing, have received no more than a sixth of their reduced demand; and it follows clearly and indubitably that, if the Dosses have any ground to claim the interference of the British government, every one of the native creditors included in that arrangement has equal ground; nor can the British government, without the most glaring inconsistency and partiality, grant its interference in behalf of one, and refuse it to any other.

“ The next circumstance which is adduced in the draft of the board is, the insertion in the preliminary treaty with Saadut Ali of an article relative to the payment of the ‘just debts of his late brother,’ and the omission of any such stipulation in the definitive treaty.

APPENDIX.

“The debts to which the article in question referred were, no doubt, the debts of the native class of creditors with whom the arrangement above described had been entered into by Asoph-ud-Dowlah, but upon which arrangement nothing, or, at any rate, a fraction only of the debt, had been paid.

“This circumstance, however, whatever be its import, has no exclusive bearing upon the claim of the Dosses, and does not in the least degree aid the board in making out that case of peculiarity, which, by their own doctrine, it is incumbent upon them to establish, in order to lay a ground for enforcing payment of their claim, after a lapse of more than thirty years, from the King of Oude, by the authoritative interference of the British government.

“Between the conclusion of the preliminary treaty, however, and the arrangement of the definitive treaty, new considerations had suggested themselves to the British government; and they saw adequate reasons, as it appeared to them, for withholding any such article. ‘The stipulation,’ they say, ‘would involve us in the necessity of inquiring into the justice of all claims, and constitute the Company, in some measure, a guarantee for procuring the liquidation of them, which would be attended with very serious embarrassment.

“The language here employed, as to ‘the necessity of inquiring into the justice of all claims,’ is indicative of a juster sense of what is essential to the equitable adjustment of debts, namely, a rigid scrutiny into the circumstances, than the language of the governor-general, and the resident, manifested before, when they appeared to be contented with a very summary cognizance of demands.

“It would have been necessary for the British government, in consequence of such a stipulation, to have con-

stituted itself a tribunal of justice between the sovereign of Oude and his creditors. It would have been equally necessary for it to take the execution of its judgments into its own hands, otherwise it must have submitted to the degradation of permitting articles, in its own treaty, inserted by its authority, to remain unexecuted.

“The court are of opinion, that these were reasons far more than sufficient to determine the government to the course which it adopted; and to obtain for its determination the sanction and approbation of its superiors in England, including authorities of all descriptions, from that to the present time.

“The board’s draft, however, would now make the court say: ‘We cannot admit the validity of this reasoning, which, if valid, ought most assuredly to have deterred the governor-general from agitating the subject at all. In the particular case so many steps had already been taken, as to make it very questionable whether it was still open to the British government to recede, on the ground of the general obligations which Sir John Shore urges.’

“What ‘this reasoning’ should have deterred the governor-general from is sufficiently obvious. It should have deterred him from proposing such an article in the preliminary treaty: but it had no tendency to deter him from doing what so many of his predecessors had done (if that also is meant to be included in the phrase ‘agitating the subject at all’), namely, giving his advice to the Vizier, in strong and urgent terms, upon all the faults of his administration, his mode of contracting debts, and deferring the payment of them, as well as the rest; or from allowing the resident, at the Vizier’s request, to aid him in looking into his incumbrances, and to be the channel, as in the case of Mr. Lumsden, of a communication to one class of his creditors; and still less could

APPENDIX.

there be any reason why, if the governor-general had taken a wrong step in one stage of an important transaction, he should not retract it in another. The contrary would surely be a most monstrous doctrine.

“ The latter sentence in the board’s paragraph requires special remark : ‘ In the particular case so many steps had been taken.’ Particular case, here, must mean the case of all the creditors ; for nothing had been done as to the Dosses but in common with the rest. The reasoning of the board, therefore, goes to shew, that the British government is bound to procure payment for every one of the creditors. Are they prepared to act upon that doctrine ? If not, they recede from and abandon their own ground.

“ ‘ So many steps had been taken.’ These steps, as enumerated by the board, are, 1st. The insertion of the article in the preliminary treaty ; 2nd. The list of debts transmitted by Mr. Cherry ; and these two acts are set down by the board as laying upon the British government the obligation of seeing that the debts of the sovereign of Oude should all be justly discharged.

“ To the court it does not appear that they constitute any obligation. The article in the preliminary treaty was indicative of a desire, on the part of the British government, that justice should be done to the Oude creditors ; and nothing more. But a wish that justice should be done to any man, or class of men, gives no right to any one to demand a particular exertion for that effect.

“ The act of Mr. Cherry was not indicative even of so much. Being performed expressly in compliance with the desire of the Vizier, it was essentially indicative of nothing but a willingness to oblige the Vizier.

“ It was, indeed, well known, that the British rulers had tendered their advice, and been urgent in their entreaties to the ruler of Oude, to arrange honourably with

his creditors. But in all their expostulations, the ground which they took was that of that concern, not for the interest of the creditors, but of the Vizier himself. It was not because it would be good for the creditors to receive their money that they urged payment of them upon the Vizier, but that it was of the highest importance for the Vizier to free himself and his administration from the embarrassments and disorders which his pecuniary difficulties created.

“The draft of the board endeavours to connect the two facts, the article in the preliminary treaty and the list of Mr. Cherry, with the obligation they would thence lay upon the British government, by saying that they must have created expectations in the creditors that the British government would force the sovereign of Oude to pay them.

“In the first place, the court not only doubt, but are very much disposed to disbelieve, that any such expectations ever existed. But another thing they are perfectly sure of, that if they did exist, they were utterly groundless; and though the court consider expectations legitimately raised as matters of importance, no man in the world conceives that unreasonable expectations deserve any regard.

“The creditors, if they knew what had passed between the British and the Oude governments on the subject of the debts of the latter, knew two things: first, that the reason of the British government’s concerning itself in the matter was declared to be its desire to improve the administration of Oude, in which the relations of the two states gave the British government a deep interest; secondly, the constant and strong declaration of the British government, that it had no right to urge the claims of any creditor upon the sovereign of Oude, and its firm determination to abstain from doing so.

APPENDIX.

“ If, in these circumstances, the creditors, because the British government had once had a thought, but afterwards abandoned the thought, of getting the sovereign of Oude to undertake in a treaty to pay the debts of his predecessor (which, however, implies that independently of the treaty the British government had no right to interfere), and because Mr. Cherry, at the request of the Vizier, aided him in making out a list of the demands upon him, fostered in themselves expectations that the British government would do what it had no right to do, and what it was contrary to its policy to do, such expectations were only delusions.

“ In the board’s draft a passage is inserted from the letter of Colonel Scott, the resident in 1801 (the letter in which he states the declaration of Saadut Ali, that the adjustment of the debts of the state of Oude was the affair of that state, and ought to be exempt from the intermeddling of the British government), in the following words: ‘ Your lordship’s sense of the obligation which his excellency (the Vizier) owes to justice and common honesty, to make some arrangement for the liquidation of these debts, is so strongly manifested by the proposition, under certain conditions (the entire transfer of the Vizier’s territories to the British government), of taking the burthen upon the Company, that his excellency looks with certainty to the demand being at a future period pressed upon him by the influence and authority of the British government.’

“ This passage is somewhat obscurely worded. The contingency, however, which is referred to, is that surrender, which had been under negotiation, of the entire sovereignty of Oude to the British government. Of course, in the event of such a surrender, the British government would have succeeded to all the legitimate obligations, without exception, of the Oude state, and

would have paid such of its debts as came under that description: not, however, without such a scrutiny, and such retrenchments, as have taken place in the case of the debts of the Carnatic and Tanjore states, when it succeeded to all their obligations in consequence of the surrender of all their territory. But what connection there is between such a responsibility, in such a case and any responsibility, in another case, which is not only not the same, but in every essential circumstance directly the reverse, the board have given no explanation to enable the court to discern. And equally unable are they to trace even the smallest connection between the premises and the inference of Colonel Scott, that because the governor-general had a sense of the Vizier's being under obligation to justice and honesty, and because there would have been an obligation on the British government to discharge the debts of the Oude state if the government of that state had been transferred to it, therefore the Vizier looked with certainty to his being compelled by the British government to pay them, though the most explicit declarations had been made and repeated by the British government, that it never would be the instrument of such an interference.

"It is stated in the draft of the board, that the Marquis Wellesley refused to affix his seal and signature to certain articles transmitted by the Vizier, during the discussion of the treaty under negotiation in 1801, of some of which articles the object appeared to him to be, 'under the shelter of the British name, to cancel all the public debts of the state of Oude.' This refusal was highly proper in his lordship, and his obvious and indispensable duty. But the court expressly deny, that there is any connection between that act and an obligation on the British government to use its irresistible means to make the government of Oude pay those debts, and still

APPENDIX.

less one single debt, extracted by particular favour, out of the entire number.

“ The next circumstance adduced in the draft of the board is a ‘trust,’ expressed by the secret committee in their despatch dated 19th November, 1803, that the revenue belonging to the Vizier ‘would enable him to put his just debts in a course of progressive liquidation.’ After what has already been said, to shew the real nature of the anxiety so often expressed by the British authorities on the matter of the Oude debts, it would be unnecessary to add any thing here, if the court were not anxious to leave nothing unnoticed on which the board have rested their case, though, as appears to the court, it has no power or tendency to support it. The court did wish, and the supreme government wished, that the sovereign of Oude would free himself on honourable terms from the embarrassment of his debts, and they have often told him how much it concerned his interest. But this is so far from implying a right, or intention, to interfere by coercive means in any individual case, or in all the cases, that it implies the very reverse. They would not have been contented with merely *advising*, if they had thought it their right, as well as their policy, to *order* payment.”

The enormity of the claim is pointedly, though very briefly, exhibited in the following further extract :—

“ The draft thus concludes : ‘ We feel that it is incumbent on us to use our utmost efforts to retrieve the present claimants from the unfortunate situation in which they are placed. Under a strong conviction that this is a valid claim against the King of Oude, we are of opinion that the settlement of it should no longer be delayed. We are of opinion that the present claimants are entitled to the same terms as those which were accorded by Asoph-ud-Dowlah to the European creditors in 1796.’

“ ‘The utmost efforts’ of the British government mean compulsion, either by intimidation or force.

“ ‘The present claimants:’ the Dosses. Why them alone ?

“ ‘Unfortunate situation,’ of a party who would accept payment on no other terms than thirty-six or twenty-four per cent. per annum compound interest.

“ Why should the situation of the Dosses be more unfortunate than that of the other creditors, who were willing to accept payment on moderate terms, but never received it ?

“ ‘A strong conviction that this is a valid claim.’ A claim to thirty-six, or say twenty-four, per cent. per annum, compound interest, which the ‘utmost efforts’ of the British government ought to be employed to enforce. As to this strong conviction of the validity of the claim, the court cannot forbear asking, upon what does it rest ? Of the origin of the debt the board can know no more than the court, which is nothing. The mere existence of the bonds, unexamined and unauthenticated, as they are, is no ground for a strong conviction, nor any conviction at all, upon the subject.

“The Dosses ‘entitled to the same terms as those which were accorded to the European creditors:’ in other words, thirty-six per cent. per annum, compound interest. In the opinion of the court, neither the European nor any other creditors should have been paid at that rate, much less have had the ‘utmost efforts’ of the British government employed to compel such payment.”

APPENDIX.

At page 331 reference is made to various documents illustrating the respective opinions of the Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners, on the subject of retaining councils at the subordinate presidencies. A few extracts from these papers may be acceptable. In a summary of the proposed bill, framed under the orders of the board, the following passage occurs :—

“The governors of the separate presidencies not to have a council. A council will be less necessary in these governments, as the supreme government will be strengthened.”

Writing to the chairman and deputy chairman of the East-India Company on the 27th June, 1833, Mr. Grant, the president of the board, says—

“To me it appears absolutely necessary that the supreme government shall legislate for the whole Indian empire. When the arrangement for that purpose shall have been carried into effect, the functions of the subordinate governments will be only executive, and may be performed, I think, not less satisfactorily,—I am sure more economically,—by a governor acting singly, than by a governor in council. I will, however, so far yield to what I understand to be the wishes of the court, as to consent that the question, whether the subordinate governments shall or shall not have councils, shall by the bill be reserved for the future and deliberate decision of the court and the board. Into a full discussion of that question I shall be prepared to enter so soon as the new system shall be complete and in action.”

In answer to the above-mentioned letter, 2nd July, 1833, the court observed—

“The proposal to take away the council from the governors of Madras and Bombay appears to the court

to be very objectionable; and their objections are not removed by the modification suggested in your letter, dated the 27th ultimo, since to reserve to the board and the court the power of maintaining or reducing the councillors at Madras and Bombay (unless, indeed, the concurrence of both authorities were required), would be tantamount to an adoption of the proposal, your opinion expressed in the summary, and reiterated in your letter, being fixed in favour of this reduction; and we would further observe, that it is not apparent how the expense of the additional councillors in Bengal is to be provided for consistently with the retention of the council at the subordinate presidency.

“However subject to the control of the supreme government, much power must inevitably rest in the local authority; and that power will be liable to abuse, unless checked by the association with the governors of persons of character and eminence in the service. The court fully admit that it is desirable that the restraints upon the governor should be such as not to cripple the energy and vigour which are essential to the due discharge of his important duties; and they think that this principle is entirely preserved in the present constitution of the Indian governments. The governor acts ordinarily with his council; but he has the power to act independently of them, knowing that he thereby incurs a peculiarly heavy responsibility, and that all the circumstances necessary to enable the authorities in England to exercise their judgment upon his conduct will be brought to light by the recorded Minutes of his constitutional associates.

“We presume that it is intended that the governors of the subordinates shall continue to be appointed from home, and that generally they will be strangers to India. If there were no councillors, a governor must, upon his arrival, seek advice and information from secretaries, whose responsibility as advisers of the government is, to

APPENDIX.

say the least, very indefinite, and who cannot be so fit to give advice as councillors, who are, or ought to be, conversant with the internal working of the government."

In a petition to the House of Commons, the court make the following representation :—

"The proposal to vest the executive governments of Madras and Bombay in governors without councils, appears to your petitioners to be liable to very serious objections, which are not removed by that clause in the bill which allows the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the said board, to appoint a council in any presidency, because, as there are councils at present, the effect of the bill, if passed into a law, will be to declare the opinion of the legislature against councils, and to place the Court of Directors and the Board in the position, should they think councils essential, of at once exercising their judgment in opposition to that opinion.

"If it be intended to continue the councils, but with a power to the court and the board to dispense with them, your petitioners humbly submit that that intention should be distinctly expressed in the said bill."

This is repeated with even greater strength in a petition to the Lords.

"That the proposal to vest the executive governments of Madras and Bombay in governors without councils, appears to your petitioners to be liable to very serious objections; if adopted, the local governor, frequently a stranger to India, will be deprived of the information and advice which he has hitherto obtained from his councillors, a salutary check upon the proceedings of the governor will be destroyed, the security that every act and the reasons for it shall be placed upon record will be lost, and the stimulus to exertion in the civil service, created by the hope of ultimately reaching a seat in

council, will be greatly impaired. These objections are not obviated by that clause in the bill which allows the Court of Directors of your petitioners, with the approbation of the said Board of Commissioners, to appoint a council in any presidency, because, as there are councils at present, the effect of the bill, if passed into a law, will be to declare the opinion of the legislature against councils, and to place the Court of Directors and the Board in the position, should they think councils essential, of at once exercising their judgment in opposition to that opinion. If it be intended to continue the councils, but with a power to the court and the board to dispense with them, your petitioners humbly submit that that intention should be distinctly expressed in the said bill."

The question is thus argued by Henry St. George Tucker, Esq., in a paper recorded by him on the 2nd July, 1833 :—

"To the proposition of Mr. Grant for the formation of a fourth presidency, I have not the smallest objection: on the contrary, the Board of Commissioners, of which I was a member, in their report to the supreme government of the 13th April, 1808, were induced to recommend 'that a more efficient authority be established in the ceded and conquered provinces;' and the grounds for this recommendation, far from being weakened, have acquired force from the extension of our territory and connections, and from the unsettled state of our western provinces, and the adjoining country of Oude.

"I consider the imperial city of Agra to be particularly well adapted for the seat of the new government. Situated on the Jumna, it has, to some extent, the advantage of river navigation; it has a fortress for the protection of our treasure and archives; it is sufficiently near to Delhi, to Bhurtpore, Gwalior, Rajpootana, and other

APPENDIX.

points which must always be observed with care and vigilance; and it is not only centrically placed with reference to the territory likely to be assigned to the new presidency, but it occupies an intermediate and convenient station between Calcutta and Bombay; it is also near the principal stations of the Bengal army, Muttra, Meerut, &c.

“But upon the constitution of this and other subordinate presidencies, I differ widely from the views entertained by the president of the board, whose proposition goes to degrade them into mere lieutenancies, stripped of a council and deprived of all independent authority, the supreme government being invested, to use the words of Mr. Grant, with ‘a *precedent* and *preventive*, in place of a *subsequent* and *corrective* control.’ What functions of government are these lieutenants intended to exercise? We are told that they are to have a council of ‘*secretaries*,’ but are these ministerial officers to deliberate and vote under a direct responsibility? And are they to be remunerated with salaries equal to those which have hitherto been received by the members of government? If so, there is only a change of *name*, and the executive duties of the secretary will soon, no doubt, be consigned to some inferior officer. If they are not to be deliberative and responsible functionaries, in what situation will not the government be placed? Some man of rank will be appointed governor or lieutenant-governor who has never seen any thing of India, who is unacquainted with the languages, manners, and feelings of the people, and who must depend upon the advice of an irresponsible secretary for conducting all the affairs of his government. The members of council are not only qualified in general by their knowledge and experience to give wholesome advice to the new governor, but they are a constant check upon him, and by recording their Minutes, when a difference

of opinion occurs, the home authorities are enabled to form a more correct judgment on the merits of every case which may be brought under their notice.

APPENDIX.

“I see no objection to the supreme government being invested with a general power of restraint on the public expenditure at the subordinate presidencies; and it may be useful that the Regulations framed at those presidencies should be submitted for sanction to the superior authority, in order that *uniformity in the general principles of legislation* may be preserved: but I am by no means of opinion that legislation should vest entirely and exclusively in the supreme government. It appears to me that laws should be adapted to the state of the particular society, and the local administration must certainly be best qualified to judge of the wants of the community over which it presides. Absolute uniformity in legislation is neither necessary nor desirable, nor perhaps practicable. Nothing can be more dissimilar than the character and habits of different classes of the population of India, and no assumption could be more fallacious, than that the same laws would answer equally well for them all. The natives of Bengal Proper bear no resemblance to the inhabitants of Upper Hindostan; and although I cannot speak from the same personal knowledge, I have reason to believe that the Mahrattas of the Deccan, and the Nairs, Mopilas, and other inhabitants of the Peninsula, are distinguished in a remarkable manner from both. Why is it that the Regulations of 1795 for Benares have been found more suitable and easy of execution than other parts of our code? Simply because the Benares Regulations were drafted on the spot, upon an accurate knowledge of the wants of the particular society. I contend, then, that the power of legislation should be continued in the subordinate governments, although I do not object to their being required to submit their

APPENDIX.
—

Regulations for revision, and for the ultimate sanction of the supreme authority in India.

“I am of opinion that the seat of the supreme government should be fixed in Calcutta, and I could assign many reasons for this opinion, in opposition to that of Lord William Bentinck (who prefers “Allahabad”), if the question were still open for consideration. The provinces from Benares eastward, including Arracan and the settlements on the coast of Tenasserim, would constitute, I think, the proper limits of the superior presidency; and as these provinces have, with the exception of our late acquisitions from the Burmese, been long settled, the superintendence of their internal affairs would not impose upon the supreme government any very onerous duties, or interfere materially with the exercise of a general control over the other presidencies. The chief functions of the governor-general in council will, no doubt, be legislative and political, with a general superintendence; but it appears to me by no means advisable to divest the supreme government of the immediate management of a particular territory. This sort of abstraction would separate it too much from the people, and remove it too far from the sphere of their internal concerns. One great evil incidental to our rule is, that the governors of India can rarely become acquainted with the people over whom they are placed.

“The projected change in the construction of the supreme government appears to me to call for the most serious consideration.

“It is to be composed of *seven* members instead of *four*, the present number, and the councillors are to be appointed ‘by the court, *with the approbation of the king*,’ instead of being selected, as at present, by the court, without any interference on the part of his Majesty’s ministers.

“For the proposed addition of three members, I can perceive no sufficient reason, even if no objection occurred on the ground of expense. With one hand we take away the councillors from the subordinate presidencies, and with the other add (unnecessarily, as I think) to the apparatus of the supreme government.

“If it be intended to take the three additional councillors from the service of the subordinate presidencies, we shall remove them from the spot where their knowledge and experience are likely to be most useful, and we shall bring them to a quarter where they will find a different state of things, and where even the languages which they have acquired will not enable them to communicate with the people.

“If it be proposed, by means of this extended apparatus, to carry on in Calcutta all the details of administration, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya mountains, and from the borders of China to the Indus, then, I say, the project is visionary and impracticable. The machine will be overloaded and will not move, the responsibility will be divided between the supreme government and its lieutenants. The latter, divested of all independent authority, must dwindle into insignificance; or if, when differences occur, an appeal is to be made to the home authorities, the decision in the last resort must either weaken the influence of the controlling power, or become altogether nugatory. The plan, in truth, appears to me to place the supreme government in the position which the home authorities at present occupy; but as it is not intended, I presume, to withdraw their superintendence, an intermediate process of revision will have been super-added; and if it be required that the subordinate governments should send home their proceedings, and that the superior government should also transmit its correspond-

APPENDIX.

ence, containing the revision of those proceedings, the public business will be increased in a degree likely to produce the greatest embarrassment.

“I am quite aware that much of the good which has been done in India has been effected by the local government, and much ought at all times to be left to its discussion; but I cannot think that the check of the home authorities is without its use, or that it can ever be safely dispensed with. I would strengthen the political power of the supreme government to the utmost; nor can it well be armed with an authority too absolute over Europeans resorting to India; but I cannot perceive any necessity for withdrawing from the subordinate presidencies the free and independent exercise of all the administrative functions of government, whether revenue, judicial, military, commercial, or even legislative.

“I apprehend, however, that in adding three members to the supreme council, it may be proposed to introduce some of the judges of the king's courts or political partisans from this country, or perhaps some eminent native of India. Such projects have been contemplated, and have been advocated by particular individuals; but I consider them to be open to the most formidable objections. As, however, they have not yet been put forth in any tangible shape, I shall reserve myself until they be officially announced in a manner which may enable me to deal with them.

“But I must observe upon the proposal to subject the appointment of ‘councillors to the approbation of the king,’ or, in other words, to transfer the patronage to his Majesty's ministers. The best security which we possess at present for good government in India, depends upon the judicious exercise of the power to select from the service at large the members of council at the differ-

ent presidencies. We do not exercise the same independent power in appointing the governors of India: his Majesty's ministers must, for obvious reasons, be parties to such appointments. These high functionaries have generally been political characters of distinction connected with the administration, and they must possess the confidence of the national government; but the Court of Directors are better acquainted with the merits and pretensions of their own servants, and it is of importance that the whole service should look up to them for protection and advancement. The high station of a member of council is looked to as the reward of distinguished service, and it operates as the great stimulus to exertion; but if his Majesty's ministers be allowed to appoint their own partisans, or individuals not connected with the service, this fair and legitimate object of ambition is at once removed, and those motives and feelings which have heretofore produced such devotion to the public service will necessarily be weakened if not extinguished."

In a paper recorded by Richard Jenkins, Esq., 5th July, 1833, the passages following occur:—

"The maintenance, especially, of the principle of having a high and generally independent authority in every great division of the country, I consider to be indispensable for the just protection of all classes of our subjects, as well as for the due preservation of the dignity and power of the nation in the remotest parts of the empire. It is not less essential for the respectability and due treatment of our civil and military services, the maintenance of their present distinctive characters, useful for keeping up a spirit of emulation, variety of talent and views, and I must add, as to the army, for ensuring a due attention to the national habits and usages of the troops, as well

APPENDIX.

as a separation of interests and feelings, sufficient to prevent excitement becoming general or dangerous.

“And here I cannot but refer to Mr. Elphinstone’s opinion on the subject, in his letter to Mr. Hyde Villiers (given in the Political Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on East-India Affairs), as containing, in my judgment, *sound and practical views*, which, I am sorry, have not been allowed more weight in framing the bill than has apparently been granted to them.

“Again, the patronage of the chief appointments ought, I presume, to go with the responsibility which it is proposed to vest in the governor-general. This, besides being a dangerous addition to the power and influence of that functionary, would go so much farther to deprive the *local governors* of the consideration due to their station in the public esteem, as added to the proposed submission of the local armies to the authority of the commander-in-chief in India, himself only subject to the orders of the supreme government, would tend to make those situations no longer objects of ambition to men of high rank and character.

“Much, then, I must repeat, as I think it necessary to have a strong supreme government absolute, in times of danger, over every part of India, I yet cannot concur in giving powers for ordinary times, so great as it is proposed to give to any one individual or select body. These powers would be efficient, in my opinion, in so vast an empire, for nothing but evil, whether they created an absolute dictatorship in the governor-general, by placing him above all control from this country, or at any rate able to render it nugatory, from being himself the sole reporter of his acts; or whether his power should be found, on experience, to be merely nominal, whilst the local governments being relieved from home control

and that of local councils, were left virtually unchecked, though subject to all the degradation, in the eyes of the communities over which they preside, of being stripped of the high prerogatives which their predecessors had wielded.

APPENDIX.

“Whether, also, the governors were servile or contumacious, whether they were deprived of all public spirit and zeal by feeling their dependence on the good-will of their subordinate functionaries appointed by the governor-general, and on that of the persons named to the proposed supreme council, formed, as I presume it would be, of members from each presidency who would have the ear of their great chief; or whether, on the other hand, they courted their superior’s favour, by lending themselves to *jobs* for the benefit of their mutual friends, and to other compliances for private instead of public ends, I can see nothing in the plan but public danger and discredit. Under such a concentration of power in the governor-general, we might expect to see the practice of the Moghul times again established, when the real governor remained at court to swell the pomp of the Emperor’s train, at the expense of the subject provinces, at once a hostage for his own fidelity and the payment of his revenue, and for the fidelity and good conduct of his lieutenant, who carried on the government in his name.

“The picture I have above drawn may appear to be overcharged, and I may be accused of inconsistency, in speculating at one time on the great powers given to the governor-general, and on the consequent eclipse of the local governments, at another on the inefficiency of the former and the unchecked authority of the latter. My meaning is, that if the governor-general could efficiently exercise the powers intended to be vested in him, he

APPENDIX.

would be above all control from this country ; if he could not, India would be a prey to all the evils of misgovernment. The governor-general would have the responsibility without the power, and the local governors, vested with irresponsible power without credit for good measures, and able to shift the blame of their bad ones on the paramount authority, might be expected to run into all the vices incident to such a position ; whilst the governor-general, sensible of the false position in which he would find himself placed, might be led into situations derogatory to his high station, in order to keep up the semblance of his power, or really yield to the temptations which would beset him, from the absence of those checks which have hitherto been deemed essential in the system of Indian administration.

“ But it is further proposed to have no local councils, ‘ because the *supreme government will be strengthened.*’ This may appear to leave the governors *locally* more respectable though *more* strongly checked, in *theory* at least, from a distance. I must, however, think that even the *form* of administration by a governor in council is not a matter of indifference to keep the government well with a European community, which will be likely to receive with jealousy and dislike the orders of a nominally powerless, but really absolute functionary. But more especially unless the plan contemplates appointing to the local governments none but men of local knowledge and experience, a council is, in my opinion, indispensable, as well for enlightening the governor as for arranging the public business for him ; and to enable the governor-general to exercise his control usefully and efficiently, it must be desirable to have the aid of the *opinions* of independent members of the government, appointed from home, rather than the *voices* of secretaries, likely to be

biased for or against the measures of the governor, as their appointments might depend upon him or their common superior."

APPENDIX.

The above remarks, it will be observed, refer to a prospective system, which in some points has been modified. The opinion of Mr. Elphinstone, above referred to, is contained in the following passage :—

" 10. I think the present system of home government has on the whole been successful in attaining the objects for which it is designed.

" The quality in which it has been most deficient is promptitude, and perhaps also vigour in enforcing its orders ; but I doubt if this deficiency could be removed without greater evils. With more activity there would be more interference, which, besides the danger of inapplicable orders, would impair the vigour and diminish the dignity of the local governments. The evils of interference would be increased if promptitude were attained by throwing the home government into fewer hands. In that case there would be less deliberation, and there would be more fluctuations from the greater effect that would be produced by the change of an individual.

" The improvements I would suggest in India are chiefly subordinate arrangements. A more extensive change has been contemplated, by abolishing the subordinate presidencies, and bringing all India under the immediate direction of the governor-general, who is to be exempted from all the minutiae of provincial administration ; but in this plan, though suggested by persons for whose opinion I have great deference, I cannot bring myself to concur.

" In war and politics there cannot be too much promptitude, nor can the powers of the governor-general be too unfettered in those departments ; but in internal government there cannot be too much deliberation and caution,

APPENDIX.

nor can too much care be taken to guard against sweeping changes and frequent variations of policy. I would therefore rather increase the obstructions to the governor-general's discretion, by depriving him of all interference in the internal affairs of the other presidencies, except a veto on general changes proposed by the subordinate governments.

"The facility of introducing uniformity, which is the principal argument for this change, seems to me a very strong objection to it. As India is as extensive and as various as all Europe, except Sweden and Russia, it is probable that uniformity will never be more attainable in the one region than in the other. At present, India is very imperfectly known or understood, and even if uniformity should ultimately be practicable, it should not be thought of now. Our government should still be considered as in a great measure experimental, and it is an advantage to have three experiments, and to compare them in their progress with each other. The practice of Bengal led to Cornwallis's system; an opposite course in Madras produced Sir T. Munro's; both of which will, I doubt not, be hereafter combined in such a manner as to form a better system than either separate. If the proposed plan had existed in 1792, the permanent zemindary settlement which is now so generally censured, would have been irrevocably established in all parts of India.

"There are other advantages in local governments: they have more local knowledge; the merits of local officers, civil and military, are better known to them than to a distant government, and they have means of employing and rewarding them which would not exist in the proposed system; they keep up the division of the army, which seems to me advantageous, and they improve the means of intercourse with the native chiefs.

"The governor-general is charged with too much detail

at present, and might easily be relieved of part of that of Bengal; but as far as I can judge, he ought on no account to be removed entirely from being engaged in details; I should view with much apprehension a governor-general who had no practical experience in administration, and whose only occupation was to frame systems which he might instantaneously extend to every part of India, without the obstruction now opposed by the subordinate governments. I should much fear the tendency of such an arrangement to produce hasty innovations and frequent changes of system, things hurtful in all countries, but nowhere so much so as in India.”*

APPENDIX.

* The letter from which this extract is made will be found in the Political Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832. The previous extracts are from the volume called the “Negotiation Papers,” printed for the use of the proprietors of East-India Stock, 1833.



I N D E X.



I N D E X.

- ABDUL Khalik, second son of Tippoo, surrenders to the English, iii. 64.
- ABERCROMBIE, Gen., taken prisoner by M. Hamelen, retaken by English,
iv. 159.
- _____ proceeds with Commodore Rowley to Mauritius,
iv. 159, 160.
- _____ harassing march of his army, takes up a position
at Moulin-à-Poudre, iv. 164, 165.
- _____ receives surrender of the island on conditions, iv.
167, 168.
- _____ remarks on conditions, iv. 168—171.
- ABERCROMBY, Gen., arrives with force at Tellicherry, advances to
Cananore, and occupies the whole province of Malabar, ii. 417.
- _____ posted at Periapatam, ii. 426.
- _____ ordered to return to Malabar, ii. 433.
- _____ joins army of Lord Cornwallis at Seringapatam,
ii. 486, 487.
- _____ his passage through the Coorg, ii. 499.
- _____ Sir Robert, commanding in Oude, his promptitude, de-
feats usurping son of Fyzoolla Khan, ii. 560.
- ADAM, Mr., opens second charge against Hastings, ii. 366.
- _____ exercises temporarily office of Gov.-Gen., v. 2.
- ADAMS, Col., his services against the Pindarries, iv. 486.
- _____ detaches Major Clarke against party of Pindarries, iv.
504.
- _____ overtakes and defeats the Peishwa, iv. 539.
- _____ disperses army of the Peishwa, prepares to lay siege to
Chanda, operations of siege, iv. 540—544.

- AFRICAINE frigate taken by the French, iv. 158.
- AFZOOZ Khan prevailed upon to afford Sevajee an interview, i. 58.
- killed by Sevajee, i. 59.
- AGRA, fort of, occupied by Gen. Lake, iii. 330—332.
- extraordinary piece of ordnance taken at, iii. 332, 333, *note*.
- erection of new presidency of, suspended, v. 361.
- AHMEDABAD taken by assault by Col. Goddard, ii. 187.
- furnishes ground of dispute between Peishwa and Guico-war, iv. 380.
- AHMEDNUGGUR, army of Aurungzebe attacked on its route thither, i. 66.
- surrenders to General Wellesley, iii. 305, 306.
- surrendered to E.I.C. by Peishwa, iv. 438.
- AHMUTY, Col., employed by Gov.-Gen. and Council to resist process of the supreme court, ii. 143, 144.
- AITCHISON, Major J. W., his opinion of native soldiers, v. 116.
- AJMERE, occupied and subjected to tribute by Mohammed Ghoory, i. 14.
- AKBAR (the Great), succeeds his father, Hoomayoon, at the age of fourteen years, i. 26.
- issues a proclamation announcing his own assumption of the reins of government, i. 26.
- during the greater part of his reign engaged in resisting rebellion or invasion, i. 27.
- receives his repentant minister, Beiram, with kindness, i. 27.
- requires Mahometan princes of the Deccan to acknowledge his supremacy, i. 28.
- assumes the title of Emperor of the Deccan, i. 28.
- concludes a marriage for his son with the daughter of the Shah of Beejapore, i. 28.
- dies, i. 28.
- territorial division of his empire, i. 28, *note*.
- succeeded by his only son, Selim, i. 29.
- institutes of, i. 29, *note*.
- (son of Aurungzebe) tempted by the Rajpoots to rebel against his father, i. 63.
- takes refuge with the Mahratta chief, Sumbhajee, i. 63.

ALDERCRON, Col., refuses the use of the King's guns and stores to the expedition for the recovery of Calcutta, i. 200.

ALEXANDER, his invasion of India, i. 9.

———— proceeds down the Indus with a fleet of two thousand vessels, i. 10.

ALI BAHAUDUR, account of, iii. 368, 369.

ALI HUSSEIN appointed successor of Omlut-ul-Omrah by will, iii. 139.

———— various conferences to discuss his pretensions, iii. 139—150.

———— remarks on his position, iii. 150—153.

———— privately and formally placed on the musnud of Arcot, measures taken by Lord Clive in consequence, iii. 154.

ALI JAH excites rebellion against his father, the Nizam, is taken prisoner by M. Raymond, destroys himself by taking poison, ii. 555.

ALIVERDI Khan, Nabob of Bengal, dies, succeeded by Mirza Mahmood (Sooraj-oo-Dowlah), i. 184.

———— consequences of his death, i. 185.

ALLAHABAD seized by sovereign of Oude, i. 366.

———— surrenders to the English, i. 475.

ALLAN, Major, dispatched to offer protection to Tippoo on immediate and unconditional surrender, iii. 53.

———— his proceedings in discharge of his mission, iii. 54, 55.

ALLA-OD-DEEN, irruption of Mahometan arms into the Deccan, suggested by, i. 16.

———— mounts the throne of Delhi, after assassinating his uncle and sovereign, i. 16.

ALMAS, his communications respecting Vizier Ali, ii. 567, 568.

———— apprehension of danger from, iii. 6.

———— his extraordinary power, iii. 162.

ALOMPRA, founder of the Burmese empire, account of, v. 2, 3.

ALYGHUR taken by the English, terror inspired by its fall, iii. 314—316.

ALY REZA makes prisoner and murders Hafiz Jee, ii. 457, 458.

AMBAGEE Ingolia, his intrigues with Perron's officers, iii. 318.

———— concludes treaty with British government, iii. 385.

———— abandons his English alliance, iii. 484.

———— invades Gohud, attacks and defeats body of the Rana's troops, iii. 504.

AMBAGEE Ingolia seized by Holkar, iii. 545.

———— released from restraint, and received by Scindia with the highest degree of respect and attention, iii. 555.

AMBOOR defended by Captain Calvert against Hyder Ali, i. 551, 552.

———— surrender of, to Hyder Ali, ii. 250.

AMBOYNA, expedition against, iv. 175.

———— surrender of, iv. 177.

AMEER Khan dispatched by Holkar with a body of troops against the English, but returns in alarm, iii. 420.

———— destroys a party of British sepoy and artillerymen, iii. 428, 429.

———— marches to the assistance of the Rajah of Bhurtpore, iii. 467.

———— attacks Captain Welsh and is defeated, iii. 470.

———— departs for Rohilcund, followed by a British force, iii. 471.

———— suspicious correspondence of, with the Rajah of Berar, iii. 501, 502.

———— invades the territories of the rajah, iii. 502.

———— his arrival in Scindia's court, iii. 543.

———— advances to frontier of Rajah of Berar, British force dispatched against him, his retreat, iv. 174, 175.

———— offers an asylum to Kurreem Khan, iv. 408.

———— concludes treaty with British government, iv. 460.

———— particulars of his life, iv. 461—465, *note*.

AMEER Singh becomes guardian of the infant Rajah of Tanjore, iii. 97.

———— disputes the title of the infant, and supplants him, iii. 98.

———— his cruelties, iii. 99.

———— inquiry into his claim to the throne, iii. 100—102.

———— his expulsion, iii. 103.

AMERICANS, facilities enjoyed by, in regard to trade with China, v. 238.

———— privileges allowed to their ships, iii. 289.

———— competitors of E.I.C. in the sale of British goods at Canton, v. 245.

AMHERST, Lord, his arrival at Calcutta as Gov.-Gen., v. 1.

AMHERST, Lord, finds himself inheritor of disputes just bursting into war, v. 2.

— Burmese war commenced and carried on under his administration, narrative and remarks, v. 17—98.

— elevated to an earldom, v. 101.

— Earl, his opinions in regard to the relations of the British government with Bhurtapore, v. 149, 150, 151.

— notice of treaties and diplomatic arrangements concluded during his government, v. 167—175.

— close of his administration and departure from India, v. 175.

AMYATT, Mr., disappointed of first place in council of Bengal by appointment of Mr. Vansittart, i. 403.

— his reasoning on the subject of presents, i. 426, 427, *note*.

— suggests duty of two per cent. on inland trade of Company's servants in Bengal, i. 435.

— deputed to confer with Meer Cossim on inland trade, i. 440.

— his proceedings in concert with Mr. Hay, i. 440.

— and Hay demand dismissal from Nabob, demand accorded to Amyatt, Hay detained as hostage, i. 441.

— intercepted in his way from Moorsheadabad to Cossimbazar, and with his companions murdered, i. 442.

ANDERSON, Mr. David, concludes treaty with Mahrattas, ii. 197.

ANDREWS, Mr., concludes treaty with the Rajah Anunderauze, i. 299.

— reconstruction of treaty effected by him, i. 302.

— deputed to negotiate with Hyder Ali, i. 572.

ANGRIA, piratical family, operations against, i. 182.

ANUNDERAUZE, Rajah, attacks Vizagapatam, i. 298,

— negotiations with, iii. 299.

— his extraordinary army, iii. 300.

— his flight and return, i. 304, 305.

APPA Sahib exercises authority of Regent in Nagpore, iv. 465.

— attains the Musnud, iv. 465.

— his position with regard to the British government, iv. 466.

— intrigues with the Peishwa, iv. 469.

— movements of, indicating hostile intentions, iv. 471, 472.

APPA Sahib's interview with British resident interrupted by firing, iv. 472.

—— attacks English, and is defeated ; seeks to negotiate, but continues to increase his army ; assents to terms of resident, iv. 476.

—— proceeds to the residency, iv. 477.

—— returns to palace under provisional engagement, conditions of, iv. 479, 480.

—— proposes to transfer to British government the whole possessions of the state of Nagpore, iv. 532.

—— proposal rejected by Gov.-Gen., iv. 532.

—— proofs of his treachery, iv. 534.

—— facts discovered convicting him of murder of his kinsman and sovereign, Pursagee Bhooslah, iv. 535.

—— arrested, dethroned, and sent off to British provinces, iv. 535.

—— effects his escape and finds adherents, iv. 565.

—— takes possession of fort of Chouragurh, maintains correspondence with his connections in the capital, iv. 566.

—— flies and is pursued, iv. 566.

ARAVACOURCHY captured by British army (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 406.

ARBUTHNOT, Mr., his report on China trade, v. 271, *note*.

ARCOT, Nabob of, forced by the French to retire to, i. 77.

—— Nabob of, dispatches an army to Trichinopoly, i. 82.

—— Nabob of, dies, i. 85.

—— city of, taken by Chuda Sahib, iv. 85.

—— city retaken, and government transferred to Mahomet Ali Khan, i. 89.

—— city attacked by Clive, i. 102.

—— garrison abandon the fort, of which the English take possession, i. 102.

—— enemy attack the fort without success, i. 103.

—— another desperate attack repelled, and the enemy withdraw, i. 110, 111.

—— besieged and taken by Hyder Ali, ii. 247, 248.

—— debts of the Nabob of, ii. 356, 358.

See also Mahomet Ali Khan.

ARIKERA, victory gained near, by Lord Cornwallis over Tippoo, i. 428

—433.

ARNIE, fort of, passed by Clive, i. 114.

ARNOLD, Lieut.-Col., follows Ummer Singh (Nepaul war), iv. 289.

ARRACAN, subjugation of, by Alompra, v. 3.

——— disputes respecting refugees from, v. 4, 5.

——— operations of the British in Burmese war, v. 37—41.

——— further operations in, and capture of the capital, v. 61—65.

ASSAM transferred to a Burmese chief, v. 3.

——— outrage committed by Burmese there, v. 7.

ASSEERGURH, siege and surrender of (Marquis Wellesley's administration), iv. 570—576.

——— description of, by Col. Blacker, iv. 571, 572.

ASSYE, battle of, iii. 327—330.

ASTELL, East Indiaman, escape of, iv. 156.

——— Mr., his remarks on monopoly, iv. 243.

——— denounces proposal of ministers to substitute inquiry by select committee in place of committee of whole house, iv. 229.

——— replies to Mr. Huskisson on India trade, v. 250.

——— observations on India and its trade, v. 254, 255.

——— defends appointment of Directors on parliamentary committee, v. 260.

——— points out difficulties connected with cessation of Company's exclusive trade with China, v. 272.

——— defends course taken by parliamentary committee, v. 275.

ASTRUC, M., captures Golden Rock, which is immediately retaken, i. 173.

——— made prisoner, i. 177.

AUCHMUTY, Sir Samuel, in command of British force against Batavia, iv. 184.

——— effects a landing, v. 184.

——— proceeds to Samarang, is joined by Admiral Stopford, calls upon Gen. Janssens to surrender the island, is refused, iv. 192.

——— prepares to attack town of Karta Soora, which surrenders, iv. 192.

——— his negotiation with Gen. Janssens, iv. 193.

- AURIOI, Mr., action brought against in Supreme Court at Calcutta, by Mr. Stuart, ii. 134, 135, *note*.
- AURUNGZEBE commands for his father, Shah Jehare, in the Deccan, i. 40.
- affects to assist his brother Morad in ascending the throne, i. 43.
 - gives battle to his brother Dara and is victorious, i. 45.
 - his hypocrisy, i. 46.
 - confines his father and his brother Morad, and assumes the title of emperor, i. 46, 47.
 - defeats his brother Shooja, i. 49, 50.
 - enters Agra, i. 50.
 - his detestable policy, i. 51.
 - attacks and overcomes Dara, near Ajmere, i. 54.
 - death of his father, leaves him undisputed master of the empire, i. 56.
 - enters the Deccan and opens a correspondence with Sevajee, i. 57.
 - recognizes Sevajee's title of rajah, i. 60.
 - his deputy in Bengal, aided by Portuguese, makes war with the Rajah of Arracan, and adds Chittagong to imperial dominions, i. 62.
 - further instances of his hypocrisy, i. 62, 63.
 - his views in the Deccan; Bejapore and Golconda subdued, i. 63, 64.
 - appears unexpectedly before Sattara, which falls into his hands, i. 65.
 - surrounded by embarrassments, i. 66.
 - dies, i. 66.
 - his character, i. 67.
 - death of, followed by contest for succession, which ends in the elevation of his eldest son, Shah Allum, i. 68.
- AVA, see Burman Empire and Burmese.
- AYRE, Lieut., enables the English to effect an entrance at Bangalore (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 414.
- AZIM, son of Aurungzebe, in consideration of a large present, transfers Govindpore, Calcutta, and Chuttanutte to the English, i. 74.

- AZIM-UL-DOWLAH, grandson of Mahomed Ali, raised to the Musnud of Arcot by the British government, iii. 153—156.
- AZOFF-AL-DOWLAH succeeds Shooja-ad-Dowlah as vizier, ii. 65.
- _____ treaty concluded with, limited to his life, ii. 66.
- _____ effect of the treaty with regard to Cheyt Singh, ii. 295.
- _____ his death, he is succeeded by Vizier Ali, ii. 560.
- BABER encounters difficulties in establishing his authority, i. 22.
- _____ extends his conquests as far as Behar, i. 22.
- _____ his convivial habits, i. 23, *note*.
- _____ his superstition, his death, i. 22, 23, 24.
- BAHADAR Khan, officer of Tippoo Sultan, slain at Bangalore, ii. 415.
- BAILLIE, Col., attacked by Tippoo, ii. 229.
- _____ is joined by Colonel Fletcher, ii. 230.
- _____ marches to join Sir Hector Monro, ii. 230.
- _____ his unfortunate halt, ii. 231.
- _____ is attacked by Hyder Ali and defeated, ii. 232.
- BAIRD, Major-Gen., commands the assault at Seringapatam, iii. 49.
- _____ his conduct towards the sons of Tippoo, iii. 57.
- _____ unfounded and calumnious statements of his biographer, iii. 67, 68, *note*.
- _____ appointed to command force dispatched from India to Egypt, iii. 124.
- BAJEE Row demands Chout from Nabob of Arcot, i. 272.
- _____ his representative departs laden with coin and bills, i. 273.
- _____ movements of, iv. 539.
- _____ his flight to Ormekair, where his army break up, iv. 539, 540.
- _____ surrenders and is deposed, iv. 554.
- _____ review of his life, iv. 556, 557.
- _____ remarks, iv. 557, 558.
- See also Peishwa.
- BALMAIN, Capt., his observations on the management of the Indian army, v. 118.
- _____ remarks on the frequency of changes in the higher departments of military command, v. 119, *note*.

- BAMFORD, Lieut., rule granted against him by Supreme Court of Calcutta, ii. 144.
- BANAS River, Colonel Monson's retreat impeded by, iii. 434.
 ——— action at, iii. 434.
- BANCOOT, island of, attacked and captured by Commodore James, i. 182.
- BANDA Neira, capture of, by the English, iv. 178—181.
- BANGALORE taken from Tippoo by the English, ii. 415, 416.
 ——— results produced by its fall, ii. 424, 425.
 ——— arrival of Lord Cornwallis at, ii. 438.
- BANTAM, in Java, a principal seat of the early trade of the East-India Company, i. 73.
- BAPPOOJEE Scindia, treacherous advice of, iii. 430.
 ——— brings intelligence to Colonel Monson of the destruction of Lieutenant Lucan's cavalry, iii. 431.
 ——— openly joins Holkar, iii. 480.
 ——— annoys the British force under Colonel Monson, iii. 490.
 ——— visit of Scindia to, iii. 543.
 ——— placed under care of Major Ludlow, iv. 504.
- BAPPOO Wittul, death of, and its consequences, iii. 496.
- BAPTISTE deprived of sight by Holkar, and dies, iii. 554, 555.
- BARABUTTEE, capture of, by the English, iii. 333, 334.
- BARAMAHAL entered by Hyder Ali, i. 567.
- BARASET, disturbances in, v. 179—183.
 ——— remarks on causes and termination of outbreak, v. 183—188.
- BARBUTT, Col., marches with force from Trincomalee to Candy, iii. 402.
 ——— undertakes to negotiate with Mootto Sawmy, but is prevented by an attack of fever, iii. 406.
- BAREILLY, insurrection at, iv. 350.
 ——— large proportion of Mahometan population, iv. 351.
 ——— state of the country, iv. 351, 360.
 ——— minor sources of complaint adverted to by commissioners, iv. 360.
 ——— attempt to introduce police regulations, iv. 362, 363.
 ——— unpopularity of the Kotwal, iv. 364—367.
 ——— conduct of Mooftee Mahomed Ewery, iv. 367.

BAREILLY, commencement and progress of resistance and final restoration of tranquillity, iv. 368—376.

——— remarks, iv. 376—378.

BARING, Mr., proposes confining return of vessels from India to the port of London for a limited period, iv. 243.

——— proposes withdrawing from Board of Control the power of obliging the Company to grant licences, iv. 244.

——— moves for committee of House of Commons on foreign trade, v. 238.

——— opinion of, on the nomination of East-India Directors to be members of the committee of the House of Commons on the East-India question, v. 262.

BARKER, Capt., his services at the battle of Wandewash, i. 341.

——— Sir Robt., supports Clive in repressing mutinous movement in Bengal army, i. 512.

——— transaction of, with Hafiz Rehmut Khan, ii. 40—44,
note.

BARLOW, Sir Geo., office of Gov.-Gen. devolves upon, provisionally, iv. 37.

——— avows his determination to maintain the general policy of the Marquis Cornwallis, iv. 43.

——— his opinion on the means of security to the British government, iv. 45.

——— his discussion of the claims of princes to the west of the Jumna, iv. 46.

——— proposes to provide for certain chiefs by jaghire, iv. 47.

——— annexes certain declaratory articles to treaty with Scindia, iv. 51.

——— annexes declaratory article to treaty with Holkar, iv. 53.

——— his conduct towards Rajahs of Bhoondee and Jey-pore, iv. 53, 55.

——— appointed Gov.-Gen. by Court of Directors, with approbation of Board of Commissioners, iv. 86.

——— his appointment vacated by royal authority, iv. 89.

BARLOW, Sir Geo., panegyric on his character, and public services,
by Lord Melville, iv. 91.

———— his removal justified by Mr. Paull, iv. 94.

———— alleged by Mr. Francis to have incurred the dis-
pleasure of Court of Directors, iv. 94.

———— remarks on questions opened by dispute concerning
his appointment as Gov.-Gen., iv. 96.

———— appointed to the government of Madras, iv. 119.

———— his difficulties on arrival, iv. 136.

———— his conduct attacked at home, but approved of by
majority of Court of Directors, iv. 140.

———— reference to his temporizing course towards Nepal,
iv. 254.

BARNESLEY, Geo., corporal, his dangers and escapes in the war of
Candy, iii. 410.

BAROACH captured by Col. Woodington, iii. 306.

BARWELL, Mr., member of council of Bengal, takes part with Hast-
ings, ii. 61, 66.

———— objects to the office of resident at Oude being united with
the chief military command, ii. 62.

———— opposes proposal for demanding payment of debts due
by the Vizier to the British government, ii. 63.

———— declines joining Hastings in an appeal to the Court of
Directors against the other members of council, ii. 64.

———— withdraws with Hastings from meeting of council,
ii. 75.

———— censured with Hastings by Court of Directors, their
removal from office, ii. 92.

———— motion for reconsideration carried in general court, ii.
93.

———— resolution for his removal rescinded by Court of Direc-
tors, ii. 93, 94.

———— meets Hastings alone in council, ii. 97.

———— presents himself before Gen. Clavering and Mr. Francis,
and requests despatches may be delivered to him, ii. 99.

———— unites with Hastings in excluding General Clavering
from council, ii. 101.

BARWELL, Mr., maintains the legality of the exclusion in opposition to Mr. Francis, ii. 103.

————— effects of his temporary absence from council and subsequent attendance, ii. 126.

————— desirous of returning home, ii. 129.

————— hesitates between adherence to Hastings and to Sir E. Impey, ii. 149.

————— his retirement, ii. 150.

————— his support of Hastings in proposed instructions to government of Bombay on the treaty with Rugmath Row, ii. 163.

BARRACKPORE, mutiny at, its causes, v. 105.

————— progress, v. 105—108.

————— suppression, v. 108.

————— remarks, v. 108—118.

BASALAT Jung (brother of Nizam Ali) takes offence at arrangement made by his brothers and departs to the south, i. 311.

————— demands recognition of his authority, and a loan from Bussy, i. 331.

————— creates Hyder Ali Nabob of Sera, i. 537, 538.

————— his claim on Guntoor, ii. 215.

————— entertains an European force, negotiation for its removal, ii. 216.

————— concludes treaty with East-India Company, and agrees to dismiss his European troops, ii. 218.

————— his subsequent conduct, ii. 218.

————— stops march of British force and demands restoration of Guntoor, ii. 224, 225.

BASSEIN surrenders to Gen. Goddard, ii. 191.

————— Peishwa flies thither, iii. 279.

————— treaty of, iii. 279—284.

————— remarks on treaty, iii. 284, 285, 559, 566.

See also Peishwa.

BATAVIA, preparations for reduction of, burghers surrender, iv. 183—185.

————— base attempts against the town and the British force, iv. 187.

BAUGHLORE, dreadful occurrence at, i. 564.

BAYLEY, Mr. W. B., his remarks on the native army, v. 119.

———— discharges duties of Gov.-Gov. on departure of Earl Amherst, v. 175.

———— his opinion on the great cause of failure in the administration of criminal and civil justice in India, v. 192, *note*.

BEAUFOY, Mr., observations of, on Fox's East-India bill, ii. 346, 347, 348, *note*.

BEAVER, Capt., covers landing of British force at Mauritius, iv. 164.

———— takes possession of Cheribon, iv. 191.

BECHER, Mr., suggests that the committee should participate in the money obtained from Meer Jaffier, i. 247, 248.

BECKFORD, Ald., expresses hope that the acquisitions of Company would be made means of relieving people of England, ii. 12.

BEDNORE, landholders of, threatened by Hyder Ali, i. 555, 556.

———— surrenders to General Mathews, ii. 276.

———— English garrison march out on conditions dictated by Tippoo Sultan, conditions violated, ii. 277.

BEEJAPOOR, King of, submits to the Emperor Shah Jehan, i. 40.

———— government of, makes an active effort to subdue Sevajee, i. 58.

———— kingdom of, chief sufferer from Sevajee's predatory warfare, i. 61.

———— falls to Aurungzebe, i. 64.

BEGUMS of Oude, their wealth coveted by the vizier, ii. 325.

———— means taken to extort its surrender, ii. 328—332.

BEIRAM gives stability to the throne of Akbar, i. 26.

———— rebels against the Emperor, i. 27.

———— offers submission and is pardoned, i. 27.

———— assassinated by an Afghan, i. 27.

BELLARY, seditious doctrines preached there, iv. 83.

BENARES, wretched state of the country after deprivation of Cheyt Sing, ii. 339.

BENFIELD, Paul, his claims on Tanjore, ii. 200, 201, 205.

———— jugglery practised with his name in relation to the claims upon the Nabob of Arcot, ii. 357.

———— obtains seat in parliament, ii. 357.

- BENFIELD, Paul, departs for Madras, ii. 357.
- his intrigues there, ii. 382, *note*.
- BENTHAM, Jeremy, his remarks on effects of violent pecuniary reforms, v. 357, 358, *note*.
- BENTINCK, Lord W., Governor of Madras, approves and orders new turban, to be adopted by native troops, the consequences, iv. 60.
- advises mild course towards culprits at Vellore, iv. 77.
- differs from Commander-in-Chief as to expunging numbers of certain regiments from list of the army, and determines in opposition to majority in council, iv. 79.
- conduct of, disapproved at home, his recal, iv. 79, 80.
- a candidate for office of Gov.-Gen., v. 177.
- remarks on his application, v. 177.
- his appeal disregarded, v. 178.
- at a later period appointed Gov.-Gen., v. 178.
- Gov.-Gen., notice of various events of his administration, v. 179—188.
- his correspondence with the Rajah of Coorg, v. 211.
- proceeds to Bangalore, resolves on war with Coorg, v. 211, 212.
- ratifies treaty with Rajah of Colapore, v. 215.
- notice of diplomatic arrangements and internal changes during his administration, v. 215—236.
- abstains from assuming management of the affairs of Oude, v. 216.
- called upon to enforce orders from home previously given relating to half batta, v. 223.
- records his opinion upon the effects of the measure, v. 225, *note*.
- his opinion on the efficiency of the civil service, v. 226, 227.
- his over-eager haste for improvement, v. 227.
- establishes a "rule of service," which is set aside by Court of Directors, v. 228.

BENTINCK, Lord W., establishes a system of espionage, which is abolished, v. 233.

————— abolishes use of corporal punishment in native army, v. 233.

————— abolishes the practice of suttee, v. 235.

————— quits India, v. 235.

————— his character, v. 236.

BERAR, government of, restored to Nizam Ali, i. 311.

————— Rajah of, sends an army into Cuttack for purpose of invading Bengal, ii. 242.

————— enters the field with a large army, iii. 299.

————— remonstrances addressed to him, iii. 299.

————— his doubtful conduct, iii. 302, 303.

————— concludes separate peace, iii. 354.

————— gives further cause for suspicion, iii. 502.

See also Nagpore.

BERNADOTTE, romantic incident in his early life, ii. 275, 276, *note*.

BERTIE, Adm., ordered to enforce blockade of Mauritius, iv. 142.

BHAGUT Singh, Nepaulese general, his recal and disgrace, iv. 302.

BHOONDEE, treaty concluded with the Rajah of, iv. 499.

BHOPAL, Nabob of, regains Hosheingabad, iii. 497.

————— his application to the British Resident with Scindia, iii. 498.

BHUDDISM, opinion of Col. Sykes concerning, i. 4, *note*.

BHUGWUNT Row received by the Peishwa, iv. 383.

————— his arrest demanded by Mr. Elphinstone, iv. 391.

————— placed under restraint, iv. 393.

BHURTPORE, treaty with Rajah of, iii. 383, 384.

————— perfidy of the Rajah, iii. 186.

————— siege of, commenced by Lord Lake, iii. 464.

————— various unsuccessful attempts against, iii. 464—467.

————— causes of failure, iii. 477.

————— disputed succession at, v. 120.

————— recognition of Buldeo Singh by the British government, v. 120.

————— son of Buldeo Singh receives investiture, Buldeo Singh dies, v. 122.

- BHURTPORE, infant rajah seized by Doorgun Sal, v. 122.
- proceedings of Sir David Ochterlony and correspondence with his government, v. 122—134.
- remarks, v. 135—137.
- increased disturbances at, v. 137—139.
- deliberations of British government respecting, v. 139, 150.
- determination taken to interfere, v. 150.
- failure of negotiation at, v. 152.
- besieged by Lord Combermere, v. 155.
- falls, v. 158.
- statements of General Galloway respecting, v. 158—171, *note*.
- rajah's authority re-established, v. 162.
- BIADZEGHUR, Major Popham advances to, Cheyt Singh withdraws, surrender of proposed, conditions of surrender, ii. 301.
- BIRMINGHAM, petition from, relating to India trade, presented to House of Lords by Lord Calthorp, v. 249.
- BLACKER, Capt., his account of fords at Mahidpore, iv. 491, *note*.
- Col., his description of the flight of the Pindarries, iv. 503.
- remarks of, on the failure of the main attack at Malligaum, iv. 550—552, *note*.
- his description of the flight of the Peishwa, iv. 553, 554.
- his description of fort of Asserghurh, iv. 571, 572.
- BLACKNEY, Capt., falls at Summundpore (Nepaul war), iv. 299.
- BLANKETT, Adm., sails for Egypt with a squadron of Company's cruizers, iii. 124.
- BOARD of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, establishment of, iv. 357.
- reconstruction of, iv. 209.
- proposed additions to its power, v. 286.
- BOILEAU, Lieut., kills Pursaram Thappa in personal encounter (Nepaul war), iv. 297.
- BOLTON and Rous, Messrs., appointed to chairs of East-India Company, i. 482.
- BOMBAY granted by the Crown to the Company, i. 74.
- BONI, attack on, and deposition of the rajah, iv. 347, 348.

- BOOTWUL, occupation of by the Goorkhas, iv. 254.
 ——— restitution demanded, iv. 260.
 ——— forcibly re-occupied by the British government, v. 260.
 ——— re-occupied by the Goorkhas, iv. 261.
- BORTHWICK, Lieut., disperses party of Pindarries, iv. 424.
- BOSCAWEN, Adm., arrives at Fort St. David, his unsuccessful attack on Pondicherry, i. 78.
 ——— takes possession of St. Thomé, i. 79.
 ——— Capt., defeats insurgents at Bareilly, iv. 375.
- BOURBON, Isle of, attacked by the English, iv. 143—146.
 ——— again attacked and captured, iv. 148—154.
- BOURQUIN, Lewis, defeated by General Lake, and surrenders, iii. 319—321.
- BOUVET, M., commands French squadron off Pondicherry, his sudden disappearance, i. 274.
- BOWEN, Lieut.-Col., dislodges Burmese at Bhuteket Pass, v. 14.
- BRADSHAW, Col., meets Nepaulese commissioners at Bootwul, iv. 256.
 ——— refers offer of compromise to Gov.-Gen., iii. 259.
 ——— instructed to proceed to Sarun frontier, iv. 257, 258.
 ——— his further proceedings, iv. 258—260.
 ——— intrusted with political arrangements connected with army advancing towards Katmundoo, iv. 265.
 ——— engages in negotiation with Nepaulese agent, iv. 325.
 ——— incurs displeasure of Gov.-Gen., iv. 326.
 ——— remarks on the subject, iv. 327.
 ——— receives fresh instructions, and continues to negotiate, iv. 330, 331.
 ——— concludes treaty, iv. 332.
 ——— divested of diplomatic functions, iv. 337.
- BRADSHAW, Mr., Secretary to Duke of Grafton, refuses presents offered by Macpherson on behalf of Mahomet Ali, ii. 23.
- BRAHMINS, account of, i. 5—7, *note*.
- BRAITHWAITE, Col., captures Mahé, ii. 215.
 ——— surrounded by Tippoo Sultan, and his corps cut to pieces, ii. 265.
- BRERETON, Capt., deposes to Admiral Watson's refusal to sign the treaty exhibited to deceive Omichund, i. 256, *note*.

- BRERETON, Major, takes Conjeveram by assault, i. 297.
- obtains possession of Trivatore, i. 317.
- attacks the French in Wandewash, and fails, i. 317—320.
- remarks, i. 320, 321.
- strength of his force, i. 321, *note*.
- takes possession of the town of Wandewash, and constructs batteries against the fort, i. 327.
- falls in the battle of Wandewash, i. 342.
- his heroic behaviour, i. 342, 343.
- appointed Lieut.-Col. by commission from the Crown, i. 349.
- BRIGHT, Mr. (member for Bristol), declaration of opinion on East-India question, v. 263.
- BRISBANE, Sir J., aids with flotilla attack on Burmese lines, v. 70.
- BRISTOW, Mr., appointed resident at Oude, and concludes treaty with vizier, ii. 66.
- recalled, ii. 89.
- his restoration ordered by Court of Directors, but neglected, ii. 128.
- re-appointed and again removed, ii. 329.
- once more appointed, ii. 336.
- his recal proposed in council by Hastings, and rejected, ii. 337.
- BROACH, treaty concluded with the Nabob of, by government of Bombay, ii. 156.
- expedition against fails, ii. 156.
- new treaty concluded, ii. 157.
- second expedition against successful, ii. 157.
- delivered up to Scindia, ii. 179.
- BROOK, Capt., gallant conduct of, at Mulwâgul, i. 562, 563.
- sent to confer with Hyder Ali, i. 570.
- commands left column of British force at siege of Chanda (Nagpore), iv. 542.
- Mr. (member of council at Madras), suspended by Lord Pigot, ii. 202.
- BROUGHAM, Lord, his opinion on the "Nozeed Affair," ii. 244, *note*.

BROUGHAM, Mr., speech in House of Commons on the East-India question, v. 256.

BROWN, Lieut.-Col., employed in Coimbatore (last war with Tippoo), iii. 39.

——— Gen., occupies Jadud (Maharatta and Pindarrie war), iv. 506.

BROWNRIGG, Sir C., annexes Candy to the British dominions in Ceylon, iv. 349.

BRUCE, Mr., defends East-India Company in Parliament, iv. 235, 236.

BUCKANJEE, house of (bankers in the Carnatic), refuse loan to Major Calliaud, i. 287.

BUCKINGHAM, Mr., attacks East-India Company in Parliament, v. 320.

——— protests against East-India Bill, v. 332.

——— supports abolition of salt monopoly, v. 336.

——— supports motion for hearing Company by counsel, v. 337.

——— declaims against limited right of settlement and church establishment, v. 338.

BUDGE-BUDGE occupied by the English, i. 206.

BUGTHE Thappa (Nepalese officer) attacks a British force, is defeated and killed, iv. 314.

BULDEO Singh succeeds his brother as Rajah of Bhurtpore, and is confirmed by the British government, v. 120, 121.

——— desires the investiture of his son, v. 121.

——— his death, v. 122.

——— correspondence between his mother and the British resident, v. 127.

BULLER, Mr., proposes in Parliament exclusion of Gov.-Gen. from governorship of any particular presidency, v. 334.

——— moves amendment relative to attendance at college of Haileybury, v. 336.

BULWUNT Singh (Rajah of Benares) affords assistance to English against Meer Cossim and the Vizier, ii. 295.

——— his death, and the succession of his son, Cheyt Singh, ii. 296.

——— (son of Buldeo Singh, Rajah of Bhurtpore) supported by Sir David Ochterlony, v. 122.

——— opinion of Sir C. T. Metcalf on his right, v. 183.

- BULWUNT Singh, Rajah of Bhurtpore, his authority established, v. 162.
- BUM SAH, Goorkha commander, endeavours to procure peace, iv. 321.
- becomes alarmed for his safety, iv. 322.
- asks and receives the advice of Colonel Gardiner, but declines to act upon it, iv. 322.
- negotiations renewed with him, iv. 325.
- BHUNDHEER Singh, Rajah of Bhurtpore, death of, v. 120.
- BUNDLECUND, brief notice of the affairs of, iii. 367.
- British authority established there, iii. 372.
- disasters of the British in, iii. 429.
- BUNDOJEE, his intrigues at the court of the Peishwa, iv. 382, 383.
- he is placed under restraint, iv. 393.
- BURDETT, Mr. (member of government of Calcutta), receives present on succession of Noojum-ad-Dowlah as Nabob of Bengal, i. 473, 474.
- BURGOYNE, Gen., proposes series of resolutions in House of Commons on affairs of East-India Company, ii. 51.
- Sir John, declares he will obey orders of Gen. Stuart, after removal of that officer from the command of the army at Madras, ii. 279.
- denies a statement made by Lord Macartney on the subject, ii. 387, *note*.
- BURKAR-OO-DEEN, officer of Tippoo Sultan, death of, ii. 411.
- BURKE, Right Hon. Edmund, his sarcastic remarks on two committees of the House of Commons sitting contemporaneously on affairs of East-India Company, ii. 49, 50, *note*.
- the framer of a series of reports against Hastings, and his avowed accuser, ii. 358, 359.
- announces intentions to proceed further against Hastings, ii. 360—370.
- his motion in House of Commons relating to Rohilla war negatived, ii. 361.
- formally impeaches Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours, ii. 363.
- his display of eloquence before the House of Lords in explaining grounds of impeachment, ii. 363, 364.
- remarks on its probable effects, ii. 364, 365.

BURKE, opens charge of receiving presents, ii. 366.

——— complaint by Hastings of an expression used by him on that occasion, expression disavowed by vote of the house, ii. 366, 367.

BURMAN Empire, sketch of its history, v. 2.

BURMESE march a body of troops into Company's territories in search of robbers, v. 3.

——— alleged robbers given over for punishment to, v. 4.

——— mission of Col. Symes to, v. 4.

——— mission of Capt. Canning, v. 5.

——— demand surrender of persons resident in British territories, v. 5.

——— demand cession of certain territories, v. 6.

——— their proceedings in Assam, v. 7.

——— attack on Island of Shapoorree, v. 8.

——— expel Rajah of Manipur, v. 11.

——— invade Cachar, v. 11, 12.

——— attacked in Cachar by Major Newton, v. 13.

——— attacked and driven from their works on the north side of the river Soorma, by Capt. Johnstone, v. 13.

——— outrage committed by, on commander of a pilot schooner off Shapoorree, v. 16, 17.

——— declaration of war against, by British government, v. 17.

BURMESE War, preparations for, v. 18—21.

——— British force land at Rangoon, v. 21.

——— stockades captured, v. 24, 25.

——— further success at Kemandine, v. 25, 26.

——— prevalence of sickness in British army, v. 27.

——— expedition against Negrais, v. 28.

——— expedition against Cheduba, v. 28.

——— further successes, v. 29—34.

——— expedition against Marteban, v. 34—36.

——— expedition to coast of Tennaserim, v. 36, 37.

——— operations on frontier, destruction of British force under Capt. Noton, v. 37—41.

——— Burmese enter Cachar, v. 41.

——— success of British arms against Mengee Maha Bundoolla, v. 42—46.

BURMESE WAR, Rangoon set on fire, v. 47.

———— continued successes of British military and naval force,
v. 48—50.

———— unsuccessful attack on Donobew, v. 51, 52.

———— renewed attack and fall of the place, v. 53—55.

———— events on the frontier, capture of Rungpore, v. 58
—60.

———— unsuccessful attempt to march regular force through
Cachar and Manipur, v. 160.

———— progress of events in Arracan, the capital taken by the
English, v. 61—65.

———— army in Arracan attacked by disease, v. 65.

———— negotiations, v. 66—69.

———— resumption of hostilities, v. 69.

———— various movements, v. 69—74.

———— treaty of peace signed, v. 75.

———— ratification not received, hostilities recommence, v. 75.

———— capture of Melloon, v. 76.

———— overture for accommodation made, v. 76, 77.

———— enemy again defeated, v. 77—80.

———— proceedings in Pegu, v. 80, 81.

———— peace concluded, provisions of treaty, v. 80—84.

———— remarks, v. 84—101.

BURN, Colonel, his gallant defence of Delhi against Holkar, iii. 446—
449.

———— his noble stand at Shamlee, iii. 450.

BURNEY, Major, negotiates treaty with Siam, v. 102, 103.

BURR, Lieut.-Col., repulses Peishwa's troops at Poona, iv. 440.

BURRAN, Pindarrie, his history, iv. 406—408.

BUSSY, M., escorts Mozuffar Jung to Golconda, i. 95.

———— transfers support of French to Salabut Jung, i. 96.

———— continues to aid Salabut Jung, i. 181.

———— movements of, i. 216.

———— letters addressed to him by Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 223, 224.

———— recalled from court of Salabut Jung, i. 286.

———— his conduct at Madras, i. 286.

———— various movements of, i. 321, 324, 331.

Bussy, M., marches for Wandewash, i. 337.

——— made prisoner, i. 343.

——— return of, to India, ii. 274.

——— attacked by the English near Cuddalore, ii. 274.

——— attacks the English without success, ii. 275.

BUSWARAJ Drooj captured by English (war with Hyder Ali), i. 554.

BUXAR, battle of, i. 456—459.

CACHAR, internal dissensions of, v. 10, 11.

CAEN, Gen. de, *see* De Caen.

CALCUTTA, how obtained by East-India Company, i. 74.

——— president at, reprehended for extravagance in purchasing a chaise and pair of horses, i. 75.

——— attacked and taken by Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 192.

——— retaken by English, i. 206.

——— supreme court of judicature established at, ii. 52.

——— previous existence of court for administering English law, ii. 81, 82.

CALICUT, failure of Portuguese attempt to gain possession of, i. 37.

CALLENDER, Capt., his absence, sudden re-appearance and death at Masulipatam, i. 306, 307, *note*.

CALLIAUD, Capt., ordered to march to Tinnevely, i. 268.

——— fails in attack on Madura, i. 268.

——— his extraordinary march to relieve Trichinopoly, i. 268, 269, 271.

——— returns to Madura, i. 275.

——— affords assistance to King of Tanjore, i. 280.

——— his attempts to raise money at Tanjore, Negapatam, and Trichinopoly, i. 287, 288.

——— arrives at Chingleput, proceeds to St. Thomé, takes command of force there, i. 290.

——— successfully resists an attack from Lally, i. 291, 292.

——— moves in direction of Chingleput, i. 292, 293.

——— attempts to surprise Sadrass and fails, i. 292.

——— wounded at Conjeveram, i. 297.

——— Col., arrives at Moorshedabad, and is recommended by Clive to the confidence of Meer Jaffier, i. 380.

- CALLIAUD, Col., marches against the Emperor, i. 382.
- gives battle, obtains victory, and pursues the enemy, i. 383, 384.
- arrives at Patna, pursues and overtakes the Foujdar of Purneah, i. 385, 386.
- employed to procure submission of Meer Jaffier, i. 400.
- after elevation of Meer Cossim, receives two lacs of rupees, i. 402.
- his opinions and conduct in regard to Meer Jaffier, i. 412, *note*.
- gives apparent countenance to proposal to assassinate the Emperor, i. 413, 414, *note*.
- Gen., dispatched with force to support British authority in the Northern Circars, i. 544.
- CALTHORP, Lord, presents petition to House of Lords from Birmingham on the East-India trade, v. 249.
- CALVERT, Capt., bravely defends Amboor against Hyder Ali, i. 551.
- his replies to the messages of Hyder, i. 552.
- brought to court-martial for malversation, i. 552, *note*.
- CAMAC, Col., commands force to act against Scindia and Holkar, ii. 195.
- penetrates into Malwa, retreats, attacks Scindia's camp, and gains complete victory, ii. 196, 197.
- CAMPBELL, Col., defends Mangalore against Tippoo Sultan, ii. 277, 278.
- obtains honourable terms, retires to Tellicherry, and dies, ii. 282.
- John, fall of, in Mauritius, iv. 166.
- Ensign, escapes from the general slaughter of Capt. Noton's party (Burmese war), v. 41.
- Gen., surprises party of marauding horse, and makes chief and officers prisoners, iii. 365.
- destroys and disperses band of Mahomed Ben Khan, iii. 366, 367.
- Sir Archibald, succeeds Lord Macartney at Madras, ii. 398.

CAMPBELL, Sir Archibald, grants assistance to Rajah of Travancore, ii. 398.

- _____ his treaty with Mahomet Ali, iii. 126.
- _____ appointed to chief command of force dispatched against Ava, v. 20.
- _____ attacks fortified camp and stockades at Kেমendine, v. 25, 26.
- _____ various operations under, v. 28—37, 42—46.
- _____ his daring attack on the Burmese army, v. 48, 49.
- _____ advances upon Prome, v. 50, 51.
- _____ returns to Donobew, v. 52.
- _____ captures Donobew, v. 55.
- _____ takes possession of Prome, v. 56.
- _____ concludes an armistice, v. 66.
- _____ holds conference with first minister of King of Ava, v. 66, 67.
- _____ further operations under, v. 69, 74.
- _____ negotiates and concludes treaty, v. 74, 75.
- _____ resumed operations under, v. 75, 80.
- _____ his personal danger, v. 80, *note*.
- _____ met by Mr. Price and Mr. Sanford, announcing accession of Burman sovereign to proposed terms, v. 81.
- _____ Mr. (Chairman of the East-India Company), his reply to Mr. Grant, v. 277.
- CAMUL-OO-DEEN, his petition to the government of Bengal, ii. 77.
- CANDY, death of the King of, and elevation of a usurper, iii. 399.
- _____ Queen and relations of the deceased King thrown into prison, iii. 400.
- _____ disputes of British government in Ceylon with court of, iii. 401.
- _____ war commenced, iii. 402.
- _____ British force enter capital, iii. 402.
- _____ convention with Mootto Sawmy, iii. 403.
- _____ intrigues of Pelime Talauve, iii. 404, 405.
- _____ negotiation with him, iii. 405, 406.
- _____ attack on the capital, British garrison capitulates, iii. 407, 408.

- CANDY, Mootto Sawmy given up by the English, iii. 408, 409.
- British garrison attacked on its march and massacred, iii. 410.
 - sick in hospital murdered, iii. 410.
 - retreat of Capt. Madge from fort M'Dowall, iii. 412.
 - gallant defence of Dumbadenia by Ensign Grant, iii. 412, 413.
 - continued hostilities with, iii. 414.
 - hostilities suspended, iii. 414.
 - King of, made prisoner and deposed, country annexed to British dominions, iv. 349.
 - disturbances in, iv. 580.
- CANNANORE, English defeated in attempt upon works of, i. 554, 555.
- surrender of, to Gen. Abercromby, ii. 417.
- CANNING, Capt., dispatched to Ava, v. 5.
- Right Hon. George, opinion on the permanent settlement in Bengal, ii. 531, 532, *note*.
 - appointed governor-general, and declines appointment, v. 1.
 - his death, v. 178.
- CARANGOLY, falls to Col. Coote (Carnatic war), i. 329, 330.
- taken by Capt. Davis (war with Hyder Ali), ii. 251.
- CARANJA, passes into hands of the English (war in support of Rugonath Rao), ii. 160.
- CARNAC, Major, takes command of British army at Patna, defeats the Emperor, takes Law prisoner, i. 415.
- conducts Emperor to Patna, i. 415.
 - attempt of Ram Narrain to bribe, i. 419.
 - recalled to Calcutta, i. 419.
 - succeeds to command of army against Meer Cossim, i. 450.
 - movement of, i. 451.
 - state of his army, i. 452.
 - Capt. (J. R.), advises appointment of Gungadhur Shastry to negotiate between the Guicowar and the Peishwa, iv. 382.
 - penetrates designs of Bhugwunt Row Guicowar, iv. 383.
 - instructed to communicate to Futteh Singh facts reported from Poonah, iv. 384.

- CARNAC, Capt., apprizes British government of Peishwa's proceedings, iv. 429.
- CARNATIC invaded by Hyder Ali, ii. 190.
 ——— brigade in Travancore, iv. 118.
- CARROO transferred from Mahomed Ali to Hyder Ali, i. 573.
 ——— abandoned at the approach of British army under Gen. Medows, ii. 406.
- CARPENTER, Lieut.-Col., takes possession of Tinley Pass (Nepaul war), iv. 270.
- CARSTAIRS, Capt., appointed to command at Patna, i. 419.
 ——— disobeys orders of chief of the factory there, i. 423.
- CARTIER, Mr., succeeds Mr. Verelst as governor of Bengal, his departure, ii. 31.
 ——— does not take oath against presents, ii. 71, *note*.
- CARTWRIGHT, Col., his endeavours to allay discontent of troops at Barrackpore, v. 104, 105.
- CASSAMAJOR, Mr., British resident in Mysore, his proceedings in relation to Coorg, v. 204—207.
- CASTLEREAGH, Lord, his notes on Mahratta affairs, iii. 558, *note*.
 ——— expounds plan of ministers for government of India (1813), and moves resolutions therein, iv. 224.
 ——— moves for appointment of select committee, iv. 229.
 ——— submits amended series of resolutions, iv. 235.
 ——— further proposals to Parliament, iv. 242, 243.
- CAULFIELD, Capt., takes charge of Jeswunt Rao Bhow, iv. 504.
 ——— consequent proceedings of, iv. 505.
- CEYLON, Dutch settlements on island of, fall into hands of English, iii. 388.
 ——— placed under direct administration of the Crown, ii. 558; iii. 388.
 ——— evils of the arrangement pointed out by Marquis Wellesley, iii. 391—399. o
 ——— British authority established throughout the whole island, iv. 350.
 ——— East-Indiaman, captured by the enemy, iv. 156.
 ——— frigate, taken by enemy, retaken by English, iv. 159.

- CHADS, Capt., moves with naval force in aid of operations of Sir Archibald Campbell (Burmese war), v. 45.
- CHALMERS, Lieut., his gallant defence of Coimbatore (war with Tippoo), ii. 444—449.
- _____ made prisoner in violation of terms of capitulation, ii. 449.
- _____ released on mission to governor-general, ii. 484.
- _____ Col., engaged in attack on Gawilghur, iii. 352.
- _____ at Quilon, takes measures of precaution against attack (Travancore war), iv. 122, 123.
- _____ defeats Dewan's troops, iv. 127.
- CHAMPION, Major, his services on the march to Buxar, i. 455, 456.
- _____ Col., appointed to discharge duties of resident at Oude, ii. 62.
- _____ his instructions, ii. 63.
- _____ statements of, in regard to the Rohilla war, ii. 43, 44, *note*.
- _____ his victory over the Rohillas, ii. 46.
- CHANDA (Nagpore), siege and capture of, by English, iv. 540—544.
- CHANDERNAGORE, Clive instructed to attack, discussion on, i. 214—220.
- _____ attacked, falls, i. 220.
- CHANDORE occupied by Colonel Wallace, iii. 461.
- CHATHAM, Earl of, weakness of his ministry, ii. 13, 14, *note*.
- CHENZIG, or Zingis, his career, i. 19.
- CHERIBON (Java) taken possession of by Captain Beaver, iv. 191.
- CHERRY, Mr., murdered by Vizier Ali at Benares, iii. 167.
- CHEETOO, Pindarrie, account of, iv. 414, 415.
- _____ series of operations against, by Sir J. Malcolm, iv. 485.
- _____ meets with friendly reception at Jadud from Jeswunt Rao Bhow, iv. 506.
- _____ his death, iv. 579.
- CHEW, Mr., treacherously made prisoner by the Burmese, v. 17.
- CHEYT Singh, continued in zemindary of Benares, ii. 295.
- _____ his disputes with the British government, ii. 296, 297.
- _____ he is placed under arrest, ii. 298.
- _____ his troops attack British party and cut them to pieces, ii. 298, 299.

- CHEYT Singh flies, and is deprived of his zemindary, ii. 300.
 ——— remarks on his case, ii. 304—310.
- CHILAMBARUM taken by the English (Carnatic war), i. 346.
 ——— unsuccessfully attacked by Sir E. Coote (war with Hyder Ali), ii. 257.
- CHINA Trade, American privileges and advantages, v. 238—247.
 ——— first subject of inquiry in Parliament, v. 263.
 ——— discussion on the management of by the Company, v. 265—270.
 ——— report of Commons' Committee upon, v. 270, 271.
 ——— remarks and opinions on, v. 288, 289, 294—297, 309, 316, 317, 339.
- CHINGLEPUT, various occurrences at, i. 164, 283, 344; ii. 250.
- CHINNA BUSWA, his flight with his wife, Dewah Amajee, from Coorg into Mysore, v. 204.
- CHISHOLM, Lieut., killed at Corygaum, iv. 501.
- CHITTOOR Sal (of Bundelcund), his connection with the Peishwa, iii. 367.
- CHITTAGONG conquered by Aurungzebe, i. 62.
 ——— surrender of, demanded by Burmese, v. 6.
- CHITTAPET taken by the French, i. 275.
- CHOTA Nagpore, disturbances in, v. 200, 201.
- CHOURAGURH, fort of (Nagpore), taken possession of by Appa Sahib, iv. 566.
- CHUMBULL, fort of, surrendered to the English (Nepaul war), iv. 290.
- CHUNARGHUR surrendered to English (war with Vizier), i. 475.
- CHUNDA Sahib, account of, i. 82.
 ——— his perfidious conduct at Trichinopoly, i. 82, 83.
 ——— made prisoner by the Mahrattas, i. 83.
 ——— his wife and son take refuge at Pondicherry, i. 83.
 ——— obtains his freedom, i. 84.
 ——— appointed Nabob of Arcot by Mozuffur Jung, i. 85.
 ——— gains victory over reigning nabob, and takes possession of Arcot, i. 85.
 ——— proceeds to Tanjore, and demands tribute, i. 85.
 ——— retires towards Pondicherry, i. 86.
 ——— resolves to accompany the French, i. 89.

CHUNDA Sahib, his authority at Arcot subordinate to that of Dupleix, i. 93.

- _____ detaches force to act against Clive, i. 103.
- _____ notice of his claims by Clive, i. 107.
- _____ engaged in besieging Trichinopoly, i. 115.
- _____ deserted by native chiefs, i. 128.
- _____ his prospects with reference to native powers, i. 130.
- _____ negotiates with Monackgee, i. 131.
- _____ proceeds to camp of Monackgee, is imprisoned and loaded with irons, i. 131.
- _____ is murdered, i. 131.
- _____ his character, i. 135, 136.

CHUTTANUTTEE obtained by East-India Company, by a large present to Azim, grandson of Aurungzebe, i. 74.

CIRCARS, Northern, proceedings respecting, i. 542—544.

CLAPHAM, Capt., disperses column of Nairs at Quilon (Travancore), iv. 123.

CLARK, Capt., joins Clive with a detachment from Devi-cottah, i. 101.

CLARKE, Ensign, his gallant repulse of the enemy at Mikow (Burmese war), v. 81.

- _____ Major, disperses party of Pindarries, iv. 504.
 - _____ commands reserve at siege of Chanda, iv. 543.
 - _____ Mr., remarks of, on native testimony, v. 191, *note*.
 - _____ Sir Alured, retained at Calcutta to exercise chief functions of government, in place of taking command of army against Tippoo Sultan, iii. 38.
 - _____ addresses letter to Vizier on necessity of military reform, iii. 170.
- CLAVERING, Gen., appointed member of council of Bengal, ii. 58.
- _____ calls for correspondence between Hastings and Company's servants at Oude, ii. 61.
 - _____ supports Col. Monson's suggestion to recal Middleton from Oude, ii. 61.
 - _____ proposes to transfer duties of British resident to commander of brigade there, ii. 62.
 - _____ his opinion of the obligations of the British government towards Vizier, ii. 65, 66.

CLAVERING, Gen., presides at examination of Nuncomar, ii. 75.

————— statement of, respecting proceedings in supreme court against Nuncomar and others for conspiracy, ii. 77, *note*.

————— resists Hastings' proposal for re-appointment of Middleton to the office of resident at Oude, ii. 89.

————— supposed accession to office of Gov.-Gen., ii. 90, 91.

————— assumes the office and proceeds to exercise its functions, ii. 97.

————— demands keys of fort and treasury from Hastings, ii. 98.

————— takes oath as Gov.-Gen., and frames a proclamation announcing change of government, ii. 98.

————— refuses papers to Barwell, ii. 99, 100.

————— declared by Hastings and Barwell to have vacated his seat in council, ii. 101.

————— appeals to judges of supreme court, ii. 102.

————— remarks on the disputes, ii. 103, 104.

————— receives order of Bath, ii. 110.

————— Sir John, further remarks on his disputes with Hastings, ii. 118, 119, 120, *note*.

————— his death, ii. 120, 121.

————— his recommendation of Col. Upton to represent British government at Poonah, ii. 164.

————— his opinion on the dissolution of the British connection with Rugonath Row, ii. 167.

CLAYTON, Lieut.-Col., leads storming party at Barabuttee, iii. 334.

CLIVE, Robert, sent to India as writer, i. 97.

————— his conduct at Madras, i. 98.

————— made prisoner when Madras taken by La Bourdonnais, i. 98, 99.

————— escapes to Fort St. David, i. 99.

————— obtains ensign's commission, present at attack on Pondicherry, i. 99.

————— instance of his impetuous temper, i. 99.

————— aspersion cast upon him, i. 99.

————— vindicated by court of inquiry, i. 99.

————— holds lieutenant's commission in second expedition against Tanjore, i. 99.

- CLIVE, Robert, his extraordinary escapes, i. 100.
- returns to the mercantile service; appointed commissioner for supplying troops with provisions, i. 100.
 - accompanies Mr. Pigot to Trichinopoly, attacked on return and escapes with difficulty, i. 100, 101.
 - receives captain's commission, i. 101.
 - appointed to command expedition against Arcot, i. 101.
 - his march to attack, i. 102.
 - takes possession of the fort, i. 102.
 - makes various sorties, i. 102.
 - attacks the enemy's camp by night, i. 102, 103.
 - resists attack of the enemy, i. 103.
 - makes a sally, i. 103.
 - instance of his sportiveness, i. 105.
 - communicates with Mahrattas, hired by Mahomet Ali, i. 107.
 - his haughty answer to the proposal of the besiegers, i. 107.
 - repels various attacks, and the enemy retire, i. 109—111.
 - besiegers abandon the town, garrison march into enemy's quarters, i. 111.
 - his natural military qualifications, i. 111, 112.
 - devotedness of his garrison, i. 112.
 - takes Timaney, i. 113.
 - defeats superior force of the enemy, i. 113.
 - takes Conjeveram, i. 114.
 - proceeds to Madras and Fort St. David, i. 115.
 - appointed to command expedition to Arcot, i. 117.
 - Conjeveram again surrenders to him, i. 117.
 - defeats party of the enemy at Coverpah, i. 118—120.
 - destroys Dupleix-Fateabad, i. 121.
 - proceeds with Major Lawrence to Trichinopoly, i. 121.
 - repels attack on march thither, i. 122.
 - suggests detachment of force to intercept supplies of the enemy, i. 123.
 - opinion of, entertained by native generals, i. 123.
 - marches with detachment, i. 124.
 - his camp attacked, he is wounded, his danger and escape, enemy defeated, i. 124, 125.

- CLIVE, Robert, volunteers his services to command expedition against
Covelong and Chingleput, i. 159.
- his operations, i. 160—164.
 - proceeds to England, i. 164.
 - impression made in England by his services, i. 164, *note*.
 - on return, aids Admiral Watson in attack on Gheriah, i. 182.
 - correspondence with Admiral Watson respecting his share of
booty, i. 183, *note*.
 - enters on office, as governor of Fort St. David, i. 184.
 - appointed commander of expedition to Calcutta, i. 199, 200.
 - forwards letter to the Soubahdar, which is refused, i. 204.
 - surprised by party of the enemy, but succeeds in repulsing it,
i. 205.
 - enters Calcutta, i. 206.
 - upholds his claims as commander-in-chief of Company's forces
in Bengal, i. 206.
 - offers little resistance to the progress of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah,
i. 209.
 - attacks the camp of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 210.
 - concludes treaty with Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 212, 213.
 - remarks on the treaty, i. 212, 213.
 - his own remarks, i. 213, *note*.
 - seeks Soubahdar's permission to attack Chandernagore; request
evaded; is fearful of irritating Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 214.
 - is willing to suspend commencement of hostilities with the
French till reference made to Pondicherry, i. 215.
 - his opinion in favour of immediately attacking Chanderna-
gore carried in council, i. 218.
 - remains in Bengal, in opposition to orders to return to Fort
St. George, i. 221.
 - demands leave of the Soubahdar to attack the fugitives from
Chandernagore, i. 223.
 - foresees the approach of hostilities, i. 225.
 - communicates to select committee plan for dethroning Sooraj-
oo-Dowlah, i. 228.
 - takes measures for deceiving the Soubahdar, i. 229.
 - addresses letter to him, i. 233, 234.

- CLIVE, Robert, his difficulties and hesitation, i. 234, 235.
- calls council of war, and determines to act in opposition to its decision, i. 235, 237.
- inquiry into circumstances attending his change of purpose, &c., i. 237, *note*.
- attacks the enemy at Plassy, and gains victory, i. 237—243.
- salutes Meer Jaffier as Soubahdar of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, i. 245.
- receives from Meer Jaffier two lacs and 80,000 rupees, i. 248.
- receives a further present of sixteen lacs of rupees, i. 248.
- boasts of his moderation, i. 249.
- his conduct towards Omichund, i. 253—258.
- remarks on it, i. 258—263.
- how far praise due to his policy, i. 265—267.
- requests assistance of Nizam Ali, i. 310.
- retains Madras troops at Bengal, and requests that Major Calliaud may be sent thither, i. 326.
- applies himself to remove difficulties of Meer Jaffier, i. 360, 361.
- is passed by in commission for administering government of Bengal, but accepts office of president, at request of council, i. 361.
- greatly offended by apparent neglect of Court of Directors, i. 362.
- universal reliance on him, i. 365.
- advances to Patna, and alarms the Shazada, i. 366.
- assists the Shazada with small sums of money, i. 367.
- made an omrah of the empire, i. 368.
- receives jaghire from Meer Jaffier, i. 368.
- takes measures for resisting the Dutch, who are reduced to submission, i. 372, 378.
- vigour and determination of his conduct, i. 374.
- his disinterestedness, i. 374, *note*.
- anecdote illustrative of his calmness under exciting circumstances, i. 377, *note*.
- introduces Major Calliaud to Meer Jaffier, i. 380.
- departs for England, i. 381.
- his refusal to aid in entrapping Ram Narrain, i. 417.

- CLIVE, Lord (now an Irish peer), arrives to take first place in the government of Bengal; circumstances of his appointment, stormy proceedings at home, i. 475—482.
- arrangement as to his jaghire, i. 482.
- appointed with others to form a select committee to pursue such means as they might think proper to restore peace and tranquillity, i. 483.
- his haughty bearing towards council, i. 485, 486.
- his conduct assailed by Mr. Johnstone, i. 488, 489.
- defence of, by himself and Sir John Malcolm, i. 489, 490, *note*.
- his avowals of disinterestedness, and reprehension of the cupidity of others; inconsistency of these with his own conduct, instance of his desire to improve his fortune, i. 490—492, *note*.
- his opinion of Mahomed Reza Khan, i. 493, *note*.
- makes peace with the Vizier, i. 495.
- negotiates with the Emperor, procures remission of arrears of tribute, and the gift to the Company of the dewanny of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, i. 496.
- prevails on the Nabob of Bengal to accept an annual allowance, leaving remainder of revenue to the Company, i. 497.
- his views of the situation of the Company in India, i. 498—501.
- remarks on his conduct towards the Nabob and the Emperor, i. 502.
- his strong opinion against Company's servants engaging in trade, i. 503.
- enters into partnership for the purpose of dealing in salt, i. 504.
- his arrangement respecting private trade, i. 506.
- his delineation of the course of a writer in India, i. 509, 510, *note*.
- enforces orders of Court of Directors respecting double batta, i. 511.
- exerts himself to suppress conspiracy among the officers of the army, i. 512, 513.
- accepts a bequest from Meer Jaffier, and applies it to formation of military fund, i. 513.
- appears as dewan and representative of East-India Company at the court of the Nabob, i. 515.

- CLIVE, Lord, abolishes society of private trade, i. 516.
- quits India, i. 517.
- jaghire secured to him for additional period, i. 517.
- attacks upon him at home, i. 517.
- his character, i. 518—521.
- sunnuds bestowing northern circars on East-India Company obtained by him and transmitted to Madras, i. 543, 544.
- resolution of House of Commons intended to apply to his conduct, ii. 51, *note*.
- his death, ii. 52, *note*.
- reference to oath framed and taken by him as governor, ii. 71, *note*.
- Lord (second), governor of Fort St. George, receives instructions for final adjustment of the Carnatic, iii. 136, 137.
- dispatches party of troops to take possession of the gateway of the palace of the Nabob of Arcot, iii. 139.
- his conferences with Ali Hussein, iii. 145, 146.
- takes measures to prevent public investiture of Ali Hussein, iii. 154.
- his interview with Azim-ul-Dowlah, iii. 155.
- feels annoyance from orders from home; his cordial support of the policy of the Marquis Wellesley, iii. 260.
- his preparations for restoring the Peishwa, iii. 286.
- his retirement, and its cause, iv. 60.
- CLOSE, Capt., communicates to Scindia the advance of the British army from the Deccan, iv. 449, 450.
- delivers to Scindia intercepted letters to Catmandoo, iv. 452.
- articles of the treaty concluded by him with Scindia, iv. 452—460.
- Col., employed in examination of servants of Tippoo respecting correspondence with Arcot, iii. 135.
- requires troops from governments of Madras and Bombay to support the Peishwa, his requisitions confirmed by Gov.-Gen., iii. 278.
- remains at Poona, his conferences with Holkar, whom he refers to Gov.-Gen. and departs for Bombay, iii. 279.
- concludes treaty of Bassein with Peishwa, iii. 279, 280.

- CLOSE, Col., accompanies Peishwa to Poona, iii. 290.
 ——— addresses letter to Scindia, iii. 291, 292.
 ——— apprizes Col. Collins of treaty of Bassein, iii. 293.
 ——— appointed resident at Scindian court, iii. 502.
 ——— waits at Nagpore for further instructions, and there receives complaints from agents of Scindia, iii. 520.
 ——— his interview with one of Scindia's servants, iii. 533.
 ——— invested with powers previously exercised by Sir Arthur Wellesley in the Deccan, iii. 535.
 ——— takes command of main army in the Deccan, iii. 536.
 ——— directs Col. Haliburton to advance to Moolapore, iii. 548.
 ——— his extraordinary powers withdrawn; is ordered to resume his duties at the court of the Peishwa, iii. 549.
 ——— animadvertes on abuses under Peishwa's government, iv. 4.
- COCHIN, King of, assisted by Portuguese, and allows them to erect a fort in his dominions, i. 37.
- Rajah of, urged to unite himself with Travancore and the French, iv. 119.
- COCKBURN, Lieut.-Col., takes command of Bombay force in aid of Rugonath Row; his disastrous retreat, ii. 177, 178.
- CODRINGTON, Lieut., escapes from the slaughter of Capt. Noton's party in Arracan, v. 41.
- COEL, taken possession of by English, iii. 312.
- COILADDY, district of, surrendered by Rajah of Tanjore, ii. 28.
- COIMBATORE, English dispossessed of their posts in, i. 566, 567.
 ——— fort of, noble defence of by Lieut. Chalmers; its surrender on conditions which are violated, ii. 443.
- COLE, Capt., captures Banda Neira, iv. 178—181.
- COLEBROOK, Sir E., his remarks on the permanent settlement in Bengal, ii. 531, *note*.
- COLLINS, Col., his mission to the camp of Scindia, iii. 293.
 ——— his personal conference with that chief, iii. 293, 294.
 ——— presses certain points on Scindia, iii. 297.
 ——— receives intelligence of confederacy between other Mahratta chiefs and Scindia, iii. 298.
 ——— follows Scindia at his desire, iii. 299.
 ——— remonstrates with Scindia, iii. 300.

COLLINS, Col., has a long conference with Scindia, iii. 302.

_____ his communication with Rajah of Berar, iii. 302, 303.

_____ his further communications with Scindia's ministers,
iii. 303.

_____ quits Scindia's camp, iii. 303.

COLVIN, Mr. J. R., his notice of the obstacles to the administration of
justice in India, v. 186, 187.

COMBE, de la. *See* De la Combe.

COMBERMERE, Lord, succeeds Sir E. Paget as commander-in-chief; ad-
vances with vast force upon Bhurtpore; his interview with Sir C.
Metcalf, v. 154, 155.

_____ army assembled under, how divided and brigaded,
v. 154, 155, *note*.

_____ proposes to allow time for departure of women
and children from Bhurtpore, v. 156.

_____ repeats the proposal, v. 156.

_____ brings the siege to a successful close, v. 158.

_____ his reports on progress of siege, v. 166, 167,
note.

_____ acknowledges services of Gen. Galloway, v. 168,
169, *note*.

_____ differs from Gov.-Gen. on half batta question,
v. 224.

_____ resigns command of army, v. 224.

CONCAN, unsuccessful attempt of Shah Allum to reduce Mahratta
forts on the sea-coast of, i. 64.

CONFLANS, M., defeated at Peddapore, i. 300.

_____ his flight to Rajahmundry, i. 300, 301.

_____ collects part of his troops at Masulipatam, i. 302.

_____ his conduct at the siege and fall of Masulipatam,
i. 308.

CONJEVERAM, attacked by Clive, and abandoned by the French, i. 115.

_____ re-occupied by the French, i. 117.

_____ surrendered to Clive, i. 117.

_____ burnt by the French, i. 272.

_____ French followed thither by the English, on retreat of
former from siege of Madras, i. 296.

- CONJEVERAM taken by Major Brereton, i. 297.
 ——— plundered by Hyder Ali, ii. 227.
- CONNELLAN, Lieut., wounded at Corygaum, iv. 502.
- CONRY, Col., his failure in reducing a Burmese post on the Sitang, v. 81.
- CONWAY, Capt., murdered by Vizier Ali, iii. 167.
 ——— Col., his statements respecting the occurrences at Talneir, iv. 507, 508, 531, 532.
- COOKE, Capt., at Trinomaly secures hill for the English, i. 549.
- COOPER, Col., various services performed by, in Nepaul war, iv. 290.
- COORG, disputes with Tippoo Sultan respecting, ii. 498—502.
 ——— Rajah of, his remarkable conduct, ii. 498, 499.
 ——— atrocious conduct of his son and successor, v. 204.
 ——— correspondence with, by the British government, v. 205—211.
 ——— war commenced with, v. 212.
 ——— his government terminated, and his territories annexed to British dominions, v. 213.
 ——— death of his dewan, v. 213.
- COOTE, Capt., his dispute with Clive as to command in Calcutta, i. 207.
 ——— captures Hooghly, i. 208.
 ——— Major, votes for battle in council of war called by Clive, i. 237.
 ——— Lieut.-Col., arrives from England in the Carnatic, i. 325.
 ——— Col., marches to Arcot, i. 326, 327.
 ——— makes forced march to join Major Brereton at Wandewash, i. 327.
 ——— takes Wandewash, i. 328.
 ——— takes Carangoly, i. 330.
 ——— advances in direction of Arcot; hardships and privations of army compel withdrawal into cantonments, i. 332, 333.
 ——— again takes the field, i. 333.
 ——— marches to Conjeveram, i. 334.
 ——— gives battle to the French at Wandewash and gains victory, i. 340—344.
 ——— takes possession of Arcot, i. 344, 345.
 ——— captures Villenore, i. 348.

- Coote, Col., proposes to proceed to Bengal, i. 350.
- his differences with Col. Monson, i. 330.
- consents to resume command in Carnatic, i. 351.
- permits inhabitants expelled from Pondicherry to pass English posts, i. 353.
- takes possession of Pondicherry, i. 356, 357.
- admits claim of governor of Madras to possession of Pondicherry under protest, i. 358.
- Sir Eyre, his statement of the question proposed by Clive at council of war preceding battle of Plassy, i. 236, *note*.
- appointed to succeed Gen. Clavering in command of army and seat in council; supports Hastings, ii. 129.
- supports appointment of Sir Elijah Impey to be judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, ii. 150.
- departs from Calcutta to take command of army against Hyder Ali, ii. 242.
- arrives at Madras and takes seat in council there, ii. 248.
- calls a council of war, ii. 250.
- relieves Chingleput, and detaches force against Carangoly, ii. 250, 251.
- arrives at Wandewash, ii. 256.
- relieves Pennacoil, ii. 256.
- proceeds to restore order in Pondicherry, ii. 256.
- protects Cuddalore, ii. 256.
- fails in attacks on Chilambrum, ii. 257.
- defeats the army of Hyder Ali, ii. 258.
- avoids Hyder Ali, and arrives at Pulicat, ii. 260.
- captures Tripassore, ii. 260.
- proposes exchange of prisoners, which Hyder Ali refuses, ii. 261, 262.
- twice defeats Hyder Ali, ii. 262, 263.
- returns to cantonments, ii. 263.
- returns to Madras, ii. 264.
- is seized with apoplexy, recovers, arrives at Vellore, ii. 264.
- follows Hyder Ali and the French, and defeats them, ii. 267.

COOTE, Sir Eyre, his grand guard drawn into ambushade and destroyed,
ii. 267.

_____ his disputes with Lord Macartney, ii. 269, 270.

_____ departs for Bengal, ii. 270.

_____ returns to Madras and dies, ii. 273, 274.

_____ respect and affection of native troops for, ii. 274,

note.

COPE, Capt., dispatched with force to assist Mahomet Ali against the
French, i. 90.

COPOOL surrenders to Gen. Medows, ii. 417, 418.

CORNISH, Adm., commands naval force in expedition against Manilla,
i. 522, 523.

CORNWALLIS, Lord, appointed Gov.-Gen. of Bengal, ii. 386.

_____ modifies arrangements with the Vizier, ii. 389, 390.

_____ negotiates with the Nizam, ii. 390—395.

_____ his opinion on the neutral policy prescribed to the
government of India, ii. 395.

_____ remarks of Col. Wilks and Sir John Malcolm on
his policy, ii. 396.

_____ his censure on the Madras government for mis-
placed economy, ii. 401.

_____ commences war against Tippoo Sultan, ii. 402.

_____ concludes treaty with the Nizam and the Peishwa,
ii. 403.

_____ assumes command of army against Tippoo, ii. 413.

_____ attacks and takes Bangalore, ii. 413—416.

_____ marches from Bangalore, encounters army of Tip-
poo, effects junction of Nizam Ali's horse, and returns, ii. 420—
422.

_____ resolves to march on Seringapatam, motives for
this step, and its difficulties, ii. 422, 423.

_____ defeats Tippoo at Arilkeru, ii. 428, 429.

_____ advances to Caniambaddy, but immediately deter-
mines to return to Bangalore, ii. 433.

_____ is joined by two Mahratta armies, ii. 435.

_____ compels surrender of Hooliordroog, ii. 436, 437.

_____ arrives at Bangalore, ii. 438.

- CORNWALLIS, Lord, takes possession of Oossore, ii. 439.
- _____ captures Nundedroog, ii. 441.
- _____ Savandroog and Oolradroog fall to him, ii. 450—
455.
- _____ arrives in sight of Seringapatam, ii. 461.
- _____ operations of, against Tippoo and his capital, ii.
465—490.
- _____ consents to negotiate, ii. 484.
- _____ receives vakeels from Tippoo, ii. 487.
- _____ preliminaries of peace agreed to, ii. 490—492,
493.
- _____ receives the sons of Tippoo, ii. 495, 496.
- _____ prepares to resume the siege, ii. 502.
- _____ receives Tippoo's ratification of the treaty, ii.
505.
- _____ remarks on his policy towards Tippoo, ii. 506—
510.
- _____ relinquishes his share of the booty for benefit of
army, ii. 510.
- _____ returns to Bengal, ii. 511.
- _____ proceeds to take command of expedition against
Pondicherry, which surrenders before his arrival, ii. 514.
- _____ changes effected by, in the internal administra-
tion of the territories subject to the presidency of Bengal, ii. 515
—549.
- _____ quits India, ii. 549.
- _____ reference to his arrangements with Nabob of Arcot,
iii. 126.
- _____ Marq., arrives at Calcutta as successor to the Marquis
Wellesley, iii. 557.
- _____ his views on the state of India, and the means of
adjusting its affairs, remarks on, iv. 2—35.
- _____ his death, iv. 35.
- _____ his character, iv. 35, 36.
- COSSIMBAZAR, factory of, surrenders to Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 187.
- _____ effects of the news of its fall at Madras, i. 197.
- COSSINAUT Baboo, his disputes with government and others; conse-

- quent proceedings in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, ii. 139—146.
- COSSINAUT Baboo, suddenly and inexplicably discontinues his actions against Gov.-Gen. and other parties, ii. 147.
- COTTON, Gen. Willoughby, commands column in attack on Burmese army, near Rangoon, v. 48, 49.
- commands column in advance upon Prome, v. 51.
- fails in attack upon Donobew, v. 52.
- assaults and carries series of stockades, v. 70, 71.
- COURT, Capt., commands land force in attack on Amboyna, iv. 176.
- dislodges the enemy from principal fort on the island, iv. 177.
- COURT of Directors of East-India Company order restoration of Mahomed Reza Khan to office, ii. 88.
- condemn the policy of Rohilla war, and censure the conduct of Hastings and Barwell on various points, ii. 91.
- receive and consider proposal from Col. Maclean to submit Hastings's resignation, inquire into the agent's authority, are satisfied and accept resignation, ii. 95, 96.
- nominate Mr. Wheeler to vacant place in council of Bengal, ii. 96.
- revise the nomination, ii. 122, 123, *note*, 124.
- censure the conduct of Hastings with reference to the Nabob Mobarik-ul-Dowla and Mahomed Reza Khan, ii. 127.
- order restoration of Mr. Bristow to the situation of resident in Oude, and of Mr. Fowke to Benares, ii. 128.
- condemn the conduct of the government of Bombay in dispatching expedition against Broach, ii. 157.
- approve treaty with Surat, and treaty with Rugonath Rao, and desire possession to be kept of all places ceded, ii. 170.
- condemn conquest of Tanjore and deposition of the Rajah, and remove Mr. Wynch from the government of Madras, ii. 199.
- greatly divided in opinion on dissensions among members of government at Madras, ii. 209.
- proceedings of, relative to case of Lord Pigot, ii.

- Court of Directors appoint temporary government to act during inquiry into disputes at Madras, ii. 213.
-
- decline compliance with the prayer of memorial of Mrs. Hodges, for payment of bond granted to her husband by a native named Opparoo, ii. 245, *note*.
-
- opposed to the Board of Commissioners as to the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, ii. 356.
-
- instruct Lord Cornwallis to inquire into the rights and interests of zemindars and other landholders, with a view to the permanent settlement of the land revenue, ii. 519—521.
-
- extract of a despatch from, on the injurious consequences arising from misconception of Indian names, ii. 534.
-
- resolve to uphold lawful prince in Tanjore, iii. 102.
-
- condemn the appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley in Oude, iii. 239, *note*.
-
- caution exercised by, in interfering with distribution of office in India, iii. 260.
-
- their difference with the Marquis Wellesley, iii. 242—274.
-
- request the Marquis Wellesley to continue in office another year, iii. 274.
-
- recall Lord William Bentinck from government of Madras, iv. 80.
-
- refuse to revoke appointment of Sir G. Barlow to discharge duties of Gov.-Gen., iv. 88.
-
- refuse to appoint the Earl of Lauderdale Gov.-Gen., iv. 87, 96.
-
- appoint Lord Minto, iv. 96.
-
- their right to exercise their power of choice defended, iv. 113.
-
- supposed ground of their objection to the Earl of Lauderdale, iv. 115, *note*.
-
- condemn the conduct of their committee in China in encouraging the Bengal government to dispatch a military force to take possession of Macao, iv. 132.

- Court of Directors decline to appoint the commander-in-chief at Madras, Gen. McDowall, to a seat in council, iv. 135.
- _____ communications by, to government of Bengal on half batta question, v. 219, 220, 222.
- _____ set aside "rule of service" established by Lord Wm. Bentinck, v. 228.
- _____ distribution of its members into three committees, v. 272, *note*.
- _____ adopt opinion of committee of correspondence, hostile to a proposed arrangement depriving the Company of the China trade, v. 273.
- _____ their views on the chief points in the ministerial plan for continuing to the Company the administration of the government of India, v. 292.
- _____ press the expediency of allowing appeal on merits of important cases on which Court and Board might differ, v. 293.
- _____ urge the necessity of retaining the China trade, v. 293.
- _____ refute statements of alleged increase of trade between India and China, v. 295.
- _____ remark on peculiarities of the tea trade, v. 297.
- _____ discuss the question of accounts, v. 298.
- _____ defend the commercial property of the Company from liability to territorial charges, v. 299.
- _____ offer various objections to ministerial plan, v. 301.
- _____ further letter on behalf of, to president of Board, v. 304.
- _____ urge necessity of securing Company's dividends as well as capital, v. 304.
- _____ inquire into terms of proposed annuity, and of the continuance of the Company in the government of India, v. 304.
- _____ make further representation of the necessity of publicity in differences between the Court and the Board, v. 304.

Court of Directors urge expediency of their retaining power of making small pecuniary grants, v. 305.

————— require that the sum allotted to the expenses of their home establishment be varied only in reference to altered circumstances, v. 305.

————— claim the independent exercise of the power of recalling governors and commanders, v. 305.

————— object to transfer of all the property of the Company to the Crown, v. 305.

————— suggest that the Company continue for a time the management of goods imported in the free trade, v. 305.

————— submit correspondence with Board to a general court, v. 307.

————— press two points upon ministers,—an increase of the guarantee fund, and the establishment of some means of publicity in cases of difference between Court and Board, v. 311, 312.

————— resolve to recommend compliance with the plan of ministers, v. 314.

————— recommend to the proprietors to place their trade in abeyance and accept the government of India under the conditions and arrangements of the ministerial bill, v. 343.

————— Proprietors. *See* General Court.

————— Supreme. *See* Supreme Court.

————— of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, ii. 536.

————— of Sudder Nizamut Adawlut, ii. 546.

COURTS of Native Commissioners, ii. 540.

————— provincial, ii. 536, 537.

————— zillah and city, ii. 540.

COVELONG, its situation, i. 159.

————— how obtained by the French, i. 159, 160, *note*.

————— Clive appears before it, i. 160.

————— fall of, i. 162.

————— party of enemy's troops approaching, attacked by ambuscade and defeated by the British, i. 161, 162.

CRABB, Major, defeats party of Cheyt Singh's troops, ii. 300.

CRADOCK, Sir John, sanctions alteration of turban worn by sepoys in army of Madras, iv. 59, 60.

CRADOCK, Sir John, differs with Lord Wm. Bentinck on the treatment of the Vellore mutineers, iv. 77.

————— his views approved by Gov.-Gen., iv. 77.

————— advises that the regiments implicated in the mutiny be expunged from the list of the army, iv. 79.

————— removed from command of the army; remarks, iv. 80.

————— causes of his error, iv. 80.

CRAIG, Sir James, his description of state of Vizier Ali's army, iii. 185, 186.

CRAWFORD, Mr., British commissioner in Ava and Pegu, statements made to, by Mr. Judson and Mr. Laird, relative to the feelings of Burmese, v. 92, 95, *note*.

CRILLON, M., commands expedition against Seringham, i. 324.

————— crosses into the island, i. 325.

————— attacks and captures the pagoda there, i. 325.

————— cruelties committed by the French under, i. 325.

CUDDALORE, abandoned to the French, i. 278.

————— comes into possession of the English, i. 346.

CUNNINGHAM, Col., attacked by Fleury, and compelled to retire on conditions, iii. 319.

CUPPAGE, Major, intrusted with defence of Coimbatore and Palagaut, ii. 443.

————— removes heavy guns, ammunition, and stores from former to latter place, ii. 444.

————— affords some assistance to Lieut. Chalmers in Coimbatore, enemy driven from the Pettah and chased twenty miles, orders Lieut. Nash with company of sepoy into garrison at Coimbatore, ii. 447.

————— advances to relief of Coimbatore, intercepted by Kummer-oo-Deen, engages and defeats him, falls back to Paligaut, ii. 447, 448.

————— Col., enters Travancore and takes up position at Paroor, iv. 129.

CURSHAM, Capt., killed in attack upon Burmese fort on the Sitang, v. 81.

CUTTACK, occupation of by Col. Harecourt, iii. 333.

CUTTACK, annoyances in, created by the Rajah of Khoordah and the Zemindar of Kunka, suppressed by a force under Col. Harcourt, iii. 463.

——— stoppage of the post in, by insurgents, iv. 434.

DACCA, remonstrance from council of the English factory there, against Mr. Vansittart's proposed regulations on inland trade, i. 431.

——— effect of remonstrance upon council of Calcutta, i. 431.

——— serious affrays take place at, in consequence of unsettled state of inland trade, i. 438.

——— cession of, demanded by Burmese, v. 6.

——— claim to, re-asserted on part of Burmese, v. 8.

——— apprehension felt at, in consequence of success of Burmese, v. 41.

D'ACHÉ, M. (French military commander), anxiety to avoid an engagement with Admirals Pocock and Stevens, i. 272.

——— reinforcements offered him by Lally; proceeds to sea, i. 277.

——— sails for island of Mauritius, i. 282.

——— his fleet re-appears considerably reinforced, i. 313.

——— engages the English fleet and proceeds to Pondicherry, i. 314, 315.

——— declares his intention of returning to the islands, i. 316.

——— proceeds to sea, i. 316.

——— returns to Pondicherry to confer with Lally, i. 316.

——— finally departs for the islands, i. 316.

DALLAS, Sir Thomas, his authority quoted for narrative of Col. Wilks relative to meditated escape of British commissioners from court of Tippoo, ii. 287, *note*.

——— defends his statement, ii. 290, 291, *note*.

DALRYMPLE, Col. (James), falls in with and attacks Dhoondia, who escapes, iii. 95.

——— Major (of the King's 30th), commands reserve at siege of Asseergurh, iv. 573.

DALTON, Capt., takes possession of Seringham with the artillery and military force, French troops marched to Fort St. David, i. 136, 137.

———— in command of garrison at Trichinopoly, i. 145.

———— hears of attempts of Nunjeraj to corrupt the troops, takes precautions, i. 145.

———— dismisses disaffected troops, i. 146.

———— plot formed for his assassination, i. 146, 147.

———— pardons two persons convicted of being engaged in it, i. 147.

———— orders execution of two persons engaged in corrupting an officer of the garrison, i. 148.

———— informed by Clement Poverio of the design of Nunjeraj to secure him and obtain possession of Trichinopoly, i. 149.

———— six ruffians employed to watch his appearance and dispatch him, i. 150.

———— the attempt unexpectedly frustrated, i. 150, 151.

———— attacks camp of Nunjeraj, i. 165.

———— requires Mysoreans to depart from the city, detains their commander, i. 166.

———— discovers deficiency of store of provisions, i. 167.

———— dispatches messenger to Major Lawrence, i. 167.

———— is joined by that officer, i. 171.

———— his attacks on the blockading force, i. 172.

———— permits Mahomet Ali's disaffected troops to depart without molestation, i. 175, 176.

———— Major, repeated attacks on, by the enemy at Djoejocarta, iv. 203.

DALZELL, Gen., proceeds to Calcutta to consult commander-in-chief on mutinous proceedings at Barrackpore; returns, orders parade; results, v. 106—108.

DANCE, Com., with fleet of Company's ships, attacks and puts to flight French squadron of ships-of-war under Adm. Linois; pursuit and return, iii. 375—377.

———— receives knighthood from the Crown, and honorary and pecuniary rewards from the Company and Patriotic Fund, iii. 377, 378, *note*.

DARA, son of Shah Jehan, exercises the government of the empire during the illness of his father, i. 42.

— issues an order, forbidding, under pain of death, all intercourse with his brothers on existing state of affairs, i. 43.

— returns the government into the hands of Shah Jehan upon his recovery, i. 43.

— his army advances against his rebel brothers; fortifies himself near Agra, i. 45.

— gives battle to his brothers, and is defeated, i. 45.

— a wanderer in various directions, i. 53.

— obtains assistance in Guzerat, and places himself again at the head of an army, i. 53.

— suspicious of his officers, i. 54.

— loses opportunity of acting against Aurungzebe, i. 54, 55.

— fortified in strong position near Ajmere, i. 54.

— is overcome and his army destroyed through treacherous contrivance of Aurungzebe, i. 54.

— again a wanderer, exposed to great distress, i. 55.

— pursued by a treacherous chief, surrounded, disarmed, and bound; carried to Delhi, paraded through the city, thrown into prison, and there murdered, i. 55.

DARAPORAM, surrender of, during Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo Sultan, ii. 406.

DARIUS Hystaspes, Persians under him conquered a portion of India, i. 6, 7.

DARKE, Capt. Thomas, falls in conflict with Pindarries, iv. 423.

DARWAR, surrender of, to the English, ii. 419.

D'AUTUEIL, M., commands force dispatched from Pondicherry to aid Chunda Sahib and Mozuffar Jung in the Carnatic, i. 85.

— sends a message to Major Lawrence, i. 87.

— fears risking a battle, withdraws to Pondicherry, i. 88.

— proceeds to Trichinopoly with reinforcements from Duplex; withdraws to a fort on the approach of Clive to intercept him, i. 124.

— surrenders with his whole force, i. 127.

— secretes large amount of money among his personal baggage, which he is permitted to carry away, i. 127, 128.

- D'AUTUEIL, Trichinopoly menaced by a force under his command, i. 268, 269.
- demands surrender of Trichinopoly, i. 270.
- retires to Seringham, and from there to Pondicherry, i. 272.
- DAVIDSON, Mr. (member of council at Madras), disapproves of Whitehill's suspension, but votes in favour of acting in accordance with it, ii. 248.
- DAVIE, Major, commands the garrison at Candy, iii. 407.
- is attacked, and surrenders on terms, iii. 407, 408.
- is pursued on retiring from the place, overtaken, and the surrender of Mootto Sawmy demanded, iii. 408.
- refuses, iii. 408.
- on repetition of demand, consults his officers, and again refuses, iii. 408, 409.
- on reiteration of demand, again consults his officers, and delivers up Mootto Sawmy, iii. 409.
- forced by enemy to retire to Candy with his party, the greater part of whom are murdered, iii. 410.
- remarks on his conduct, iii. 410, 411.
- DAVIS, Capt., attacks and takes Carangoly, ii. 251.
- Lieut., commanding engineers at siege of Malligaum, falls there, iv. 547.
- Mr., judge and magistrate at Benares, resists Vizier Ali, his intrepidity, iii. 167.
- DAVOSHAI, Parsee merchant of Tellicherry, proceeds to Coorg on mission from the British government, v. 210.
- returns, v. 210.
- DAY, Sir John, advocate-general, gives opinion and advice hostile to the assumptions of the Supreme Court, ii. 141, 142.
- his remarks on the natives of India, ii. 141, 142, *note*.
- DEACON, Lieut.-Cpl., his successes in reducing forts in Peishwa's territories, iv. 503.
- DE BOIGNE, founder of a French corps in service of Scindia, account of, iii. 307.
- increase of the force under his command, iii. 308, 309.
- his retirement, iii. 309.

- DE CAEN, Gen. (French Governor of Mauritius), driven back in attempt to reconnoitre, iv. 65.
- offers to capitulate, iv. 167.
- DECCAN, earliest irruption of Mahometan armies into, i. 16.
- proceedings of Shah Jehan there, i. 34, 39, 41, 42.
- invaded by Aurungzebe, i. 63, 64.
- complicated politics of, i. 541.
- distribution of troops in, at commencement of Mahratta and Pindarrie war, iv. 444, 447—451, *note*.
- DEEG, battle of, brilliant victory gained by the English, iii. 451—453.
- siege of, iii. 458.
- its successful termination, iii. 409.
- DE LA COMBE, gallant conduct of an officer of this name in defence of Coimbatore, ii. 445, 446.
- DE LA DOUSEPE, Lieutenant, gallant conduct of, at Wandewash, i. 318.
- DE LA TOUCHE, M., advances with three thousand sepoys and eight hundred Europeans upon the camp of Nazir Jung, i. 91.
- defeats the advanced posts, attacks the main body with success, i. 91, 92.
- DELHI made the seat of a Mahometan government, i. 14.
- depopulated by Mohammed Toghluks in favour of his new capital, Dowlatabad, i. 15.
- inhabitants obtain permission to return, i. 17.
- famine rages in the city, i. 17.
- entered by Timour, i. 20.
- set on fire and pillaged, inhabitants massacred, i. 21.
- government of, obtained by Khizir, i. 22.
- Baber establishes himself on its throne, i. 22.
- entered, plundered, and burned by Nadir Shah, i. 68, 69.
- evacuated by the French, iii. 321.
- Gen. Lake visits the Emperor there, iii. 324.
- Colonel Ochterlony left there, iii. 326.
- Holkar arrives before the city, iii. 445.
- preparations for defending, iii. 445.
- desertion of cavalry and mutiny of matchlock men, iii. 446.
- siege of, gallant defence by Col. Burn, enemy retire, iii. 447—449.

DENAICANCOTA, falls by treachery to Hyder Ali, i. 567.

DENNIE, Major, leads assault on stockade in Burmese war, i. 567.

———— notice of his death, and the honours conferred upon his regiment, v. 24, 25, *note*.

DES BRUSLES, Gen. (commander in Isle of Bourbon), marches against English, retreats and shoots himself, iv. 145.

D'ESTAIGNE, Count, dispatched by Lally to dissuade D'Aché from returning to Isle of France, i. 282.

———— made prisoner at the siege of Madras, i. 286.

DEVI COTTAH, fort and territory of, offered as a reward for placing Mahratta prince on the throne of Tanjore, i. 81.

———— coveted by the British on account of presumed commercial advantages, i. 81.

———— taken, English confirmed in possession of, by reigning prince, i. 81.

———— falls to the French, i. 279.

DEWAH Amajee (sister of Rajah of Coorg), flight of, with her husband, from Coorg into Mysore, v. 204.

DHOONDIA, account of, iii. 93.

———— disturbances created by, iii. 93.

———— force dispatched against him, iii. 94.

———— is attacked and escapes from the territories of Mysore, iii. 94, 95.

———— is plundered by the Mahrattas, i. 95.

———— raises further disturbances, seizes and garrisons several forts in territories of Peishwa, iii. 115, 116.

———— division of his army attacked and routed; he retires, pursued by Col. Wellesley, iii. 116, 117.

———— is attacked and defeated at Conahgull, where he falls, iii. 118.

———— remarks of Sir Thomas Munro on his career and fall, iii. 118.

DHURNA, Hindoo ceremony, description of, i. 531, 532, *note*.

DIAS, Bartholomew, reaches the southernmost point of Africa, and for the first time doubles the Cape of Good Hope, i. 36.

DICK, Col., assumes the command of one of the divisions of the army against Nepaul, on the departure of Gen. Marley, iv. 305.

DINDIGUL attacked by Col. Stuart during Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo, surrender of, ii. 407.

DIROM, Major, his remarks on strength of the fort of Ootradroog, ii. 454.

——— remarks on violence and vindictiveness of Tippoo in continuing to fire, after signature of preliminaries of peace, ii. 454.

DJOEJOCARTA, Sultan of, his hostile disposition to the British government, iv. 200.

——— his reception of Mr. Raffles, Lieut.-Gov. of Java, iv. 200.

——— concludes terms with the British government, iv. 201.

——— forms confederacy of native princes to expel all European settlers, and put down all European power, iv. 201.

——— failure of attempt to negotiate with, iv. 202.

——— description of his palace and its defences, iv. 202, 203.

——— his palace attacked by Colonel Gillespie, who is summoned by the Sultan to surrender, and retires into a fort, iv. 203, 204.

——— attack resumed, palace taken, and Sultan deposed, iv. 204.

DON, Lieut.-Col., attacks and captures Tonk Rampoor, iii. 425.

——— joins Col. Monson, iii. 429.

——— re-occupies Muttra, iii. 445.

DONOBW unsuccessfully attacked by Gen. Cotton, v. 52.

——— Sir A. Campbell arrives there, v. 52.

——— description of, by Major Snodgrass, v. 53, *note*.

——— flight of garrison of, and capture of, v. 55.

DOORJUN Saul contests succession to the musnud of Bhurtpore; his claim unfounded, v. 120.

——— avails himself of the death of Buldeo Singh to advance his own views, v. 122.

——— remarks of Sir David Ochterlony on his pretensions and conduct, v. 126.

——— communication to, by Sir D. Ochterlony, of the views of the British government, v. 128.

- DOORJUN Saul, correspondence with Sir D. Ochterlony, v. 130, 131.
 ——— quarrel with his brother, Madhoo Singh, v. 137, 138.
 ——— repels attack on Bhurtpore by Madhoo Singh; latter returns to Deeg, v. 138.
 ——— Lord Amherst's opinion on the expediency of the British government interfering with regard to him, v. 142.
 ——— opinion of Sir Charles Metcalfe on the proposed method of dealing with him, v. 146, 147.
 ——— Gov.-Gen. inclined to favour him, v. 150.
 ——— declaration of British government with respect to him, v. 151.
 ——— revives his claim to the throne of Bhurtpore, v. 152.
 ——— his statement in reference thereto, v. 152, 153, *note*.
 ——— explanation of the causes which procured him support, v. 153.
 ——— his pretensions publicly denounced by Sir Charles Metcalfe, v. 155.
 ——— sends various letters and deputations to Sir Charles Metcalfe, v. 156.
 ——— returns evasive answer to Lord Combermere's proposal to allow departure of women and children, v. 156.
 ——— attempts to escape, v. 158.
 ——— is intercepted and secured by Gen. Sleigh, v. 158.
- DOVERTON, Capt., accompanies hostage sons of Tippoo on restoration to their father, ii. 514.
 ——— his reception by the Sultan, ii. 514.
 ——— Gen., in command of brigade of army of the Deccan, iv. 444, 448.
 ——— arrives with his division at Nagpore, ii. 477.
 ——— moves to take possession of Rajah of Nagpore's artillery, iv. 477.
 ——— gallantly carries batteries, routs and pursues enemy, captures the whole of his artillery and camp equipage, iv. 477, 478.
 ——— attacks body of troops in the city of Nagpore, iv. 478, 479.
 ——— pursues Bajee Rao, iv. 539.

DOVETON, Gen., arrives at Asseergurh, and takes command of force there, iv. 571.

———— his operations against that place terminating in its fall, iv. 573—576.

DOWDSWELL, Major-Gen., joins Gen. Lake at Muttra, iii. 464.

DOWLUT ROW Scindia. *See* Scindia.

DRAKE, Mr., governor of Calcutta, abandons his post and flies, i. 190, 191.

———— receives two lacs and 80,000 rupees from Meer Jaffier, i. 248.

DRAPER, Col., makes a sally from Madras, his gallant conduct, danger, and retreat, i. 284, 285.

———— incapacitated for command by ill-health, succeeded by Col. Brereton, i. 297.

———— Gen., commands land forces in expedition against Manilla, i. 522.

———— takes Manilla by storm, i. 523.

———— reference to his controversies with the author of the Letters of Junius, i. 522, 523.

DRUMMOND, Col. Edw., lands in Isle of Bourbon, and after severe and hazardous march, joins Col. Fraser, iv. 153.

DUBOIS, commissioner at Pondicherry, his extraordinary death after the surrender of the place to the English, i. 357.

DUDLEY, Mr., chairman of East-India Company, writes to Clive on the position of the Company and the ministry, ii. 5.

DUFF, Capt. Grant, his account of the succession of the princes of Tanjore, i. 80, *note*.

———— his remarks on the conduct of the Bombay government in regard to Rugonath Rao, ii. 181.

———— his account of the Gossains as contradistinguished from the Byragees, iii. 368, 369, *note*.

———— his remarks on some points of the Mahratta character, iii. 557, *note*.

———— his opinion of native soldiers, v. 117, 118.

DUFF, Col., his tent mistaken for tent of Lord Cornwallis by party of the enemy, who are put to flight, ii. 485.

DUMBADENIA, English post in Ceylon; gallant defence of, by Ensign Grant, iii. 412.

DUNDAS, the Right Hon. Henry, takes the lead in inquiries into the conduct of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Messrs. Whitehill and Perring; penal proceedings threatened, but their prosecution suddenly and unaccountably dropped, ii. 225, *note*.

at the head of Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, declares inquiry by Court of Directors into the debts of the Nabob of Arcot unnecessary, and directs a portion of the revenue of the Carnatic to be set aside for their liquidation, ii. 356, 357.

appointment of Lord Cornwallis as Gov.-Gen. of Bengal attributed to his influence, ii. 386, *note*.

his remarks on the demands of the London ship-builders, iii. 253, 254.

chief mover in the proceedings which secured to the Ministry the entire patronage of Ceylon, iii. 389.

See also Melville, Lord.

DUNLOP, Col., wounded at siege of Seringapatam, iii. 50.

DUPLEIX, Governor of Pondicherry, intrigues of; claims supreme authority over French possessions in India; his ambition, vanity, and duplicity, i. 76.

perfidiously violates the treaty concluded by La Bourdonnais with the English, i. 77, 78.

fails in attempts against Fort St. David, i. 78.

detaches force from Pondicherry to assist Chunda Sahib and Mozuffar Jung, i. 85.

intrigues with officers of Nazir Jung's army, and at same time negotiates with their master, i. 91.

effects of his proceedings, i. 91, 92.

annoyed by demands of Patan chiefs; negotiates and procures abatement of their demands, i. 92, 93.

his splendid appearance at the enthronement of Mozuffar Jung, i. 93.

appointed governor of all the provinces south of Kistna, i. 93.

elevated to the rank of Heft Huzaree, and permitted to bear an ensign assigned only to persons of the highest note in the empire, i. 93.

DUPLEIX, various other favours conferred on him, i. 93.

——— assumes powers and grants conferred on him without waiting for confirmation by the emperor, i. 94.

——— holds his durbar at Pondicherry in the style of an eastern potentate, i. 94.

——— neither native nor European suffered to approach him without a present, i. 94.

——— receives a large amount of money and jewels from Mozuffar Jung, i. 94.

——— obtains smaller sums for his officers and troops, and for the public service, i. 94.

——— plans the erection of a new town, to be called Dupleix Fateabad, all vestige of which is destroyed by Clive, i. 121.

——— dissatisfied with affairs at Trichinopoly, sends reinforcements under M. d'Arteuil, who is authorized to supersede M. Law in chief command, i. 123, 124.

——— charges Major Lawrence with participating in the guilt of Chunda Sahib's murder, i. 134.

——— dispatches a body of French troops against British force under Major Kinnier, i. 154.

——— seizes a body of Company's troops passing Pondicherry, i. 155.

——— justifies the act by reference to proceedings of the English at Seringham, i. 155.

——— is deceived by a movement of Major Lawrence, and gives instructions fatal to the safety of the French force under M. Kerjean, i. 157.

——— his intrigues with the Mysoreans and Mahrattas; engages to put the Mysorean chief in possession of Trichinopoly, i. 157.

——— proposal made to transfer his assistance from Salabat Jung to his elder brother, Ghazi-oo-Deen, i. 168.

——— receives from Salabat Jung a forged confirmation in the office of Nabob, i. 168.

——— in want of money, endeavours to supply it by creating a new Nabob of Arcot, i. 168, 169.

——— selects Murteza Khan for the office, and obtains from him a considerable sum, i. 169, 170.

DUPLEIX thrown upon his own resources ; his private fortune largely dispensed to further his views ; brings a force into the field, and is aided by the Mahrattas, i. 171.

——— dispatches reinforcements to Trichinopoly to counteract the object of Major Lawrence's march thither, i. 172.

——— superseded by M. Godheu, departs for Europe, i. 180.

——— statements of Orme and himself as to the grounds of his removal, i. 180, *note*.

——— his vast disbursements from his own fortune and from money borrowed on his own personal security ; stoppage of legal proceedings by the French government, i. 180, *note*.

DUPRE, Mr., Member of Council of Madras, proceeds to camp of Hyder Ali, agrees to terms of treaty, treaty executed, i. 573.

DUTCH, commercial supremacy of Portuguese in India yields to them, i. 73.

——— suffer from exactions of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah ; give offence to Meer Jaffier, who stops their trade ; they offer apology, and obtain its restoration, i. 369.

——— envious of advantages enjoyed by the English in monopoly of saltpetre, and aggrieved by English government requiring all ships entering Hooghly to take British pilots, i. 370.

——— suspected of negotiating privately with Meer Jaffier for bringing a force to Bengal, i. 370.

——— preparation by, of an armament in Batavia, discountenanced by Meer Jaffier, i. 370.

——— arrival in the river of a Dutch ship with troops, i. 371.

——— reasons assigned for it, i. 370.

——— their boats subjected to search, troops found on board of one, altercation between Dutch and English authorities, i. 371.

——— arrival of other ships filled with troops, i. 371.

——— enlist troops at Chinsura, Cossimbazar, and Patna, address remonstrance to English authorities, i. 372, 373.

——— ships of, anchor below English batteries and land troops, i. 375.

——— fleet attacked by Capt. Wilson, and six ships taken, i. 375.

——— attack Col. Ford, and are repulsed, i. 376.

——— after defeat by Colonel Ford, sue for peace, treaty concluded, i. 378.

DUTCH, their extreme terror on the approach of Meerun and of Meer Jaffier : basis of treaty with Meer Jaffier agreed upon, its conditions, i. 378, 379.

——— purchase town of Nagore and its dependencies ; purchase disagreeable to both English and Mahomet Ali, arrangement made for its surrender, ii. 30.

——— possessed of two forts at one extremity of the lines of Travancore, ii. 398.

——— call upon Rajah to defend them against Tippoo, ii. 398.

——— forts sold by them to the Rajah, ii. 398, 399.

——— their right to sell discussed, 399.

——— horrible massacre of, by Sultan of Palimbang, iv. 196.

EAST, Col., dispatched with force from Bombay to Cutch, to restrain depredations of Foujdar of Wagur, iv. 350.

——— attacks and captures fort of Anjar, iv. 350.

EGERTON, Col., appointed to command of expedition from Bombay, in support of Rugonath Row as Regent ; his inefficiency, difficulties, sickness, and resignation of command, ii. 177.

EGYPT, distinction of castes existed in, i. 5, *note*.

——— expedition dispatched to, from India, iii. 124.

ELLENBOROUGH, Lord, expresses his conviction of the great importance of the question relating to the exclusive trade of the East-India Company, v. 249.

——— moves for select committee to inquire into state of affairs of East-India Company, his remarks, v. 257.

——— avows the intention of the government, of which he was a member, to open the trade to China, v. 274, 275.

——— moves for certain returns connected with India, and adverts to the omission of all notice of the subject in King's speech, v. 280, 281.

——— contrasts the position of the Company before and after the contemplated changes, v. 324.

——— his especial hostility directed against the proposal that Indian Governors should be relieved from the restraint of councils, v. 325.

ELLENBOROUGH, Lord, his remarks on the proposed opening of all offices to natives, v. 327.

————— further remarks as to abrogation of council, v. 330.

————— moves an instruction to the committee on the subject, v. 341.

ELLICE, Mr. Edward, his evidence on the trade of the Americans with China, v. 244.

ELLIS, Mr., appointed Chief of the British factory at Patna, his acts there disagreeable to Nabob and the English governor, i. 422.

————— orders Captain Carstairs to seize one of Nabob's officers for obstructing transit of opium, i. 423.

————— seizes an Armenian in the service of the Nabob, and sends him in irons to Calcutta, i. 423, 424.

————— applies for order to obtain surrender of deserters from commander of Fort of Mongheer; sends party of sepoys to enforce his wishes, i. 424, 425.

————— his removal from office demanded by Nabob Meer Cossim, i. 441.

————— murdered by order of Meer Cossim, i. 448.

ELPHINSTONE, Hon. Mountstuart, British resident at Poona, his unfavourable opinion of Trimbuckjee Dainglia, iv. 381.

————— hears at Ellora of murder of Gundghur Shastri, iv. 389.

————— demands justice on the murderers of the Shastri, iv. 389.

————— his demands unheeded, iv. 389.

————— requests an audience of the Peishwa; request evaded, iv. 391.

————— demands arrest of Trimbuckjee Dainglia, Bughwunt Row, and Bundojee, iv. 391.

————— reiterates his call for arrest of Trimbuckjee; his warning to Peishwa, iv. 394.

————— remonstrates against concentration of troops at Poona, iv. 397.

————— repeats his warning to Peishwa, iv. 397.

————— insists on unqualified surrender of

- Trimbuckjee, but gives private intimation that, after he should be in custody, no further inquiry should take place, iv. 398.
- ELPHINSTONE, Hon. Mountstuart, continues to enforce claims of British government, and obtains surrender of Trimbuckjee, i. 399, 400.
-
- _____ urges vigorous measures for preserving the peace of the Peishwa's dominions, iv. 429.
-
- _____ puts in motion British force, iv. 432.
-
- _____ his reason for affording Peishwa further indulgence, iv. 433.
-
- _____ his decisive communications to the Peishwa and his minister, iv. 435.
-
- _____ causes Poona to be surrounded by British force, iv. 436.
-
- _____ negotiates and concludes new treaty with Peishwa; its conditions, iv. 437—439.
-
- _____ his energetic conduct on the attack upon the residency, iv. 440.
-
- _____ summons Gen. Smith from south bank of Godavery, iv. 441.
-
- _____ his honourable decision on disputed conditions of surrender of the garrison of Maligaum, iv. 552, 553.
- BROAD, reduced by the English, i. 557.
-
- _____ disgraceful surrender of, to Hyder Ali, by Capts. Orton and Robinson; garrison of, removed to Seringapatam, i. 568, 569.
-
- _____ surrenders to Col. Oldham (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tipoo), ii. 408.
- ERSKINE, Gen., dispatches a party to relief of Mr. Davis, when attacked by Vizier Ali, iii. 167.
-
- _____ dispatched with military forces to meet Burmese in Chittagong, v. 4.
- EVANS, Major, leads assault on stockade in Burmese war, v. 24.
- FAITHFUL, Capt. W. C., carries enemy's breastworks on Sittolee ridge, in Nepal war, iv. 312.
- FANCOURT, Col., murdered at Vellore, iv. 63.

FARQUHAR, Lieut., killed at siege of Seringapatam, iii. 50.

———— Mr., English Governor of Isle of Bourbon, publishes address to inhabitants of Mauritius, iv. 154.

FENDALL, Mr., member of Council at Bengal, records his opinion in favour of the interference of British government for the security of Bhurtpore, v. 139.

FERGUSSON, Mr. Cutlar, defends the Court of Directors during the inquiry in the affairs of the East-India Company, and charges Mr. Whitmore with having caused confusion, v. 275.

———— appeals to comparative condition of Company's territories and those of native princes, as evidence of good government of the former, v. 320, 321.

———— moves amendments relating to legislative powers of the Gov.-Gen. in council, and to the continuance of councils at subordinate presidencies, v. 333.

———— important remarks of, on the exorbitant duties levied in England on the manufactures of India, v. 336, *note*.

———— presents petition of General Court of Proprietors of the East-India Company, and moves that they be heard by counsel, v. 337.

———— rebukes the impatience of the House on Indian affairs, v. 338, *note*.

———— moves omission of clause vesting government of presidencies in governor without council, v. 339.

FEROZE, first prince of the dynasty of Khilgy, i. 16.

———— first irruption of Mahometan arms into the Deccan takes place under, i. 16.

———— is murdered by his nephew, i. 16.

———— Toghluks, remarkable for the number and magnitude of his public works, i. 18.

———— twice abdicates the throne, i. 18.

———— dies at an advanced age, i. 18.

FISCHER, Capt., leads division of European troops at siege of Masulipatam, i. 306.

———— his advance, i. 308.

FITZGERALD, Capt., his gallant charge at the battle of Seetabuldee, iv. 474.

FITZGERALD, Major, convoy under, attacked by Hyder Ali; attack fails, i. 553.

———— arrival of, causes Hyder Ali to relinquish conflict with Col. Wood, i. 565.

———— represents necessity of removing the latter officer from command, i. 566.

FITZWILLIAM, Earl, opposes adjournment of House of Lords, requested by counsel for East-India Company, ii. 348.

FLETCHER, Col., dispatched, with detachment, to assist junction of Sir Hector Munro and Col. Baillie, ii. 229.

———— his sagacious conduct, ii. 229.

———— killed, ii. 233.

———— Major, pettah and fort of Khoordah carried by, iii. 463.

———— Sir Robt., foments mutinous proceedings in Bengal army, i. 510.

———— convicted by court-martial and sentenced to be cashiered, i. 512.

———— restored by general court; appointed to chief command and to a seat in council at Madras, ii. 29.

———— pretence for his restoration, ii. 29, *note*.

———— becomes involved in disputes with governor of Madras, ii. 29.

———— ordered to Trichinopoly, applies for passage to England, reproof conveyed in reply to his application, proceeds to Trichinopoly, allowed to return to England, ii. 29, 30.

———— again attains chief command at Madras, ii. 202, *note*.

———— ordered into arrest by Lord Pigot, ii. 202.

———— reference to his case, iv. 133.

FLEURY, M., attacks, Col. Cunningham, and compels him to accept conditions, iii. 319.

———— evades detachment sent against him, iii. 319.

FLINT, Lieut., dispatched for defence of Wandewash, which he finds occupied by Mahomet Ali's troops, killadar threatens to fire upon him; continues to advance, finds ramparts manned and gates shut, demands admission to deliver a letter, ii. 252, 253.

———— advances to conference with killadar, shews order of

his government, suddenly springs on killadar and seizes him, remainder of detachment rush in, gates opened, ii. 252, 253.

FLINT, Lieut., defeats the endeavours of the killadar to excite disaffection in the garrison at Wandewash, ii. 254.

FLOYD, Col., informs Gen. Medows of the approach of Tippoo, and suggests that advanced corps of the army should fall back on headquarters; he is ordered to maintain his position, ii. 409.

———— attacks and defeats Tippoo's force; enemy retires, and cannonade continues till sunset, ii. 409, 410.

———— calls council of war and retreats, ii. 410, 411.

———— effects junction with Gen. Medows, ii. 412.

———— charges rear-guard of Tippoo's retreating infantry, and nearly destroys them, ii. 431.

FORBES, Sir C., congratulates natives of India on being placed under government of the East-India Company instead of the Crown, v. 252.

———— his opinion on the China trade, v. 252, 253.

———— calls for reduction of duties on Indian goods, v. 253.

———— reproves members of parliamentary committee for non-attendance, v. 276.

FORDE, Col., proceeds to Nellore to aid army of Mahomet Ali, retires without success, i. 268.

———— proceeds with expedition to Vizagapatam, i. 298, 299.

———— defeats the French under M. Conflans at Peddapore, i. 300.

———— advances to Rajahmundry, crosses the Godavery in pursuit of the enemy, recrosses the river, i. 301.

———— arrives in sight of Masulipatam, i. 302.

———— his difficulties for want of money; how overcome, i. 303, 304.

———— becomes aware of flight of Anunderauze, dispatches messenger to win him back, Anunderauze rejoins, i. 304, 305.

———— determines to make attempt to carry Masulipatam by storm, i. 306.

———— makes an attack with three divisions, i. 306—308.

———— rejects the offer of M. Conflans to surrender on terms, i. 308.

FORDE, Col., obtains possession of the place and of a rich booty, i. 308, 309.

————— concludes treaty with Salabat Jung, i. 309, 310.

————— returns from the Deccan, and is dispatched northward with a force against the Dutch, i. 374.

————— his merit early noticed by Clive, i. 374, *note*.

————— attacked by garrison of Chinsura, whom he defeats and puts to flight; marches—engages force landed from Dutch ships, reinforced by part of garrison, and routs them, i. 376, 377.

FORT OSTENBURGH, added to the conquest of the English, ii. 264.

FORT ST. DAVID, purchased by the East-India Company from a native prince, fortified and becomes an important station, i. 74.

————— on fall of Madras, Company's agents assume general administration of affairs in that part of India, i. 78.

————— arms of the French directed against, by Dupleix, English repel the attack, i. 78.

————— Clive makes his escape thither in disguise, i. 99.

————— Clive appointed governor of, proceeds thither, i. 184.

————— council of, mistake French fleet for English, i. 273.

————— their messenger captured; effects of the capture, i. 275.

————— French squadron descried sailing off, i. 276.

————— attacked, by the French; capitulates, i. 277, 278.

————— surrender of, excites alarm and indignation at Madras; court of inquiry appointed, by whom the terms of capitulation are declared shameful, i. 278.

FORT ST. GEORGE, fortification erected by the East-India Company at Madrapatam, so named, i. 73.

See also Madras.

FORT SUMANAP (Java), attacked and carried by storm, iv. 194, 195.

FORT WILLIAM, Company's settlement in Bengal fortified and so called, i. 74.

————— College of, founded by Marquis Wellesley; its establishment and suppression; observations, iii. 260—274.

See also Calcutta and Bengal.

FOULSTONE, Lieut., his gallantry in effecting communication between

- British force lying off Island of Bourbon and detachment on shore, iv. 150, 151.
- FOWKE, Mr., removed from office at Benares by Hastings, grounds for removal, ii. 90.
- his restoration ordered by Court of Directors, orders set at naught, ii. 128.
- Fox, Right Hon. Chas. James, moves in House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill for better government of territorial possessions and dependencies in India, plan of bill expounded by, ii. 343, 344.
- outline of its provisions, ii. 344.
- remarks on bill, ii. 344.
- he is denounced by Mr. Powys, ii. 344.
- bill passes Commons and is transferred to the Lords, ii. 344.
- bill fails through dissolution of ministry, ii. 344.
- moves for leave to bring in a bill in opposition to Pitt's bill, but no progress made in it, ii. 350.
- calls attention of House of Commons to claims of creditors of Nabob of Arcot, motion for papers lost, ii. 357.
- moves that there is ground for impeaching Hastings in reference to treatment of Cheyt Singh, ii. 361.
- moves that Francis be added to committee for conducting impeachment of Hastings, ii. 362.
- states course proposed to be taken by managers of impeachment of Hastings, ii. 365.
- FRANCE, Isle of, arrival at, of French expedition, i. 276.
- See also Mauritius.
- FRANCIS, Mr. Philip, nominated member of council of Bengal, ii. 58.
- supports Gen. Clavering in calling for correspondence of Hastings with Company's servants, supports suggestion of Col. Monson for recall of Middleton, ii. 61.
- supports proposal of Gen. Clavering for transferring duties of resident to Col. Champion, ii. 62.
- concurs with Gen. Clavering and Col. Monson in considering treaty with Vizier as dissolved by his death, ii. 65.

- FRANCIS, Mr. Philip, presents to council paper from Nuncomar, accusing Hastings of corruption, ii. 71, 72.
- _____ supports Gen. Clavering in his attempt to usurp the office of governor, ii. 97, 98.
- _____ attends meeting of council, moves for reversing resolutions excluding Gen. Clavering; his remarks, ii. 101, 102.
- _____ maintains the right of Gen. Clavering to retain the office of commander-in-chief, ii. 102.
- _____ supports Mr. Wheeler in proposal to suspend compliance with application of the Nabob Mobarik-ul-Dowlah to be intrusted with the administration of his own affairs, ii. 126.
- _____ objects to appropriation of salary of Mahomed Reza Khan, ii. 127.
- _____ joins with Mr. Wheeler in proposing to call on Nabob to restore Mahomed Reza Khan, ii. 127—129.
- _____ his change of position with regard to Hastings, ii. 128, 129.
- _____ desires retirement of Barwell, ii. 129.
- _____ overture for accommodation with Hastings, ii. 130.
- _____ meets Hastings to complete pacification, ii. 130.
- _____ opposes proposal of Hastings to appoint Sir Elijah Impey judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, ii. 150.
- _____ denies ever being party to any engagement securing to Hastings the management of the Mahratta war, ii. 153.
- _____ fights duel with Hastings and is wounded, ii. 154.
- _____ quits India, ii. 155.
- _____ his objection to carrying war into territories of Scindia and Holkar; occasion of duel with Hastings, ii. 195.
- _____ failure of attempts to introduce him into committee for carrying on impeachment of Hastings, ii. 362.
- _____ alleges that Sir G. Barlow had incurred the displeasure of Court of Directors, iv. 94.
- FRANKLAND and Manningham, Messrs., volunteer to superintend the embarkation of females from Calcutta when attacked by Soorajoo-Dowlah, and refuse to return, i. 190.

FRASER, Col. Hastings, dislodges a body of riflemen, moves towards St. Denis, attacks and defeats the main force of the enemy in the island of Bourbon, iv. 151, 152.

————— is joined by Col. Drummond, and obtains surrender of the island, iv. 153.

————— of the Royal Scots, commands column of attack at Asseergurh, iv. 573.

————— falls while rallying his men, iv. 574.

————— Gen., detached in search of Holkar's infantry and guns, iii. 450.

————— arrives at Goburdum, iii. 451.

————— engages the enemy near Deeg, iii. 451.

————— mortally wounded and dies, iii. 452, 453.

————— Lieut., succeeds Mr. Graeme as political agent in Coorg, v. 212.

————— Mr. Wm., first assistant to the Resident at Delhi, raises large body of irregulars for the Nepaul war, iv. 264.

FREDERICK, Col., assaults Darwar, is repulsed, dies of the effects of disappointment, ii. 419.

FRENCH attack and take Madras, i. 76.

————— attack Nabob of the Carnatic and force him to retire to Arcot, i. 77.

————— their perfidy towards the English, i. 77.

————— power and influence of, exerted against Nazir Jung, i. 86.

————— defection in their army, i. 88.

————— capture a fortified pagoda near Fort St. David, i. 90.

————— attack the camp of Mahomet Ali, who abandons his entrenchments, i. 90.

————— gain possession of Gingee, i. 90, 91.

————— advance upon camp of Nazir Jung, who is murdered by his own dependents, i. 92.

————— their disputes with the Patan chiefs about booty, i. 92, 93.

————— their power and influence at the court of Mozuffar Jung, i. 93.

————— support Salabat Jung on death of Mozuffar Jung, i. 96.

————— murder disabled soldiers near Conjeveram, i. 114.

————— stratagem, by which they obtained possession of Covelong, i. 159, 160, *note*.

————— defeated by Major Lawrence at Golden Rock, i. 173, 174.

- FRENCH report the death of Major Lawrence, i. 137.
- again defeated by Major Lawrence, i. 128.
- fail in attack on Trichinopoly, i. 178.
- suspension of arms and treaty concluded with, i. 180.
- offer to assist English against Sooraj-oo-Dowlah on condition of their quitting Calcutta for Chandernagore, i. 189.
- negotiations with, at Chandernagore, with a view to maintenance of neutrality, i. 214—219.
- attacked at Chandernagore, and the place taken, i. 220.
- menace Trichinopoly, i. 268.
- retire, i. 272.
- various movements of, i. 272.
- capture Fort St. David and Devi-cottah, i. 278, 279.
- their march to Tanjore and return, i. 279—282.
- lay siege to Madras, i. 284.
- retire, i. 296.
- proceedings of, under M. Conflans, i. 300—308.
- naval engagement with, i. 313, 314.
- subsequent events, i. 315, 316.
- mutiny in Lally's army, i. 322, 323.
- capture Seringham, i. 324, 325.
- their cruelty there, i. 325.
- movements of Bussy and Lally, i. 331—337.
- defeated at Wandewash by Colonel Coote, i. 339—343.
- sundry movements of, i. 344—346.
- besieged in Pondicherry, i. 346.
- their power in the Carnatic terminated by fall of Pondicherry, i. 359.
- their possessions restored at peace, i. 523.
- succeed in landing troops at Porto Novo, ii. 266.
- join Hyder Ali, ii. 267.
- naval engagement with, ii. 268.
- defeated by General Stuart, ii. 274, 275.⁷
- retire from Mangalore on conclusion of peace, ii. 277, 278.
- attacks upon the islands belonging to, in the Indian Ocean, and their capture, iv. 141—172.
- Major, joins Col. Gillespie at Palembang, iv. 200.

FRITH, Major, captures Melloon (Burmese war), v. 76.

FULLARTON, Mr., saved from the massacre of European prisoners by Meer Cossim, effects his escape, i. 448.

————— Col., his conflicting instructions (war with Tippoo after death of Hyder Ali), ii. 278.

————— receives intelligence of violation of convention of Mangalore, moves on to Paligaut to effect junction with Gen. Macleod, ii. 282.

————— proceeds to capital of Coimbatore, his progress arrested by instructions from commissioners, ii. 283.

————— required to suspend his operations, abandon all his conquests, and retire; his partial obedience, ii. 283, 284.

————— complete obedience enforced on him by government, ii. 285.

FULLARTON, Col., receives counter orders, ii. 286.

FULLER, Mr., Chairman of Committee of the House of Commons, moves for leave to bring in a Bill for regulating Company's dividends, motion carried, ii. 7.

FUMEL, Viscount, dispatched to negotiate with mutineers in Lally's army, succeeds partially, i. 323.

FURRUCKABAD transferred to the Company, circumstances relating to, iii. 237.

————— remarks on, iii. 238, 239.

FUTTEH Hyder, eldest son of Tippoo, personally tenders submission to Gen. Harris, iii. 69.

———— Sing Guicowar disavows intrigues carried on in his name at Court of Peishwa, iv. 383.

See also Guicowar.

FUZZUL-OOŁ-KHAN (General of Hyder Ali) enters Coimbatore, i. 566, 567.

FYZABAD, palace of begums at, blockaded, ii. 332.

FYZOOLA Khan (Rohilla chief), movement against, dispute settled by negotiation, ii. 47.

———— arrangement made with him guaranteed by British government, ii. 319.

———— assistance demanded from, by the English, ii. 319.

———— offers reduced amount, ii. 319.

FYZOOLA Khan, further demand, and modified offer of compliance, iii. 320.

————— is declared to have forfeited the protection of the English, iii. 320.

————— remarks on conduct of Hastings towards, ii. 320—324.

————— his death, ii. 559.

————— succeeding disturbances, ii. 560.

————— prosperity of his dominions, ii. 560.

GALLOWAY, Gen., his opinion on the permanent settlement in Bengal, ii. 529—531, *note*.

————— his claims to the suggestion of breaching by mines at the second siege of Bhurtpore, v. 159—168, *note*.

————— his services acknowledged by Lord Combermere, v. 168, 169, *note*.

————— answers to objections, v. 170, *note*.

GARDENER, Cornet, falls in the breach of Lahar, ii. 188.

GARDINER, Captain, attacks Tantia, a native chief, with success, iii. 428.

GARDNER, Col., appointed to raise and command a body of irregulars during Nepaul war, iv. 307, 308.

————— his successful advance, drives the enemy from position in front of Almorah, iv. 308, 309.

————— instance of his devotedness to duty, v. 65, *note*.

————— Hon. Edward, intrusted with negotiations during Nepaul war, iv. 264.

————— ordered to proceed to Kumaon in a political character, iv. 308.

————— assents to proposal of Bum Sah to address letters recommending certain Nepaulese commanders to withdraw their forces, iv. 321.

GASCOYNE, Gen., objects to construction of Committee of the House of Commons for inquiry into affairs of East-India Company, v. 270, 271.

————— condemns report of Committee, v. 271.

GAWILGHUR, description of, by Gen. Wellesley, iii. 350, 351.

GAWILGHUR, British force under General Stevenson and General Wellesley move against it, iii. 351.

——— operations against, iii. 352.

——— its fall, iii. 353.

GERIAH, general engagement there between English and Meer Cossim; victory of the former, and flight of the latter, i. 445.

GHAZI Khan Toghluk defeats and slays the murderer of Moharik, and mounts the throne of Delhi, i. 16.

GHAZI-OO-DEEN, eldest son of Nizam-ool-Moolk, denies that he had renounced his right of succession, appears at head of an army, proclaims himself Soobahdar of the Deccan, i. 167, 168.

GHERIAH, pirate station on coast of Concan, attacked by Adm. Watson and Clive, place falls into their hands, i. 182, 183.

GHIZNI, dynasty of, involved in wars with the Suljook Turks, and with the Affghan house of Ghoor, driven from their capital, i. 13.

——— dynasty of, take refuge in India; Lahore becomes their capital; recover Ghizni, again expelled, close of dynasty, i. 13.

GHOLAUM Hossein (native historian), his account of the wealth of the Bankers Seit, i. 446, *note*.

——— ascribes surrender of Mongheer to treachery of governor, i. 447, *note*.

——— Ali Khan, his correspondence with Tippoo Sultan from Madras, relating to Mahomet Ali, iii. 330.

——— endeavours to evade inquiries of British commissioners respecting intrigues with Mahomet Ali, by affecting dotage, iii. 135, 136.

——— Kaudir Khan (Rohilla), obtains possession of city of Delhi; his dreadful excesses, iii. 322, 323.

——— his flight to Meerut, and escape from that place; capture, dreadful mutilation and death, iii. 323, *note*.

GHOLAM Mahomed (son of Fyzoolla Khan) raises rebellion on death of his father, makes his elder brother prisoner, and murders him, ii. 559.

GHUFFOOR Khan (Patan) places Kurreem Pindarrie (intrusted to him by Holkar) under restraint, iv. 414.

——— provision for securing jaghire to, in Marquis of Hastings's treaty with Holkar, iv. 496.

- GIBBS, Col., attacks and puts to flight army of Gen. Janssens (Java), iv. 193.
- GILLESPIE, Col., receives intelligence at Arcot of mutiny at Vellore; marches thither immediately, iv. 62.
- blows open gate, charges and disperses the insurgents, iv. 63.
- heads a sally on the enemy at Batavia, iv. 186.
- attempt to poison him and his staff, iv. 187.
- his prompt attack of the enemy at Wellevreden; carries the place at point of bayonet, iv. 188.
- attacks and takes fort of Meester Corselis, iv. 188—190.
- his personal encounters, iv. 190.
- commands force against Palimbang, iv. 197.
- arrives at Palimbang, refuses to treat except with Sultan in person, takes possession of works at Borang, iv. 198.
- endeavours to stop confusion and carnage at Palimbang, iv. 198, 199.
- attempt to assassinate him frustrated, iv. 199.
- obtains possession of the city, fort, batteries, and forty-two pieces of cannon, iv. 200.
- arrives at Djoejocarta, outrages which follow, iv. 202.
- cannonades palace of Sultan of Djoejocarta, takes it by escalade, and makes Sultan prisoner, iv. 203, 204.
- placed in command of division of the army against Nepal, iv. 264.
- failure of his attempt against Kalunga; is mortally wounded there, iv. 272.
- reference to his proceedings, iv. 342.
- GINGEE taken possession of by the French, i. 91.
- garrison of, summoned to surrender by Major Kinneir, i. 154.
- taken by Capt. Stephen Smith, i. 359.
- GLADSTONE, Mr. John, his evidence on the trade of the Americans with China, v. 244.
- GLASS and Revell, British officers; their lives spared by the French, when their companions were murdered, near Conjeveram, i. 114.

- GLASS and Revell are required to make communication to Clive, to deter him from attack, i. 114.
- GOA attacked by Portuguese and taken by storm, retaken by a native force, again captured by the Portuguese, i. 137.
- becomes the capital of Portuguese dominions in India, and the see of an archbishop, the primate of the Indies, i. 37.
- GOBURDUN, arrival of Gen. Frazer there in pursuit of Holkar's infantry and guns, iii. 451.
- GODDARD, Col., succeeds Col. Leslie in command of force from Bengal, detached in support of Rugonath Rao, ii. 182.
- disregards instructions from Bombay, and continues his march, ii. 183.
- GODDARD, Col., his honourable reception by government of Bombay; is requested to join deliberation in council, and recommended for appointment as commander-in-chief, ii. 183.
- intrusted with authority to negotiate treaty with Mahratta state, ii. 186.
- puts his army in motion, takes Ahmedabad by assault, advances to give battle to Scindia and Holkar, attacks camp of Scindia, ii. 186, 187.
- Gen., marches to attack Bassein, arrives there, Bassein surrenders at discretion, ii. 191.
- marches to threaten Poona, and establishes head-quarters at foot of the Ghauts; amused by minister of Peishwa, with pretended negotiation, his army harassed, prepares for retreat, ii. 194, 195.
- presses negotiation for peace, ii. 197.
- GODERICH, Lord, succeeds to chief place in administration; yields to anti-Catholic party, v. 178.
- GODHEU, M., supersedes Dupleix in the government of the French possessions in India, i. 180.
- GODWIN, Col. (King's 41st), attacks and carries stockades in Burmese war, v. 30.
- dispatched on expedition to Marteban; attack and capture of that place, v. 34—36.
- dislodges advanced position of Burmese force at Than-tabain, v. 50.

GOHUD, alliance formed with the Rana of, i. 187.

- Rana, attacked by Mahrattas, demands aid from British government; troops, under Capt. Popham, dispatched to his assistance, ii. 187, 188.
- treaty with Rana of, iii. 385.
- demand of, by Scindia, iii. 404.
- discussion on the right of the British government to dispose of the country, iii. 486—490.
- invaded by Ambajee Ingolia, iii. 504.
- Marquis Cornwallis determines to surrender it to Scindia, his apology for the surrender, iv. 9.
- weakness of the Rana of, iv. 10.
- arguments of Marquis Cornwallis in justification of his policy concerning, v. 11—13.
- remarks, iv. 13—25.

GOLCONDA invaded by Mohammed, son of Aurungzebe, i. 40.

- King of, overcome by Aurungzebe, ends his days in prison at Dowlatabad, i. 64.
- Mozuffar Jung sets out for, escorted by troops commanded by M. Bussy, i. 94, 95.

GOLDEN Rock, British post at, attacked by M. Artruc and carried, retaken by Major Lawrence, i. 173, 174.

GOODIAS (son of Nuncomar) appointed treasurer of Nabob's household by Warren Hastings, ii. 32.

- his appointment alleged to have been obtained by a bribe to Hastings, ii. 72.
- succeeds Munny Begum as guardian of the Nabob, ii. 78.

GOORKHA tribe established in great force in Nepaul, iv. 252, 253.

- their encroachments, iv. 253.
 - imprison and put to death Perthee Paul Sing, Rajah of Palpa, iv. 253, 254.
 - Prince claims management of Bootwul, iv. 254.
 - Sir Geo. Barlow's effort to conciliate them fails, iv. 254, 255.
- See also Nepaul.

GOOROO Gujraj Misser. See Gujraj Misser.

GORDON, Major Robert, his extraordinary disappearance at the attack on Wandewash, i. 318.

GORDON, Major Robert, similar disappearance of, during attack on redoubts near Pondicherry, i. 351.

——— Col., arrives with provisions at Mangalore after articles of capitulation agreed upon, ii. 282.

GOREHAM, Lieut., saves his life by knowledge of native language, is required by Hyder Ali to translate summons of surrender of Erood, i. 568.

GOSSAINS, account of, by Capt. Duff, iii. 368, 369, *note*.

GOVERNMENT, art of, as practised in the native states of the East, iv. 400—402, *note*.

GOVINDPORE, how obtained by East-India Company, i. 74.

GOWDIE, Major, captures Ryaccotah, ii. 440.

GRAEME, Mr. H. S., appointed to conduct communication with Rajah of Coorg, nature of his instructions, v. 207, 208.

——— fails in attempt to induce Rajah to receive him, v. 208, 209.

——— attempts to negotiate through native agency, v. 210.

——— is succeeded in political duties by Lieut. Fraser, returns to Europe, v. 212.

GRAFTON, Duke of, his communications with Chairman and Deputy Chairman of East-India Company, ii. 4—7.

——— his interview with Macpherson, agent of the Nabob of Arcot, Mahomet Ali, ii. 21, 22.

——— avowal of determination to give all his influence to cause of Mahomet Ali, ii. 23.

——— use made by Macpherson of the Duke's encouragement, ii. 25, 26.

GRAHAM, Mr., demands of Ranee of Burdwan security for payment of a penalty in case of failure in establishing charges against Warren Hastings and others, ii. 68.

——— intrusted jointly with Colonel Maclean with authority to tender resignation of Hastings, ii. 91.

——— purport of letter addressed to him and Colonel Maclean, by Hastings, ii. 109.

GRANDE Chaloupe, description of, by St. Pierre, iv. 151, *note*.

GRANT, Capt., success of his column at Bhurtpore, iii. 473.

- GRANT, Capt. James, attacks and captures Fort of Talyne in Pindarrie war, iv. 486.
- Ensign, his gallant defence of Dumbadenia in Ceylon, iii. 412.
- Mr., maintains right of government in the land, ii. 530, *note*.
- Charles, sen., opposes Lord Castlereagh's motion for select committee on affairs of East-India Company, iv. 229.
- supports motion for confining return of vessels from India to the port of London for a limited period, iv. 243.
- statements on behalf of East-India Company by, v. 239—244.
- Charles, jun., claims for East-India Company credit for improvement of India, iv. 236.
- answers objection to union of political and commercial functions, iv. 237.
- denounces those who, having participated largely in the slave trade, had become advocates of free trade with India, iv. 239.
- his bold and striking peroration, iv. 239, 240.
- moves re-appointment of Committee of Inquiry, v. 274.
- moves that notice be given of payment of debt due by public to Company, v. 274.
- again moves for re-appointment of Committee of Inquiry, v. 275.
- vindicates Directors from suspicion of obstructing inquiry, v. 275, 276.
- avows satisfaction with conduct of Directors of East-India Company, v. 276.
- alleges that they are charged with disposition to withhold information, v. 277, 278.
- alleges necessity of his taking a more direct and leading part in proceedings of committee, v. 278.
- once more moves for committee, v. 281.
- suggestion of, for dividing committee, v. 281.
- his answer to question of Mr. Stuart Wortley on duty of General Committee, v. 282.
- his arguments on the opening of China trade, v. 288, 289.

GRANT, Mr. Charles, jun., his explanation on the question of security to proprietors of India stock, of their annuity, v. 289, 290.

— regards ministerial plan as unobjectionable with respect to England, beneficial to India, and favourable to the Company, v. 290.

— his answer to questions as to relinquishment of trade by the Company, the disposition of its commercial prosperity, and the term of the annuity, v. 291, 292.

— argues in favour of increasing the power of the Board, refuses to allow publicity in cases of difference between Court and Board; maintains necessity of securing annuity of Company on India exclusively, v. 301, 302.

— states that transfer of property of Company to the Crown involves transfer of obligations; adverts to education for civil service, v. 303.

— makes further communication on financial points, v. 305, 306.

— vindicates the views of Ministers, v. 307.

— the reasoning by which his refusal of publicity was supported, v. 312, 313, *note*.

— moves that the House of Commons resolve into committee on Indian affairs, panegyricizes Company's government, but objects to its union with trade, v. 314—316.

— argues for termination of China monopolies, v. 317.

— states proposed arrangements, v. 317.

— produces statements relating to trade between India and China which Court of Directors had shewn to be defective, v. 317.

— notices proposed extension of power of Gov.-Gen., contemplated subjection of Europeans to same jurisdiction as natives, removal of disabilities for office, law commission, new bishoprics; moves three resolutions, v. 317, 318.

— presents a Bill to the Commons founded on ministerial plan of compromise, v. 321.

— adds clause respecting slavery, v. 334.

— adds proviso, allowing grant of money by government of India to religious purposes unconnected with the established churches of England and Scotland, v. 340.

- GREENHILL, Major, commands column for attack of breach at Malligaum, operations of, is wounded, iv. 549, 550.
- GRENVILLE, Lord, defends exercise of Royal prerogative in removing Sir George Barlow from office of Gov.-Gen., iv. 91.
- _____ suggests a select committee to hear evidence on arrangement with East-India Company, iv. 230.
- _____ his opinions on the subject, iv. 231, 232.
- _____ declares that he is for transferring the government of India to the Crown altogether, iv. 233.
- _____ remarks on his speech, iv. 234, 235.
- GREY, Earl, new ministry formed under, v. 273, 274.
- _____ intimates that ministers did not intend to bring on any measure on subjects of East-India Company's Charter during the session of 1831, v. 281.
- GUICOWAR, discussions between Peishwa and, iv. 379.
- _____ State, support of the family of Gungadthur Shastri by, iv. 400—402, *note*.
- GUJELHUTTY surrenders to the army of Hyder Ali, i. 567.
- GUJRAJ Misser, attempt to negotiate with Nepaul through, iv. 324.
- _____ negotiation suspended, iv. 325.
- _____ negotiation renewed and again suspended, iv. 326.
- _____ negotiation re-opened, iv. 331.
- _____ negotiation with, concluded by treaty, iv. 332.
- GUMBER Singh engaged and defeated by Burmese, v. 12.
- _____ succeeds in reaching western boundary of Manipur; Burmese fly on his approach; returns to Sylhet, v. 60, 61.
- _____ stipulation in treaty with Burmese regarding, v. 82.
- GUNGA Bye, widow of Peishwa, suspicion cast upon birth of her child, ii. 159, *note*.
- GUNGADHUR Shastri, chief minister of the Guicowar, his talents and services, iv. 382.
- _____ selected to conduct negotiations with Peishwa, iv. 382.
- _____ intrigues to defeat the object of his mission, iv. 382—384.
- _____ on failure of his mission is about to leave Poona, iv. 384.

GUNGADHUR Shastry is invited to accompany Peishwa to Punderpore, and murdered, iv. 386—388.

————— his murder the source and origin of great political changes in India, iv. 401, 402.

GUNTOOR, rented of Basalut Jung by Company, ii. 218.

GURDEE Khan, Pindarrie, favour bestowed upon, by Holkar, iv. 406.

GURWOOD, Col., anecdote of Sir Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), related by, iii. 535, 536, *note*.

GUZERAT, portion of territory renounced by East-India Company to Peishwa, iii. 372.

GWALIOR taken by Capt. Popham, ii. 189, 190.

————— ceded to the Company, iii. 385.

————— demanded by Scindia, iii. 484.

————— apology for surrender of, by Marq. Cornwallis, iv. 9.

————— surrendered by British government to Scindia, iv. 25.

HAFIZ Jee, officer of the Nizam, left in charge of lower fort of Goomconda, attacked and made prisoner, ii. 456, 457.

————— carried to a concealed situation and murdered by Aly Reeza, ii. 458.

HAFIZ Rhemut Khan and Vizier, conference of Sir Robt. Barker with, ii. 40, *note*.

————— English and native statements of the arrangements with, ii. 40—44, *note*.

————— remarks on conflicting accounts, ii. 44, 45, *note*.

HALIBURTON, Lieut.-Col., commander of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, marches to neighbourhood of Aurungabad to aid operations against Holkar, iii. 460.

————— joins Col. Wallace, iii. 461.

————— ordered to occupy position favourable to the seizure of Scindia's possessions south of the Nerbudda, iii. 536, 537.

————— directed to advance to Moolapore, iii. 548.

HAMAGERY Merion, native servant of the Company, selected by Mr. Graeme as agent at Coorg, forcibly detained there, v. 210.

HAMELIN, M., his taunting remark to Gen. Abercrombie, and the general's retort, iv. 159.

- HAMILTON, Major, takes possession of battery at house of dewan of Travancore, arrives at Anjuvicha, attacks party of the enemy, defeats and disperses them, iv. 124, 125.
- HAMMOND, Major, commands two battalions employed in keeping in check part of the enemy's force at the battle of Deeg, iii. 452-3.
- HARCOURT, Col., suppresses the annoyances created by the Rajah of Khoordah, and the Zemindar of Kimka, iii. 463.
- HARDYMAN, Gen., ordered to move to the Nerbudda on breaking out of disturbances in Nagpore, iv. 480, 481.
- defeats the enemy at Jubbulpore, iv. 481.
- HARLAND, Sir Robt., his officious and dangerous conduct; enters into negotiations with Mahrattas, is involved in disputes with governor and council of Madras; departs, ii. 28.
- HARPUR, Lieut.-Col., intercepted by officers of Hyder Ali in marching from Guntoor to Adoni, the capital of Basalut Jung's other dominions in the Deccan; retires, ii. 218, 219.
- HARRINGTON, Mr., member of council of Bengal, records his opinion in favour of the interference of the British government at Bhurtpore, v. 139.
- vindicates the course which he recommends, from imputation of being at variance with orders from home, v. 140, 141.
- HARRIOTT, Lieut., drives a body of Scindia's infantry out of Kooshailghur during Col. Monson's retreat, iii. 435.
- HARRIS, Capt. George, with Capt. F. Pellew, reduces French fortress in Madura, iv. 194, 195.
- Gen., his firmness and public spirit, iii. 31, 32.
- appointed to command army of Carnatic against Tippoo, in place of Sir Alured Clark, iii. 38.
- suggests re-appointment of Sir Alured Clark, iii. 38.
- retains command at desire of Gov.-Gen., iii. 38.
- joins the army, iii. 38.
- crosses Mysorean frontier with army 37,000 strong, iii. 41.
- arrives at Mallavelly, general action takes place, Tippoo defeated, iii. 41, 42.
- changes his route and deceives the enemy, iii. 42.
- his order issued when in sight of Seringapatam, iii. 43.

HARRIS, Gen., makes attempt upon enemy's advanced posts, receives letter from Tippoo, his answer thereto, iii. 44.

————— receives overtures of Tippoo to negotiate; his reply; requires answer, with hostages and a crore of rupees, within forty-eight hours, under pain of extending his demand to surrender of Seringapatam, iii. 45, 46, 47.

————— receives another letter from Tippoo, repeats proposals, but declines to receive vakeels unless accompanied with hostages and specie, iii. 47, 48.

————— his instructions to Major-Gen. Baird to make capture of rampart first object, iii. 48.

————— after fall of Seringapatam, receives submission of various chiefs, iii. 69.

HART, Col. Vaughan, defeats attempt of enemy to establish a redoubt during last siege of Seringapatam, iii. 44.

HARTLEY, Col., engaged in covering operations of Col. Goddard against Bassein, ii. 191.

————— Mahrattas seek to destroy his army, but without success, ii. 192.

————— left with force to act against a body of Tippoo's troops under Hussein Ali, attacks and utterly defeats them; Hussein Ali made prisoner, ii. 416, 417.

HARVEY, Capt., captures guns in Island of Bourbon, iv. 144.

HASTINGS, Marquis of, his elaborate minute relative to the permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis, ii. 526—529, *note*.

————— recommended to office by the political party which he had always opposed, iv. 104.

————— defends conduct of Sir Thomas Hislop, iv. 510.

————— his minute on the subject, iv. 511, 512, *note*.

————— remarks on minute of, iv. 526.

————— rejects proposal of Appa Sahib to transfer his dominions to the Company, iv. 532.

————— orders the Killadar of Mundela and his principal officers to be brought to court-martial, remarks, iv. 536, 537.

————— resolves on restoring the house of Sattarah to sovereignty, iv. 555.

HASTINGS, Marquis of, his wise and just arrangements in regard to the Peishwa, iv. 559—563.

_____ remarks on his erroneous policy in restoring the Rajah of Sattara, iv. 562, 563.

_____ his desire to conciliate Scindia, iv. 567, *note*.

_____ his indulgent course towards Scindia, iv. 568, 569.

_____ his professions of confidence of Scindia discontinued, and siege of Assergurh determined on, iv. 569, 570.

_____ folly of his affected belief in Scindia's sincerity, iv. 570, *note*.

_____ his transactions with Oude, iv. 579, 580.

_____ his unhappy connexion in the affairs of the firm of William Palmer and Co., iv. 580—583.

_____ invests Sir David Ochterlony with Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, iv. 584.

_____ quits the government of India, iv. 584.

_____ remarks on his administration, iv. 585, 586.

_____ grant made by East-India Company for the purchase of an estate to be settled in such manner as to perpetuate memory of his services, further grant to his son, iv. 586, *note*.

_____ refuses to surrender fugitives from Arracan, communication of his lordship to Burmese sovereign, v. 5, 6.

(See also Moira, Earl of.)

_____ Warren, while resident at court of Meer Jaffier, adverts to massacre of the women at Dacca, remarks on his conclusions with regard to it, i. 411, *note*.

_____ deputed on special mission to Meer Cossim, i. 425, 426.

_____ receives answer of Meer Cossim to application for twenty lacs of rupees, i. 427.

_____ takes occasion to call attention of government to abuses connected with trade, i. 428.

_____ is of opinion that the Company's servants had no right to carry on inland trade duty free, votes accordingly, i. 433.

_____ is of opinion that English agents should be under actual control of officers of country governments, i. 435.

- HASTINGS, Warren, adheres to his former view that 9 per cent. duty should be paid on all articles in the inland trade of the Company's servants, i. 435.
- _____ resists the attempt of the council to compel the Nabob to re-impose customs duties on the inland trade, i. 439, 440.
- _____ succeeds Mr. Cartier as Governor of Bengal, ii. 31.
- _____ executes orders of Court of Directors by seizing Mahomed Reza Khan, his family, partizans, and adherents; appoints Goodias treasurer of Nabob's household, ii. 32.
- _____ observations on his conduct, ii. 32.
- _____ selects Munny Begum as guardian of the infant Nabob; his defence of the appointment, ii. 33, 34.
- _____ remarks, ii. 34, 35.
- _____ resumes the districts allotted to the Emperor, and resolves to discontinue payment of tribute to him, ii. 35, 36.
- _____ is desirous of assisting Vizier in war with Rohillas; his motives, ii. 42, 43.
- _____ his caution, ii. 45, 46.
- _____ his opinion of his colleagues in council, ii. 60.
- _____ refuses to lay before council his entire correspondence with Company's representatives in Oude, ii. 61.
- _____ declines nominating successor to Middleton, recalled by council from Oude, ii. 62.
- _____ instructed to write to Vizier, apprizing him of removal of Middleton, and the transfer of his duties to Colonel Champion, ii. 62, 63.
- _____ opposes demand upon Vizier for payment of sums due, ii. 62.
- _____ lays his case before the Court of Directors, ii. 64.
- _____ records opinions adverse to the new treaty with Oude, ii. 67.
- _____ denies right of his colleagues to institute inquiries into his conduct, and claims privilege of dissolving meeting of council; his claim resisted, quits the chair, ii. 67, 68.
- _____ charges preferred against, by Ranees of Burdwan, ii. 68.

- HASTINGS, Warren, defends Foujdar of Hooghly ; remarks, ii. 68, 69.
- _____ charge against, arising out of appointment of Munny Begum to guardianship of Nabob ; remarks, ii. 70, 71.
- _____ bound by covenant not to receive presents ; did not take the oath framed by Clive, ii. 71, *note*.
- _____ charged by Nuncomar with taking bribe for placing Goodias in office, declares he will not allow Nuncomar to appear before council as his accuser, ii. 72.
- _____ his altercation with Colonel Monson, ii. 74, 75.
- _____ declares the council dissolved and departs, ii. 75.
- _____ refuses to resume the chair, ii. 75, 76.
- _____ refuses to receive resolutions passed by Gen. Clavering and Col. Monson in his absence, or to give any answer to them, ii. 76.
- _____ advises witnesses not to attend, and again declares council dissolved, ii. 76.
- _____ and Vansittart institute proceedings in Supreme Court against Nuncomar and others, ii. 77.
- _____ inquiry into his connection with the apprehension, trial, conviction, and sentence of Nuncomar, ii. 85—87.
- _____ relieved from accusations by death of Nuncomar, ii. 87.
- _____ obtains predominant power in council through the death of Col. Monson.
- _____ proceeds to annul acts of his opponents, ii. 88.
- _____ procures recal of Mr. Bristow and re-appointment of Mr. Middleton, ii. 89.
- _____ removes Mr. Fowkes from Benares, ii. 90.
- _____ his authority shaken by new arrangement for government, in which he has no place, ii. 90, 91.
- _____ narrative of his previous measures for tendering his resignation, and of his reasons, ii. 91.
- _____ Court of Directors address the King praying his removal from office, ii. 91, 92.
- _____ his agent makes overtures to ministers and influential directors, with a view to accommodation, his friends determine to try the result of a general court, ii. 92.

HASTINGS, Warren, treasury influence employed against him, debate protracted, and his friends propose to adjourn; opposed by ministerial party, motion for adjournment lost; ballot demanded, and terminates in favour of Hastings, ii. 93.

_____ ministers annoyed by defeat, ii. 93, *note*.

_____ resolution for removal of, rescinded by Court of Directors, ii. 94.

_____ his agent Maclean agrees with a confidential servant of the Ministry on certain propositions, ii. 94.

_____ communicates with Court of Directors; results, ii. 94—96.

_____ authority of Maclean as his agent vouched for by Messrs. Vansittart and Stuart, ii. 96.

_____ his friends and enemies alike forward his resignation, though from different motives, ii. 96.

_____ repudiates acts of Col. Maclean, determines to retain his post, ii. 97.

_____ summonses meeting of council, at which only himself and Barwell attend; receives letter from Gen. Clavering requiring keys of Fort William and of Company's treasury, answers that he will maintain his authority, ii. 97, 98.

_____ orders secretary not to summon council nor perform any official duty without his order as Gov.-Gen., and to send him despatches from Europe, ii. 98, 99.

_____ reminds commandant and other officers that obedience was due to him as Gov.-Gen., ii. 100.

_____ appeals to judges of Supreme Court, who decide in his favour, ii. 100.

_____ passes resolutions, with the aid of Barwell, declaring that Gen. Clavering, by usurping office of Gov.-Gen., had vacated the office of senior councillor and that of commander-in-chief, ii. 100, 101.

_____ maintains legality and necessity of the exclusion of Gen. Clavering; judges of Supreme Court decide to the contrary, ii. 103.

_____ reference to his resignation in instrument appointing Mr. Wheler to seat in council, ii. 104.

HASTINGS, Warren, discussion of his right to retain office, and inquiry into his conduct, ii. 105, 106.

————— speaks of conditions as applicable to his being confirmed in government, ii. 106, *note*.

————— never denies having given alleged instructions, but disavows all recollection of them; his plausible reasons; observations, ii. 107, 108.

————— question of alleged withdrawal of powers given to his agents, ii. 108, 109.

————— evidence that Maclean had authority to tender his resignation, ii. 109, 110, *note*.

————— supposed causes of his change of purpose, ii. 110, 111.

————— his inconsistent and unsatisfactory defence of himself, ii. 111, 112.

————— revives the plea that Gen. Clavering had vacated his seat in council, ii. 112, 113.

————— difficulty of understanding his motives, ii. 113.

————— instance of his hypocrisy in regard to Lord North, ii. 113, *note*.

————— remarks on his position with regard to the authorities at home, and on the conduct of his agent, ii. 113—117.

————— opinions and remarks on his supposed resignation, ii. 117—124, *note*.

————— by death of Clavering obtains numerical majority in council, ii. 122, 123.

————— his power and responsibility after arrival of Mr. Wheler, ii. 125.

————— produces letter from Nabob Mobarik-ul-Dowlah, claiming the management of his own affairs, supports Nabob's request, which is ultimately conceded, ii. 126.

————— produces another letter from Nabob, suggesting plan for disposing of salary of Mahomed-Reza-Khan, moves that the requisition of the Nabob be complied with, motion carried, ii. 126, 127.

————— folly of the proceedings, ii. 127.

HASTINGS, Warren, his conduct condemned by Court of Directors,
ii. 127.

_____ contends for communicating to Nabob orders of
Court of Directors for restoration of Mahomed Reza Khan, with-
out requiring compliance, ii. 128.

_____ sets at naught orders of Court of Directors for
restoration of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Fowkes, ii. 128.

_____ motives to accommodation with Francis, ii. 128.

_____ continued in office by Act of Parliament for a year
from the expiration of the period fixed by former act, ii. 129.

_____ dreads retirement of Barwell, ii. 129, 130.

_____ conditions of accommodation with Francis, ii.
130, 131.

_____ consents to restore Fowkes to office, and eventually
Bristow, and to conform to Court's orders respecting Mahomed
Reza Khan, ii. 131.

_____ remarks, ii. 131, 132.

_____ comments of, on the conduct of the Supreme
Court in action brought by Stuart against Auriol, ii. 135, *note*.

_____ under advice of Advocate-General, orders assistance
not to be afforded to the sheriff for executing process of Supreme
Court, ii. 142.

_____ joins party in council, with which he was usually at
enmity, in resisting usurpation of Supreme Court, ii. 149.

_____ proposes and carries the appointment of Sir Elijah
Impey to be Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, ii. 150.

_____ throws doubts on the legality of the power exer-
cised by superiors of the Dewanny Courts, ii. 150.

_____ avows his real motives in appointing Sir E. Impey,
ii. 151.

_____ accordance of the appointment with his tortuous
policy, ii. 151.

_____ renewal of disputes with Francis, ii. 153.

_____ receives and accepts challenge from Francis; meet-
ing ensues, in which Francis is wounded, ii. 154, 155.

_____ retirement of Francis leaves him uncontrolled, ii.
155.

HASTINGS, Warren, records minute against treaty concluded at Bombay with Rugonath Row ; proposes to direct Governor of Bombay to cancel treaty, and withdraw the detachment furnished in pursuance of it ; is partially supported in Council, ii. 162, 163.

_____ proposes Col. Dow as representative of the British government at Poonah, proposal unsuccessful, ii. 164.

_____ proposes to support government of Bombay with men and money, ii. 165.

_____ taunted with inconsistency, successfully defends himself ; majority of council refuses to send any men to Bombay, ii. 166.

_____ his counsel in regard to the proceedings of the government of Bombay, ii. 173.

_____ proposes assemblage of large military force at Culpee, ii. 175.

_____ acquiesces in recal of Col. Leslie from command of the force, ii. 182.

_____ his judicious conduct in regard to the failures of the Bombay government ; extract from a minute by, ii. 183—185.

_____ his difficulties in regard to the Mahratta war, ii. 193, 194.

_____ carries in council instructions to Colonel Carnac to carry war, if practicable and expedient, into territories of Scindia and Holkar, ii. 195, 196.

_____ acquiesces in violent proceedings at Madras as to Lord Pigot, ii. 207.

_____ thanks God that his colleagues were of the same mind with himself in regard to Madras, ii. 208, *note*.

_____ remarks on his conduct, ii. 209.

_____ suspends Mr. Whitehill, governor of Madras, ii. 242, 243.

_____ his differences with Lord Macartney, ii. 293, 294.

_____ determines to punish contumacy of Cheyt Singh by pecuniary fine, ii. 297.

_____ leaves Calcutta for Benares, meets Cheyt Singh at Buxar ; continues journey to Benares ; declines personal conference with Cheyt Singh, and orders him to be arrested, ii. 297, 298.

- HASTINGS, Warren, his critical situation, moves to Chunarghur, ii. 299.
- _____ does not answer solicitations of Cheyt Singh for peace ; distressed for money and provisions, ii. 300.
- _____ returns to Benares to make arrangements for administration of country, ii. 300, 301.
- _____ disappointed of supply of treasure by the eagerness of the military to appropriate booty at Bidzaghur, ii. 302.
- _____ seeks a loan from the officers, but fails, ii. 302.
- _____ his language to Major Popham previously to surrender of Bidzaghur, ii. 302, 303.
- _____ examination of his conduct towards Cheyt Sing, ii. 303—310.
- _____ his intrepidity, ii. 311.
- _____ receives visit from Vizier, concludes treaty with him, ii. 312.
- _____ receives present from Vizier, and applies it to public service ; his previous receipt of small sum from Cheyt Singh and similar application of it, ii. 312, 313.
- _____ applies to Court of Directors to bestow on him the Vizier's present ; application refused, ii. 313, 314.
- _____ his own remarks on the subject in letter to Major Scott, ii. 314, *note*.
- _____ remarks of his biographer, ii. 316, *note*.
- _____ reasons assigned by, in justification of part of the treaty with Oude, ii. 317, 318.
- _____ exposition of his duplicity in regard to Fyzoola Khan, ii. 319—324.
- _____ consents to deprivation of begums (of Oude) of their jaghires, and confiscation of their moveable property ; his reasons, ii. 325—327.
- _____ prepares narrative to vindicate his own conduct in relation to Benares and Oude ; Sir E. Impey takes affidavits, ii. 328.
- _____ his disobedience to the orders of the Court of Directors in restoring Middleton at Oude, ii. 329.
- _____ directs march of large force to the support of Middleton, ii. 329.

- HASTINGS, Warren, reproves Middleton for his moderation, ii. 333.
- _____ his attempts to justify his conduct towards the
begums examined, ii. 333, 334.
- _____ appoints Bristow to be resident at Oude in place
of Middleton; his previously expressed opinion of Bristow, ii.
336.
- _____ proposes to recal Bristow; fails, ii. 337.
- _____ annoyed by opposition of Wheler, Macpherson,
and Stables; his character of his colleagues, ii. 337, 338, *note*.
- _____ proposes abolition of residency at Oude, and resto-
ration of power to native authorities; succeeds; tenders his ser-
vices to proceed to Lucknow; again succeeds, and departs on his
journey, ii. 338, 339.
- _____ arrives at Lucknow; restores portion of jaghires
to the begums, ii. 339.
- _____ change in his opinion with regard to begums, ii.
339.
- _____ quits Lucknow, arrives at Calcutta, embarks for
England, ii. 340.
- _____ resolution condemnatory of conduct of, voted by
House of Commons; Court of Directors resolved to recal, ii. 341.
- _____ majority in general court against his recal, ii. 342.
- _____ his administration violently attacked in Parliament,
ii. 358.
- _____ proceedings against him in Parliament; Burke's
motion for papers; Hastings heard at bar of House of Commons
in his defence, ii. 360, 361.
- _____ motion made by Fox in reference to his treatment
of Cheyt Singh; Pitt supports motion, ii. 361, 362.
- _____ committee appointed to prosecute his impeach-
ment; he is formally impeached by Burke, is committed to custody,
discharged on bail; trial commences, ii. 362, 363.
- _____ violent language of Burke towards him in regard
to Nuncomar, ii. 366.
- _____ reads his defence, ii. 367.
- _____ is acquitted on all the charges opened by the Com-
mons against him, ii. 368.

HINDOOS

board

HISLOP, S

contro

the

451.

494.

iv. 5

iv. 5

duct

iv. 5

525

524

of t

HOBART

Ali

jec

n, remarks on the charges, on the conduct of the and on the length of his trial, ii. 368, 370, 372.

— his appeal to the House of Lords for judgment, *note*.

— survives the termination of his trial more than ii. 372.

— his reception in the House of Commons towards his life, ii. 373.

— his character, ii. 373.

— his meeting with Mrs. Hastings, and marriage, ii. *te*.

— his hatred of Lord Macartney, and satisfaction at st on that nobleman by Paul Benfield, ii. 382, 383,

— reference to his measures of internal administra- 388, 389.

— his exertions to introduce improvement in ad- of justice, and collection of revenues in Bengal, ii.

— his endeavours to correct evils in the judicial 43, 544.

— his patronage of De Boigne, iii. 307, 308.

— reference to the fact of his owing his original ap- the Company, though confirmed in it by Parliament,

— his examination before House of Commons in result of his evidence, iv. 226—228.

of, iv. 426.

at Bhurtpore (first siege of), succeeds in driving their advanced guns and spiking them, iii. 466.

quest of Mr. Amyatt associated with the latter in a Meer Cossim, i. 440.

ained as a hostage, i. 441.

ordered by order of Meer Cossim, i. 448.

additional clause to India Bill, rendering it compul- at each presidency two ministers of the Church moved by and carried, v. 335.

- HAYES, Com., flotilla under, attached to army assembled in Chittagong under Gen. Morrison, during Burmese war, v. 61.
- instance of his zeal in attack upon Arracan, v. 64, 65.
- HEARSEY, Capt., corps of irregulars raised and formed by, during Nepal war, iv. 308.
- secures Timley Pass, lays siege to fortress of Kutoolgurh, his posts attacked by the enemy, disastrous issue, iv. 310.
- Major, dispatched to confer with Mooftee Mahomed Ewery, during disturbances at Bareilly, iv. 373.
- HEBER, Bishop, his account of the escape of Trimbuckjee Dainglia, ii. 427, 428, *note*.
- HENI Sing, attacked, defeated, killed, and plundered by Hyder Ali, i. 529.
- HENRY, prince of Portugal; his zeal for discovery, expeditions fitted out under his auspices for exploring coast of Africa, i. 35.
- HERA, Pindarrie, account of, iv. 406, 407.
- HERNAUT Singh, commanding the remains of Holkar's infantry is supported by Bappoogee Scindia's cavalry, iii. 480.
- is attacked by Capt. Doyle and totally routed, iii. 480, 481.
- HEWITT, Major, attack made upon, in Cochin, repulsed, iv. 127.
- HEYTESBURY, Lord, his supersession, iv. 113, 114, *note*.
- HIMMUT Bahaudur, his power and influence in Bundelcund; Mr. Mercer dispatched to arrange terms with him; demands liberation of relative confined at Lucknow, a jaghire and an assignment of revenue; terms granted, iii. 370, 371.
- HINDOO institutions, the law of caste, i. 5—8, *note*.
- system, antiquity of, questioned by Col. Sykes and others, i. 4, *note*.
- HINDOOS, in Capt. Burn's force at Shamlee, their suffering from want of food, iii. 451.
- remarks on peculiarity of their character in reference to military discipline, iv. 58.
- military regulations relating to marks of caste and beard obnoxious to, iv. 67.

- HINDOOS subjected by their prejudices to great privations on ship-board, v. 111, 112.
- HISLOP, Sir Thomas, intrusted with command of military force and controlling authority over political affairs in Deccan, iv. 442.
- his advance delayed by illness and the violence of the monsoon, iv. 442.
- disposition and operations of his army, iv. 443—451.
- directs his march to Oogein, iv. 485.
- is joined by Sir John Malcolm, iv. 486.
- advances towards Mahidpore, iv. 486.
- arrives in sight of Mahidpore, iv. 490.
- movements of, to attack the enemy, iv. 491—493.
- gains complete victory, iv. 493.
- enemy sues for peace, which is granted, iv. 493, 494.
- summons fort of Talneir, summons disregarded, iv. 507.
- preparations made by for storming Talneir, iv. 507.
- confusion at one of the gates, iv. 507, 508.
- place taken and Killadar sentenced to be hanged, iv. 509.
- dissatisfaction expressed with regard to his conduct at Talneir, iv. 510.
- is defended by the Marquis of Hastings, iv. 510.
- calls upon various officers to afford information, iv. 511.
- his revised account of the transactions, iv. 513—525, *note*.
- examination of his arguments on the occasion, iv. 524—530.
- his contradictory statements as to the proceedings of the enemy at Takaeir, iv. 532, *note*.
- HOBART, Lord, governor of Madras, proposes, on death of Mahomet Ali, the cession by his successor of certain territories, ii. 557.
- his dispute with the government of Bengal on the subject, ii. 557.

HONGES, Mr., narrative of his claims on the zemindar of Noozed, and the extraordinary means by which they were satisfied, ii. 243, 244, 245, *note*.

See also Appendix.

HOLKAR (Jeswunt Rao) approaches Poona, defeats the combined forces of Scindia and the Peishwa; the Peishwa flies, iii. 277, 278.

- retreats before Gen. Wellesley, retires to Chandoor, iii. 288.
- plunders territories of some allies and dependents of British government, iii. 480.
- invited to negotiate, iii. 421.
- addresses friendly letters to Gen. Lake, vakeels dispatched to British camp by, iii. 421.
- negotiations with, iii. 422.
- his menacing letter to Gen. Wellesley, iii. 423.
- disturbed by detachment from Lord Lake's army, he retires precipitately, iii. 424.
- deprived by fall of Tonk Rampoorra of his only footing in Hindostan north of the Chumbul, iii. 425.
- his rapid flight renders it inexpedient to follow him, iii. 425, 426.
- watched by parties of cavalry under Col. Gardiner and Lieut. Lucan, iii. 428.
- after the retreat of Col. Murray, quits his post in Malwa, and recrosses the Chumbul with the whole of his army, iii. 430.
- attacks and destroys Lieut. Lucan's cavalry, iii. 431.
- sends a letter to Col. Monson, demanding the surrender of the guns and small arms of the British force, iii. 432.
- attacks Col. Monson, but is beaten off, iii. 432.
- harasses Col. Monson on his march, iii. 434.
- his cavalry gather round Col. Monson; attempts made to corrupt the British troops, iii. 435.
- continues to follow and harass Col. Monson, iii. 436.
- takes possession of Muttra, iii. 444.
- withdraws on approach of British army, iii. 445.
- appears before Delhi, iii. 445.
- makes an assault, is repulsed, and retires, iii. 448.

- HOLKAR (Jeswunt Rao) crosses the Jumna at Panniput, and threatens to desolate the British territories in the Doab with fire and sword, iii. 449.
- his cavalry attack Col. Burn on his way from Delhi to Saharunpore, iii. 450.
 - his defeat by Gen. Frazer near Deeg, iii. 451.
 - his camp surprised by Gen. Lake, iii. 453.
 - flies across the Jumna, iii. 455.
 - operations against him in the south, iii. 460—462.
 - his capital, Indore, occupied by Col. Murray, iii. 463.
 - the whole of his possessions west of the Chumbul conquered, iii. 463.
 - joins Shirzee Rao at Weir, proceeds towards camp of Scindia, iii. 540.
 - letters of, fall into hands of English, confirming suspicions previously entertained of his intrigues with Scindia, iii. 540.
 - arrives with all his remaining force at camp of Scindia, and is immediately visited by Scindia and his principal officers, iii. 544.
 - seizes Ambajee Inglia, from whom he extorts promise of fifty lacs of rupees, iii. 545.
 - retreats precipitately with Scindia, iii. 548.
 - seizes Baptiste and deprives him of sight, iii. 555.
 - flies, is pursued into the Punjaub by Lord Lake; disappointed in his hope of obtaining assistance from the Seiks; concludes treaty with the English; conditions of, iv. 52.
 - districts of Tonk Rampoora given back to, by Sir George Barlow, iv. 53.
 - permits Ameer Khan to levy contributions, iv. 174.
 - becomes insane, iv. 174.
 - encouragement afforded by, to Pindarries, iv. 406.
 - captivated by Toolsee Bhye, who obtains ascendancy in the state, and succeeds to the regency, iv. 484.
 - his death, iv. 484.
 - (Mulhar Rao, son of the former), adopted by Toolsee Bhye, iv. 484.
 - intrigues in the camp of, iv. 485.
 - disorganization of his army, iv. 485.

- HOLKAR, negotiations with vakeels from his camp, iv. 487.
- his person secured by party hostile to Toolsee Bhye, who is seized and put to death, iv. 490.
- his army attacked and defeated by Sir Thomas Hislop, iv. 490—494.
- peace concluded with, iv. 494.
- provisions and stipulations of treaty, iv. 494—496.
- reflections on treaty with, iv. 496, 497.
- HOLLOND, Mr., employed by government of Madras on mission at court of Nizam, his instructions, results, ii. 220, 221.
- recalled and suspended from the service by the Madras government, but retained at court of Nizam, notwithstanding, by the government of Bengal, ii. 223, 224.
- becomes acting governor of Madras, ii. 398.
- (governor of Madras), refuses to allow English battalions to be employed by the Rajah of Travancore, except on the part of the lines belonging to that prince, ii. 398.
- his injudicious conduct with regard to representations of Tippoo Sultan respecting the sale of the Dutch forts to Rajah of Travancore, ii. 399.
- superseded in government of Madras by Gen. Medows, ii. 402.
- HOLWELL, Mr., assumes the command in Calcutta, on its abandonment by Mr. Drake, at approach of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 191.
- is assured by the Nabob of good treatment to himself and the rest of the Company's servants; he and they confined in Black Hole, where numbers miserably perish, i. 192—195.
- his sufferings, i. 196, 202.
- succeeds to first place in Council of Calcutta, i. 382.
- superseded by arrival of Mr. Vansittart, i. 389.
- proposes change in the government of Bengal, communicates his plans to Vansittart, i. 394, 395.
- his confidential correspondence with Meer Cossim, i. 395.
- declines to concur in assassination of Meer Jaffier, i. 395.
- stipulates for the possession by the Company of

- Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, to defray charges of maintaining throne of Bengal, i. 396.
- HOLWELL, Mr., declines communicating to Meer Jaffier the transfer of the government to Meer Cossim, i. 396.
- conclusion of treaty with Meer Cossim the last act of his official life, i. 397.
- after elevation of Meer Cossim, receives two lacs and 70,000 rupees, i. 402.
- his contradictory statements as to Meer Cossim's desire to take off Meer Jaffier by assassination, i. 406—408, *note*.
- puts forward conduct of Meer Jaffier in regard to the Dutch as a charge against him, i. 408.
- his respect for the Emperor, i. 409.
- his signature attached to an offensive letter to Court of Directors, who order his dismissal from the service, which he has resigned before the order arrives in India, i. 422.
- HOME, Major, severely wounded in attack on Sitang in Burmese war, v. 81.
- HOOGHLY, chief factory of the Company in Bengal, i. 74.
- Monichund (officer of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah) retires to, i. 206.
- attacked by the English, garrison make their escape, i. 208.
- charge of alleged corruption in the foudarry of, in which Warren Hastings is accused of participating; foudar dismissed, ii. 68.
- HOOLIOROOG surrendered to the English (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 437.
- cruelty exercised by Tippoo towards state prisoners in, ii. 438.
- HOOMAYOON, son of Baber, extraordinary act of his father, performed in the hope of relieving him from dangerous illness, i. 23—25.
- yields his throne to Sheer, i. 25.
- is restored, i. 26.
- dies from a fall, is succeeded by his son Akbar, i. 26.
- HORNBY, Mr. (Governor of Bombay), resolves not to recognize convention concluded with Mahrattas, nor to cede territory, ii. 183.
- HOSHEINGABAD coveted by Rajah of Berar, iii. 497.
- HOSKIN, an English sergeant, gives check to Fuzzul-oola Khan (officer

of Hyder Ali) with insignificant force, defends mud fort near Caveriporam with great spirit, his report to his officer, his fate unknown, i. 566, 567.

HOOSSEIN Ali, northern circars committed to his charge by Nizam, British government agree to aid in establishing his authority, i. 543.

HUDDLESTON, Mr., added to commission for treating with Tippoo Sultan, ii. 285.

————— his dispute with Col. Wilks and Sir Thomas Dallas on a charge preferred against the commissioners of meditating escape, ii. 289, 292.

HUGHES, Sir Edward, appealed to by Lord Pigot for protection, demands safe conduct for his lordship to the British ships, refuses to make terms, and throws consequences on those who resisted, ii. 203.

————— employment of his squadron in aid of English army against Hyder Ali, ii. 257.

————— encounters French fleet under M. Suffrein, and captures six vessels; sails to relieve Trincomalee, comes up with French fleet, sanguinary battle ensues, terminates without any decisive results, retires to Trincomalee, ii. 266, 267.

————— frustrates design of French upon Negapatam, battle takes place, ending without a capture on either side; another indecisive action; retires to Madras, ii. 268.

HUMBERSTONE, Col., lands at Calicut with British force, joins that previously under command of Major Abington; takes command of whole, retreats before Tippoo, returns to coast, having sustained great loss of men (war with Hyder Ali), ii. 270, 271.

HUME, Mr., in General Court refers to charge against Mr. Huddleston, ii. 289, *note*.

See also Huddleston.

————— his opinion that Government should suggest some mode of conducting inquiry into affairs of East-India Company, v. 276.

————— course recommended by, adopted by Mr. Grant, v. 278.

————— gives qualified assent to ministerial bill for government of India, v. 332.

HUME, Mr., proposes that tenure of Company should be determinable at expiration of ten years, v. 332.

———— supports amendment withdrawing discretionary powers as to appointment of council at subordinate presidencies, v. 333.

———— supports amendment excluding Gov.-Gen. from governorship of any particular presidency, v. 334.

———— moves omission of clause restricting residence in India, v. 334.

———— opposes establishment of new bishoprics, v. 334, 335.

———— moves amendment for reducing salary of Gov.-Gen., v. 335.

———— opposes motion relating to compulsory maintenance of Scotch ministers at the presidencies, v. 335, 336.

———— supports motion for abolishing salt monopoly, v. 336.

———— renews motion for putting an end to Company's government in ten years, v. 336.

———— seconds motion of Mr. Fergusson for hearing Company by counsel, v. 337.

HUNS, progress of their arms, i. 19.

HUNTER, Capt., forces and enters the gate of Tippoo Sultan's garden, takes post and waits for orders, quits garden, and rushes with his men into the river under a heavy fire ; makes his way to the reserve under Lord Cornwallis (first siege of Seringapatam), ii. 470.

HUSKISSON, Mr., makes statement of trade with India subsequently to abolition of Company's exclusive privileges, which is refuted by Mr. Astell, v. 250.

———— opposes Directors of the East-India Company sitting on parliamentary committees, v. 261.

———— progress of his opinions on the subject of free trade, v. 262, *note*.

———— objects to so many county members being placed on parliamentary committees, v. 263.

———— contends that the Company have violated the law, v. 264.

———— absurd error into which he falls, v. 270, *note*.

HUSSEIN Ali (officer of Hyder Ali), attacked, defeated, and made prisoner by Col. Hartley, ii. 417.

HUSSEIN Reza Khan (minister of Oude), his meeting with Sir J. Shore ; results of meeting, ii. 561, 562.

————— his retention of office supposed to be a bar to satisfactory arrangement of the state, iii. 174, 175.

HYDERABAD, dissolution of the French force at, iii. 33.

————— symptoms of disaffection manifested by troops at, suppressed, iv. 63.

————— outrageous rumours as to the intention of the English propagated and believed, iv. 73.

————— mutiny breaks out at ; subsides, iv. 139.

HYDER Ali concludes treaty with Lally, i. 347.

————— his situation requires withdrawal of his troops from Pondicherry, i. 349.

————— his origin and advance to manhood, i. 524.

————— his time divided between the sports of the field and voluptuous enjoyments, i. 525.

————— joins his brother's corps as a volunteer, distinguishes himself, advances to the command of freebooters, i. 525.

————— his predatory troops increase ; half booty appropriated to them ; his power and resources increase, nominated foudar of Dindigul, i. 526, 527.

————— proceeds at head of force to suppress confederacy of polygars ; succeeds ; his scheme for enhancing the number of the apparently wounded ; his apportionment of the money furnished to him, i. 527.

————— his force augmented, and assignments of revenue made for support of the increase ; special commissioners deputed to inspect musters ; their vigilance frustrated by him, i. 528.

————— suppresses mutiny in Mysorean army ; attacks and defeats Herri Singh ; presents guns and horses to his sovereign, obtains district of Bangalore as a personal jaghire, i. 529.

————— nominated to chief command of field army ; appointment disagreeable to chiefs of ancient family ; reduces the Mahrattas, returns in triumph, is received with distinction, i. 529, 530.

————— intrigues against his benefactor, Nunjeraj ; troops proceed to his quarters and demand payment of arrears, his reply ; receives repeated applications from them ; they insist on his proceeding at

their head to perform ceremony of dhurna ; Nunjeraj retires ; compelled to lead troops to palace of Rajah ; renounces all connection with Nunjeraj, engages to discharge arrears of troops, and obtains further assignments of revenue, i. 530—534.

HYDER Ali, conspiracy to reduce his power, i. 534.

———— is attacked, and retires with his cavalry and portion of treasure, leaves his family and infantry behind, i. 534, 535.

———— is attacked and defeated, presents himself alone and unarmed as supplicant at the door of Nunjeraj, is admitted to his presence, throws himself at his feet, implores his patron to resume his place at the head of the state and receive his old servant ; Nunjeraj is deceived, i. 535, 536.

———— pressed by Koonde Row, forges letters to principal leaders of the army of his enemy, promising reward for delivery of Koonde Row into hands of Nunjeraj ; bearer made prisoner ; Koonde Row flies in alarm, i. 536.

———— falls upon army of Koonde Row and defeats it ; dictates terms to the Rajah ; obtains management of nearly the whole country ; takes Koonde Row prisoner and confines him in an iron cage, i. 537.

———— created Nabob of Sera by Basalat Jung, asserts his right to the dignity, reduces Sera, engages in invasion of Bednore ; his cruelty, i. 537, 538.

———— penetrates to capital of Bednore and obtains vast treasure ; conspiracy formed against him and detected, three hundred conspirators hanged, i. 539, 540.

———— suffers in contests with Mahrattas, obtains peace, attempts conquest of Malabar, overruns the country, procures nominal submission, returns to Seringapatam, i. 540.

———— renders homage to new Rajah of Mysore and resumes various districts allotted for support of the prince ; plunders the palace, makes rigorous revision of Rajah's establishments, i. 541.

———— gives orders to lay waste the country and break down the reservoirs, poison the wells, burn the forage, bury the grain, and drive off the cattle, in order to check the advance of the Mahrattas on Mysore ; ultimately purchases their retreat, i. 545.

———— attacks Col. Smith and is defeated, i. 547.

HYDER Ali is again defeated by Col. Smith, i. 550.

———— gains possession of Tripatore and Vaniambaddy, proceeds to attack Amboor defended by Capt. Calvert, retires on approach of British army, i. 551—553.

———— moves to attack convoy under Major Fitzgerald at pass of Singarpetta, attack fails, ascends the Ghauts; perfect arrangements of his department of intelligence, i. 553.

———— affects not to be displeased with advances of Nizam Ali to the English, i. 553.

———— Malabar chiefs revolt against him, i. 554.

———— proceeds to western coasts, deceives the English, appears unexpectedly before Mangalore, proceeds to Bednore, i. 555.

———— summons principal landholders of Bednore to meet him, his exactions, defaulters consigned to his department of torture till payment made of the sums demanded from them, i. 555, 556.

———— takes different mode of levying contributions in Malabar, i. 556.

———— enters Bangalore, foiled in his attack upon the camp of the Mahrattas, i. 558, 559.

———— makes a circuitous march to cut off Col. Wood's division, retires on approach of Col. Smith's division, i. 559, 560.

———— tampers with Mussulman officer in command at Mulwâgul, which falls into his hands, i. 560, 561.

———— is defeated by Col. Wood, with great loss, i. 561—563.

———— lays siege to Oosoor, his force approach Bauglore, gains possession of pettah, which he plunders and retires, i. 564.

———— harasses English army on march to Colar, i. 565.

———— enters Bâramahâll, marches for reduction of Eroad, encounters an English party under Capt. Nixon, his infantry fly from the charge of the English; his cavalry destroys the whole party, European and native, except Lieut. Gorsham, i. 567, 568.

———— advances to Eroad, inveigles the commander, Capt. Orton, to his camp and detains him; obtains from him an order for the surrender of the place; various instances of his breach of faith, i. 569.

HYDER Ali requests an English officer to be sent to him, Capt. Brooke dispatched; Mr. Andrews, member of council of Madras, deputed to his camp; proposals for peace made and rejected, i. 571.

———— appears suddenly before Madras with six thousand horse, i. 572, 573.

———— sends letter to governor expressing desire for peace, and requesting Mr. Dupre, member of council, to visit him; his request complied with; terms of a treaty agreed upon, i. 572, 573.

———— takes advantage of pecuniary distress of Rugonath Row, makes peace with him on his own terms, ii. 158.

———— stipulation in treaty with Mahrattas for restitution of conquests made by him from the Nabob of Arcot and the English, ii. 197.

———— protests against attack upon Mahé; its capture offensive to him; his displeasure increased by attempt of British force to pass through his territories, ii. 215.

———— his servants forbid advance of British force under Col. Harpur, ii. 218, 219.

———— contempt thrown by, on mission from the English, ii. 225.

———— reports of his movements reach Madras, ii. 226.

———— plunders Porto Novo and Conjeveram; horrors of his irruption, ii. 227.

———— dispatches a force under his son Tippoo to frustrate junction of Sir H. Munro and Col. Baillie; breaks up his camp before Arcot, ii. 228, 229.

———— astonished at successful passage of Col. Fletcher; his French officers confounded, and advise retirement; he takes different view and maintains his ground, ii. 230.

———— his cavalry appear as a mask to the advance of his infantry and artillery, ii. 231, 232.

———— attacks Col. Baillie with his whole force, his repeated charges make sepoye fall into confusion; quarter demanded by Col. Baillie, who orders his troops to lay down their arms; cruelty of the Mysorean troops, ii. 232, 233.

———— causes his prisoners to be paraded before him; heads of the slain deposited at his feet, ii. 234.

- HYDER Ali, narrative of the sufferings of his British prisoners by Lieut. Melvill, ii. 234—238.
- resumes siege of Arcot; takes the town by assault; citadel surrenders, ii. 247, 248.
- finds no difficulty in obtaining possession of forts under command of Mahomet Ali's officers, ii. 251.
- invests Wandewash, but fails, ii. 254.
- employed in variety of minor enterprises, principally with a view to booty; makes a forced movement, and places himself between British army and Cuddalore, ii. 257.
- attacked and totally defeated by Sir Eyre Coote; follows advice of his groom and flies, ii. 259.
- prepares to intercept Sir E. Coote, who avoids him by taking another route, ii. 260.
- refuses to exchange prisoners taken at Tripassore; his answer to Sir Eyre Coote, ii. 262.
- his cause unprosperous on coast of Malabar, ii. 264.
- joined by French force; Cuddalore falls to them; withdraws towards Pondicherry, followed by Sir Eyre Coote, attacks the British general and is defeated, ii. 267.
- prisoners surrendered to him by Suffrein marched in chains to Mysore, ii. 268, 269.
- his death at an advanced age, ii. 271.
- measures taken thereupon to secure the throne to Tippoo, ii. 271, 272.
- reference to negotiation of British government with, and treaty concluded with, ii. 393.
- reference to his treatment of Luft Ali Beg, ii. 442.
- ILE du Passe, brilliant acquisition of, by parties from British cruizers, iv. 154, 155.
- intrusted to charge of Capt. Willoughby, who uses the fort as means of conquering the Mauritius, iv. 155.
- forlorn state of garrison there; they are compelled to surrender, iv. 158.
- ISLE of France, reports that emissaries had been sent thither from Travancore to solicit aid in artillery, iv. 119.

IMLACK, Capt., his engagement with the main force of the French in the Isle of Bourbon, iv. 143, 144.

IMPEY, Sir Elijah, chief justice of Supreme Court of Calcutta, his gross language in regard to Mr. Naylor, an attorney of the court, ii. 145, *note*.

———— his leniency towards contempt of court, when proceeding from Gov.-Gen. and council, ii. 146.

———— made judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, ii. 147.

———— remarks on the appointment, and on Hastings's account of it, ii. 150, 151.

———— effects of acceptance of the appointment on his reputation, ii. 152.

———— suggests the necessity of fortifying Hastings's statement of facts by affidavits; consents to receive affidavits in Oude, where he had no jurisdiction, either as King's or Company's judge, ii. 328.

———— accused by Burke of being Hastings's instrument in the murder of Nuncomar, ii. 366.

INDIA, early history of, involved in obscurity, i. 1.

———— earliest notices of, lead to the conclusion that, long before the Christian era, it exhibited the appearance of a country whose manners and institutions had become fixed by time, i. 2.

———— inquiries into the origin of its inhabitants, i. 4.

———— distinction of castes in, i. 5, *note*.

———— portion of, conquered by Persians, under Darius Hystaspes, i. 6, 7.

———— invaded by Alexander, i. 9.

———— Greek dominion there did not expire with his life, i. 10.

———— its early and extensive commerce, i. 11.

———— Mahometan invasion of, i. 11.

———— brief sketch of the more striking parts of its history from the commencement of the eleventh to the middle of the eighteenth century, i. 12—72.

———— first appearance of the English in, i. 73.

———— British fleet dispatched to (1744), threatens Pondicherry, i. 75.

———— Dupleix claims supreme authority over French possessions in, i. 76.

- INDIA, contest between English and French for supremacy in, i. 264.
- British empire in, the creation of circumstances, owes its grandeur and extent to ambition of its enemies; main causes that contributed to its growth up to the time of Clive, i. 501.
- excitement created at home by affairs of, ii. 48, 49, 342, 343.
- gross ignorance respecting, that prevailed in Europe in the eighteenth century, ii. 175.
- subjection of the person of a man of rank to restraint felt there as an indignity of the grossest character, ii. 307.
- distribution of patronage and management of affairs made by plan of 1784, ii. 351, 352.
- evil effects of legislating for, under the influence of erroneous impressions, ii. 396.
- land the great source of government revenue in, ii. 524.
- position of the British government in, on retirement of Lord Teignmouth, iii. 2.
- danger from hostility of the French, iii. 18, 19.
- relation of British government to subsidiary states of, iii. 226.
- observations on the feelings of native troops towards the British government, iv. 57, 59.
- expediency of keeping India free from the influence of party politics, iv. 116.
- prevalence of system under which the sovereign is held in subjection by a minister, iv. 130.
- effects of opening the trade with, by act of 1813, iv. 223.
- personal tax always regarded by people of, with dislike, iv. 363.
- great delicacy of subject of revenue in; land the main dependence of those who rule, iv. 377, 378.
- observations on extension of empire in, iv. 558.
- not desirable to disregard claims of rank in, iv. 563.
- difficulty of maintaining good government in, arising from the inaptitude of native officers, v. 187, 188.
- prevalency in, of falsehood and perjury, v. 187—193, *note*.
- beneficial effects of British government in, v. 203.
- emoluments of civil and military services of, v. 231.
- state of, previously to the introduction of the British rule, v. 259.

INDIA control of the mercantile community over the local newspapers, v. 279, 280, *note*.

— annuity of 630,000*l.* to be charged upon its territorial revenues assigned for payment of the Company's dividends, v. 285.

— trade of, with China, v. 294—297.

— insensibility displayed by House of Commons to its interests, v. 315, *note*.

— formation of a uniform code of laws for, contemplated, v. 323.

— the best governed of the dependent possessions of Great Britain, v. 362.

INDUS, provinces bordering on, governed for two centuries by monarchs of Syrian and Bactrian dynasties, i. 10.

— provinces of west side of, annexed to the dominions of Nadir Shah, i. 70.

INNES, Col., proceeds into Cachar; sickness compels him to suspend active operations, v. 41.

JAMES I. (King of Great Britain) deposes Sir Thomas Roe ambassador to the Mogul court, i. 32.

— Commodore, attacks and captures Severndroog and the island of Bancoot, pirate stations on coast of Concan, i. 182.

JANSSENS, Gen., refuses to surrender island of Java to Sir S. Auchmuty, iv. 186.

— defeated at Fort Cornelius, and with difficulty reaches Buitenzorg, iv. 190.

— again refuses to surrender, iv. 192.

— retires to Serondel; defeat and flight of, iv. 192, 193.

— submission of, iv. 193.

JAVA, expedition against, iv. 181.

— route of the expedition, iv. 183, 184.

— landing, iv. 184, 185.

— capture of Batavia, iv. 185.

— progress of the English, iv. 186—195.

— conquest of, completed by defeat and deposal of Sultan of Djoejocarta, and submission of other confederated princes, iv. 204.

— expedition dispatched from, against islands of Balli and Celebes, under Gen. Nightingall, iv. 347.

- JAVA ought to have been retained at the general peace, iv. 348.
- JEETGURH, Gen. Wood attacks redoubt at and retires, iv. 292.
- JEHANGIR succeeds to the Mogul throne, i. 29.
- extraordinary history of his empress, i. 29—32.
- visited by Sir Thomas Roe, an English ambassador, deputed in the hope of securing protection to the English commerce carried on with India, i. 32.
- death of; is succeeded by his son Shah Jehan, i. 32.
- JEHAMA (sister of Aurungzebe) adjusts misunderstanding with the court of Persia, i. 62.
- JENKINS, Mr., secretary to the resident with Scindia, remonstrates against Scindia's attack upon the Rajah of Bhopal, iii. 498, 499.
- performs duties of resident on death of Mr. Webbe, iii. 502.
- his brilliant career in College of Fort William, iii. 502, *note*.
- demands explanation of Scindia's advance into territories of Rajah of Berar, iii. 503.
- continues to remonstrate against acts of Scindia, and threatens departure, iii. 504, 505.
- strikes his tents and prepares for departure, is induced, on application from Scindia, to postpone his march, iii. 507.
- after further communication with Scindia, demands passports, receives an insolent answer, departs without passports, refuses to listen to entreaties to return, till assured that Scindia's messengers had authority to pledge their chieftain's name for the performance of any necessary conditions, iii. 509, 510.
- returns to Scindian camp, Scindia violates conditions, resident again departs and again returns; baggage of the residency attacked and carried off by Scindia's pindarries, iii. 510—512.
- situation of British residency described by, iii. 512, 513.
- receives a visit from Scindia, iii. 514.
- his reply to proposal from minister of Scindia to give his army safe conduct to Bhurtpore, iii. 531, 532.
- receives another visit from agent of Scindia, iii. 532.
- his further intercourse with Scindia and his ministers, iii. 538, 539.

JENKINS, Mr., his communications with Scindia on the approach of Col. Martindell, iii. 541, 542.

_____ opposes Scindia's meditated visit to Bappoogee Scindia, iii. 543.

_____ remonstrates against Scindia's visiting Holkar, iii. 544.

_____ in consequence of instructions from commander-in-chief, requests audience with Scindia; transmits memorial embodying facts intended to be urged at the audience, receives no answer, iii. 547.

_____ repeated applications of, for permission to withdraw, iii. 552—554.

_____ departs from Scindia's camp, iv. 38.

_____ directs attention to necessity of suppressing pindaries, iv. 421, *note*.

_____ resident at Nagpore, perceives tendency of events there, iv. 469.

_____ remonstrates against Appa Sahib communicating with the Peishwa, iv. 469.

_____ apprizes military authorities of the prospect of their being speedily brought into action, and urges march of British troops towards Nagpore, iv. 470.

_____ refuses participation in the ceremony of Appa Sahib's investiture, iv. 471.

_____ sends for troops from cantonments, iv. 471.

_____ his interview with Appa Sahib interrupted by firing; repairs to scene of action, iv. 472.

_____ his animated conduct in the field, and its effect upon the troops, iv. 475.

_____ consents to suspension of arms on conditions, iv. 476.

_____ receives information of several proceedings of Appa Sahib, evincing hostility to British government, iv. 534.

_____ arrests the Rajah and his confidential ministers, iv. 535.

_____ his able management of country of Nagpore, iv. 565, *note*.

_____ relations of British government fixed by treaty concluded by, v. 173.

_____ Sir Richard, his opinion on the power that should be

respectively assigned to superintending and subordinate governments in India, v. 360, *note*.

JESWUNT Rao Bhow, officer of Scindia, placed under care of Capt. Caulfield, continues to maintain intercourse with Pindarries, iv. 504, 505.

_____ his flight, iv. 506.

_____ Lar, officer of Scindia, commanding at Asseergurh, commits direct act of hostility by firing on Company's troops, iv. 567.

_____ is recalled from command, disregards orders of recal, iv. 568, 569.

_____ attacked by Gen. Doveton; expresses wish to negotiate; repairs to Gen. Doveton's head-quarters to endeavour to procure terms; garrison surrenders unconditionally, iv. 576.

_____ subsequent admission as to intentions of Scindia, iv. 576.

_____ Singh, Ragpoot chief, defeated by Aurungzebe and Morad, makes his peace with the former and joins him against Shooja, receives orders to advance, but at a critical moment retires with all his force, i. 48, 49.

_____ falls suddenly on the rear of his allies, puts the women to the sword, spreads panic through the imperial army, which is stayed only by the firmness of Aurungzebe, i. 49.

_____ plunders Aurungzebe's camp, presents himself before the walls of Agra and boasts of having defeated the Emperor, i. 50.

_____ opens a correspondence with Dara, intimates his intention of deserting Aurungzebe, and urges Dara to support his defection; Dara waits to augment his forces, i. 53.

JEYPOOR, engagements of Rajah of, with the British government, iii. 384.

JHOO-JOO-ROO, surrender of, to a detachment of irregulars during Nepaul war, iv. 290.

JOHNSON, Mr., acting British Resident in Oude, letter addressed by, to officer of the guard at Lucknow, concerning two confidential advisers of begum sent there as prisoners, ii. 331.

JOHNSTONE, Capt., attacks and drives from their works a party of Burmese advancing from Assam into Cachar, v. 13.

- JOHNSTONE, Commodore, expedition dispatched from England under him and Gen. Medows, to attack Dutch settlements at the Cape; makes prize of Dutch vessels, returns to England with three frigates, ii. 265, 266.
- Mr., suggests cutting off the ears of an Armenian as a punishment for his having invaded the Company's monopoly of saltpetre, i. 424, *note*.
- his opinion that the sum offered by Meer Cossim to Mr. Vansittart and others should be claimed for the Company, i. 426, *note*.
- proposes to set at nought the orders of the Court of Directors that all correspondence with native powers should be carried on by the governor, i. 437, *note*.
- with seven other members of council, records opinion, that a regard for the interests of their employers compelled them to call upon the Nabob, Meer Cossim, to revoke determination of relieving inland trade from duties, i. 439.
- shares in the wealth bestowed on elevation of the Nabob Noojum-ad-Dowlah, and in opposition to his formerly expressed opinions, receives two lacs thirty thousand rupees, i. 473.
- desirous of obtaining explanation from committee (consisting of Clive, Sumner, Sykes, Verelst, and Gen. Carnac) on their powers, i. 484.
- endeavours to shew that though covenants had been signed, members of council might receive presents, i. 486, *note*.
- refers to example of Clive in justification of his conduct and that of his colleagues; records minute on subject of presents, i. 489, *note*.
- legal proceedings instituted against, to procure refund of presents; discontinued under vote of general court, i. 493, *note*.
- JONES, Capt., 22nd N.I., drives a large body of the Burmese from a fort at the point of the bayonet, v. 29.
- Gen., receives at Oujein command of force brought thither from Guzerat under Col. Murray to act against Holkar, iii. 463.
- joins Gen. Lake at Bhurtpore, iii. 471.
- instructed to proceed to Rampoorah, on route to Guzerat, iii. 550.

- JOUNDPORE, engagements of treaty of Rajah of, with British government, ii. 384.
- case of Rajah of, iii. 521.
- treaty concluded with Rajah of, iv. 498.
- JUDSON, Mr., missionary in Ava, lively picture afforded by his evidence of the surprise given to Burmese government and people by the successes of British army, v. 92—96, *note*.
- his representation of the alarm created by the defeat of Bundoola in his lines before Rangoon, and his flight to Donabew, v. 97, 98, *note*.
- JUGGUT Seit, native banker, anxious for the support of the British council in aid of his influence with the Nabob Noojum-ad-Dowlah, i. 472.
- JYEPOOR, treaty with Rajah of, iv. 499.
- JYETUCK, operations against in Nepaul war; failure, iv. 276, 277.
- remarks on, iv. 279—281.
- KALUNGA, Major Gillespie marches on (Nepaul war), iv. 270.
- unsuccessful attack upon, by the British, in which Gen. Gillespie falls, iv. 270, 271.
- renewed attack on, by Col. Mawbey, fails, iv. 272, 273.
- evacuated by the garrison; taken possession of by Col. Mawbey, iv. 274.
- fort of, ordered to be destroyed, iv. 275.
- KAMAL, plain of, Nadir Shah defeats the forces of the Emperor there, and forthwith marches to Delhi, i. 68.
- KARICAL, expedition fitted out against; surrenders to English, i. 345.
- KARTA Soora (Java) surrenders to Sir S. Auchmuty, iv. 192.
- KAY, Lieut.-Col., death of, while employed in expedition from Bombay in support of Rugonath Row, ii. 177.
- KEATING, Col., commands force destined to act in conjunction with Rugonath Row, moves in direction of Poonah, action takes place and terminates in favour of the English, victory attended by dreadful loss, ii. 164.
- dispatched from India with force to Island of Rodriguez, which he takes possession of, iv. 142.

KEATING, Col. H. S., dispatched against Rodriguez (Mascarenhas), iv. 146.

- _____ takes possession of Rodriguez, iv. 146.
- _____ proceeds to Isle of Bourbon, lands, gains advantages over enemy, and returns to Rodriguez, iv. 143—146.
- _____ trains his men for renewed attack on Isle of Bourbon, iv. 148.
- _____ explains his views as to mode of operations, iv. 148, 149.
- _____ lands at Island of Bourbon, iv. 153.
- _____ island surrendered, iv. 153.

KELLETT, Lieut. (R.N.), destroys number of Burmese war-boats, v. 49, 50.

KELLY, Capt., commands column at siege of Deeg, iii. 459.

_____ Col., dispossesses Nepaulese of position on the Hurryharpore hills, iv. 338.

_____ successfully attacks two stockades near Dalla (Burmese war), v. 32, 33.

KEMENDINE, successful attack on Burmese position at, v. 25, 26.

_____ various attacks upon British posts at, v. 44.

KENNEDY, Col., left to follow Col. Gillespie with troops and guns to Vellore on occasion of mutiny there, iv. 62.

KENNY, Lieut.-Col., leads the main attack at Gawilghur (Mahratta war under Marquis Wellesley), iii. 352, 353.

KERJEAN (nephew of Dupleix) dispatches a letter to Major Lawrence protesting against violation of French territory, i. 156.

_____ receives orders from Dupleix to follow the English under Major Lawrence, remonstrates; answered by repetition of orders; obeys, advances, is attacked by Major Lawrence, defeated, and made prisoner, i. 157.

KERR, Lieut. (of the 38th), killed at Rangoon, v. 23.

KERROWLAH, Rajah of, treaty concluded with, iv. 499.

KERRUT Singh, Rana of Gohud, agreement of East-India Company with. *See* Gohud.

KHEIR-O-DEEN, brother-in-law of Mahomet Ali, his reluctance to offend Mahrattas, i. 147.

_____ his extraordinary conduct in regard to the plan laid by Nunjeraj for obtaining possession of Trichinopoly, i. 151.

KHEIR-O-DEEN, his answer to the demand of Nunjeraj for surrender of Trichinopoly, i. 152.

KHILGY, house of, succeed to the throne of Delhi; terminates with a prince named Mobarik, i. 16.

KHIRUDMUND Khan selected for office of manager of the affairs of Furruckabad, refuses to accept without promise of support to, by British Government, iii. 233.

_____ appears anxious to be relieved from the charge, iii. 233.

_____ his unfavourable representations of the young Nabob, iii. 234.

_____ his communications with Mr. Henry Wellesley, iii. 235.

KHIZI obtains the government of Delhi, and exercises it as the nominal vassal of Tamerlane, i. 22.

KHOOSHGUL, surrender of, to the British (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 419.

KHOOSROW Mullik (last prince of the Ghuzni dynasty) treacherously seduced into the hands of Mohammed Ghoory, i. 14.

KILLANORE (Travancore), batteries carried at, by British, iv. 129.

KILPATRICK, Major, dispatched from Madras to Bengal with troops on the government of the former presidency receiving news of the fall of Cossimbazar, i. 198.

_____ his detachment suffers dreadfully from long confinement on swampy ground at Fulta, i. 201.

_____ moves forward to attack French posts at battle of Plassy, i. 240, 241.

_____ receives from Meer Jaffier three lacs in addition to a previous present of one lac, i. 248.

KINNEIR, Major, proceeds to reduce Gingee, i. 153, 154.

_____ his force unequal to attack the fortress, or maintain possession of passes, i. 154.

_____ retires to give the enemy battle, is severely wounded; his troops give way, retreat of, i. 154.

_____ his death, i. 155.

KIRKPATRICK, Capt. J. A., demands from the Nizam full execution of article of treaty for disbanding French corps, iii. 32.

KIRKPATRICK, Col., appointed by Marquis Wellesley secretary to government in political department, appointment rescinded by Court of Directors ; their reason, iii. 258, 259.

KISHINDOSS, son of the Dewan of Governor of Dacca, finds refuge in Calcutta, i. 186.

———— Sooraj-oo-Dowlah requires him to be given up, messenger dispatched without answer, i. 186, 187.

KISTNA, Dupleix appointed by Mozuffar Jung governor of provinces south of that river, i. 93.

KISTNAGHERRY surrenders to Col. Smith during war with Hyder Ali, i. 557.

KNOX, Capt., compels the emperor to withdraw from Patna, i. 385.

———— attacked by the Foujdar of Purneah, defeats him, i. 385.

———— Col., takes post in Seringapatam (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 469.

———— releases Europeans held in confinement, ii. 470.

KNUCKUNUDDEE Sewarree (Brahmin) advises Gen. Wood to attack Jeetgurh; disappears (Nepaul war), iv. 291—293.

KOONDE ROW (Brahmin) aids Hyder Ali in the management of his predatory troops, i. 326.

———— assists in removal of Nunjeraj from power, i. 530.

———— negotiates with the Rajah of Mysore with view to satisfying his clamorous troops, i. 533.

———— directs fire of artillery upon Hyder's troops, i. 535.

———— is alleged to have connived at Hyder's escape, i. 535.

———— defeats Hyder, i. 535.

———— deceived by Hyder, flies in panic; his army attacked and defeated, i. 536, 537.

———— is taken prisoner and confined in a cage, i. 537.

KOOSHAILGHUR, Col. Monson arrives there in his retreat, his difficulties increase, discovers a correspondence between some of his native officers and Holkar; quits the place, iii. 435, 436.

KOOTB-OD-DEEN makes Delhi the seat of a Mahometan government, i. 14.

———— becomes independent on the death of Mohamed Goory, i. 15.

- KOOTB-OD-DEEN, series of princes commencing with, denominated slave-kings, i. 16.
- KOOTB (Sovereign of Golconda), his country invaded by an army of Aurungzebe, his daughter married to Mohamed, son of Aurungzebe, i. 41.
- KORAH ceded to vizier, ii. 39.
- KOTA, Rajah of, declines to admit Colonel Monson's troops into the town, iii. 433.
- treaty concluded with Rajah of, iv. 499.
- KUMAON, correspondence carried on by the British government and the chiefs of that province, iv. 307.
- evacuated by the Nepaulese, iv. 312.
- province of, declared permanently annexed to British dominions, iv. 312.
- KUMMER-OO-DEEN attempts to intercept Major Cuppage; severe action ensues, English victorious (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 447, 448.
- Samoga retaken by, ii. 464.
- provided for by assignments of jaghire, iii. 91.
- KUNKA, zemindar of, submits to the British authority, iii. 464.
- KURPA, detachment of Nizam's force moved to; recalled from, ii. 555.
- KURREEM Khan, Pindarrie, account of; flies to Nagpore and joins Scindia, abandons Scindia's army in the Deccan, offers his services to Holkar, iv. 408.
- offered an asylum by Ameer Khan; dispossesses Ameer Khan of certain districts, and is confirmed in them by Scindia, is made a nawaub, and marries a lady of rank, iv. 408, 409.
- excites the jealousy of Scindia, who invites him to attend him; his ostentatious splendour; prepares extraordinary musnud for Scindia, iv. 409.
- solicits private favours from Scindia, which are accorded; is graciously received by Scindia, seized and imprisoned, iv. 410—412.
- obtains his release and possession of more extensive territories, iv. 413, 414.
- his camp attacked and dispersed; his flight; seeks

protection of Ameer Khan ; is inveigled to Holkar's camp and placed under restraint ; effects his escape, iv. 414.

KURREEM Khan seeks mercy of the English, iv. 578, 579.

KUTWAH, town and fort of, taken possession of by Clive, i. 234.

KUTWAL abandoned to the English by Meer Cossim, i. 444.

LA BOURDONNAIS, French squadron commanded by, appears in Indian seas, i. 76.

———— captures Madras, i. 76.

———— treaty concluded by, with the English, declared null by Dupleix, i. 77, 78.

LAHAR attacked and taken by Capt. Popham, ii. 188.

LAIRD, Mr. John, his statement relative to feelings of Burmese, v. 95, *note*.

LAKE, Gen., affairs of Hindostan committed to, under Marquis Wellesley's plan of political and military operations, iii. 304.

———— marches from Cawnpore, iii. 311.

———— moves to attack of Perron's force, which flies before him, iii. 312.

———— takes possession of Coel, makes preparations for attacking Alyghur, cause of delaying the attack, iii. 312, 313.

———— Alyghur falls to him, iii. 316.

———— Perron applies for, and obtains from him, permission to retire to the British territories, iii. 317.

———— attacks and puts to flight force under Louis Bourquim, who surrenders, iii. 319—321.

———— emperor congratulates him, and solicits his protection ; his answer ; has an audience of the emperor, iii. 324.

———— titles bestowed upon, by Shah Allum ; resumes his march, iii. 326.

———— summons Agra, temporary cessation of hostilities ; firing resumed, garrison surrenders, iii. 330, 331.

———— marches in pursuit of Mahratta force, attacks and entirely defeats them at Laswaree, iii. 334—340.

———— remarks on his battle, iii. 340, 341.

———— various treaties concluded by, iii. 383—387.

- LAKE, Gen., takes a position to enable him to restrain Holkar's operations, iii. 421.
- his negotiation with Holkar, iii. 422.
- receives orders to commence hostile operations against Holkar, iii. 423.
- makes a detachment, under Col. Monson, to protect the city of Jyenaghur; follows Holkar, iii. 424.
- makes a detachment, under Col. Don, for attacking Tonk Rampoor, iii. 424.
- determines to march his troops back into quarters, iii. 426.
- miseries of his march, iii. 426, 427, *note*.
- his orders to Col. Monson, and subsequent conduct, iii. 439.
- remarks of, on the conduct of Col. Monson, iii. 442, *note*.
- arrives at Delhi, iii. 449.
- resolves to proceed in pursuit of the enemy's cavalry in the Doab, iii. 450.
- relieves Colonel Burn at Shamlee, iii. 451.
- breaks up Holkar's camp and disperses his cavalry, iii. 454.
- follows Holkar across the Jumna, and arrives at Muttra, iii. 455.
- instructed to remonstrate with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, iii. 457.
- takes town of Deeg by storm; fort evacuated, iii. 459.
- breaks up his camp before Deeg and marches to Muttra, iii. 464.
- marches to Bhurtpore, iii. 464.
- commences siege of Bhurtpore, iii. 464.
- failure of repeated attacks on that place, iii. 464—479.
- enters into negotiation with Rajah of Bhurtpore, iii. 479.
- concludes treaty with the Rajah, iii. 481.
- quits Bhurtpore, iii. 545.
- is elevated to the peerage, iii. 546.
- Lord, receives letter from Scindia, his answer, iii. 546, 547.

LAKE, Lord, instructed to discontinue pursuit of Holkar and Scindia, iii. 550.

———— addresses letter to Scindia requiring safe conduct for the British resident and his attendants, iii. 554, *note*.

———— again demands release of the British residency, iii. 557.

———— refuses to receive proposals from Scindia till British residency released, iv. 38.

———— withholds from Scindia letter from Marquis Wellesley, iv. 38.

———— remonstrates against abandoning native princes near the Jumna, iv. 39—42.

———— concurs with Marquis Cornwallis with regard to Rana of Gohud, iv. 42.

———— defers transmission of declaratory articles annexed by Sir George Barlow to treaty with Scindia, and remonstrates, iv. 51.

———— engaged in following the flight of Holkar into the Punjab, iv. 52.

———— remonstrates against declaratory articles annexed to treaty with Holkar, iv. 53.

———— presses claims of Rajahs of Bhoondee and Jeypore, iv. 54.

———— is instructed to open negotiation for severing defensive alliances with Rajahs of Bhurtpore and Machery, iv. 55.

———— remonstrates with effect, iv. 55.

———— completes negotiations, quits India, iv. 56.

———— his return to England, honours conferred upon; his death; provision made by Parliament for his successor in the peerage, iv. 56, *note*.

———— investigation of the causes of his failure at Bhurtpore, and the success of Lord Combermere at that place, v. 158—171, *note*.

———— Major, wounded at the battle of Laswaree, iii. 339.

LALLY, Count de, appointed Gov.-Gen. of all the French possessions and establishments in India, i. 276.

———— proceeds to Pondicherry, i. 276.

———— enters bounds of Fort St. David, i. 276.

- LALLY, Count de, attacks the fort, which surrenders, i. 277, 278.
- _____ makes a triumphal entry into Pondicherry, i. 279.
- _____ takes the field to enforce payment of a bond given to Chunda Sahib by King of Tanjore; effects of his approach to the capital of Tanjore, i. 279.
- _____ concludes treaty with government of Tanjore; fresh misunderstandings arise; he threatens to transport King and family as slaves to Mauritius, erects batteries and makes a breach, i. 280.
- _____ discovers that his army are nearly destitute of both ammunition and provisions, calls council of war; makes preparations for breaking up his camp, i. 280, 281.
- _____ escapes the meditated treachery of Monackjee, i. 281, 282.
- _____ is informed that d'Aché determines to return immediately to the Isle of France, ineffectually endeavours to change his purpose, i. 282.
- _____ projects an expedition to Arcot, his triumphal entry into that city, neglects to secure Chingleput, i. 283.
- _____ puts force in motion for reduction of Madras, gains possession of the Black Town, i. 284.
- _____ casts blame on Bussy for not bringing up the governor's regiment to resist sally of the English, i. 286.
- _____ erects batteries and commences firing against Madras, i. 287.
- _____ is harassed by the English force without the walls; dispatches force to attack Major Calliaud, results, i. 290, 291.
- _____ effect of his operations against Madras, breach made; his officers declare it inaccessible; raises siege, i. 293, 296.
- _____ his complaints of want of support, i. 295, *note*.
- _____ gives up command to Soupires, retires to Pondicherry, his instructions to Soupires, i. 296.
- _____ on hearing of departure of Major Brereton for Wandewash, leaves Pondicherry; orders Soupires to join at Chittapet, advances to Coverpauk; his distress and unpopularity; retires into cantonments, i. 297, 298.
- _____ fires a hundred guns in honour of the repulse of

Major Brereton at Wandewash, and transmits accounts of it to every quarter, i. 320.

LALLY, Count de, believed by the soldiers to have amassed and secreted great wealth, i. 321.

_____ disburses considerable sum from his own chest to satisfy mutineers at Wandewash, i. 323.

_____ recalls troops from Seringham and other garrisons, i. 333.

_____ forms design of attacking Conjeveram, his dexterous movements to reach that place without exciting suspicion; arrives at Conjeveram, is disappointed in finding no store of provision; plunders and fires the houses; proceeds to Trivatore, i. 333, 334.

_____ marches with part of his force for Wandewash, is advised by Bussy to suspend the siege, determines to persevere, i. 336, 337.

_____ attacks the town; attack suspended and resumed; takes the town and commences operations against the fort, i. 337, 338.

_____ puts himself at the head of his cavalry, and attacks that of the English, is repulsed, i. 340, 341.

_____ defeated in general action by Col. Coote, i. 342.

_____ is received at Pondicherry with invective and abuse, absurd accusations against him; meets them with defiance and re- crimination, i. 346.

_____ concludes treaty with Hyder Ali for the service of a body of Mysorean troops, i. 347.

_____ makes an attack on English camp before Pondicherry, which fails, i. 349.

_____ gloominess of his prospects, threatened with famine, expels native inhabitants of Pondicherry, i. 351, 352.

_____ sets free prisoners on parol on account of his inability to supply them with food, i. 355.

_____ sends flag of truce, with gasconading memorial, offering to surrender, i. 356.

_____ departs for Madras amidst insult and execration, i. 357.

- LALLY, Count de, brief account of his descent, and his career before and after his service in India, i. 357, 358, *note*.
- LAMBTON, Capt., assumes command of Col. Dunlop's column at storming of Seringapatam, iii. 50.
- LANDSDOWNE, Marquis of, moves rejection of report of committee of House of Lords on East-Indian resolutions (1813), iv. 244.
- _____ gives notice of motion in House of Lords for select committee on foreign trade, v. 238.
- _____ presents petition from Manchester to House of Lords, praying the opening of the trade to the East-Indies, v. 248, 249.
- _____ presents petition from Glasgow, praying for free trade to China and India, v. 274.
- _____ moves concurrence of Lords in resolutions relating to the arrangement with the East-India Company sent up from the Commons, v. 323.
- _____ affirms that councils of subordinate presidencies are to be retained, v. 330.
- _____ clauses of bill relating to council of subordinate presidencies omitted in committee on motion of, v. 342.
- _____ moves that fifth member of council of India be excluded from sitting or voting, except when making laws and regulations, v. 342.
- LASSELGONG taken (Mahratta war under Marquis Wellesley), iii. 461.
- LATTER, Capt. Barré, intrusted with defence of part of British frontier in Nepaul war, iv. 265, 266.
- LAUDERDALE, Earl, desire of the Fox and Grenville administration that he should be appointed Gov.-Gen. of India, iv. 87.
- _____ found impossible to overcome objections of Court of Directors, iv. 96.
- _____ probable ground of their objection, iv. 115, *note*.
- _____ makes violent speech against Court of Directors, iv. 244.
- LAW, M. (French commander), dissuades Chunda Sahib from surrendering to the English, i. 129.
- _____ demands from Monackjee hostages for safety of Chunda Sahib, i. 131.

LAW, convinced that d'Autueil and his force had fallen into the hands of the British, requests a personal conference with Major Lawrence, and after much discussion surrenders Seringham on terms, i. 136.

— holds command at Cossimbazar, i. 223.

— warns Sooraj-oo-Dowlah of disaffection of his servants, i. 225.

— considered chief promoter of movement of the Shizada against Meer Jaffier, i. 364.

— joins emperor with remnant of French force, i. 384, 385.

— made prisoner by Major Carnac, i. 415.

LAWRENCE, Major, dispatched with six hundred Europeans to aid Nazir Jung, i. 86, 87.

— receives a message from M. d'Autueil, i. 87.

— his answer to M. d'Autueil, i. 87.

— orders shot fired from French entrenchment to be answered from three guns, i. 87.

— returns to Fort St. David, i. 89, 90.

— allows Clive to lead the attack at Tanjore, i. 99, 100.

— force destined for Trichinopoly placed under his command, i. 121.

— defeats a party of the enemy on his march thither, i. 122.

— adopts suggestion of Clive as to division of the British force, i. 123.

— is desirous that Clive should undertake command of separate body, i. 123.

— proposes that Chunda Sahib should be given up to the British and confined in one of their settlements, i. 131.

— remarks on his conduct with regard to the death of Chunda Sahib, i. 134.

— urges Mahomet Ali to proceed to complete the reduction of the Carnatic, i. 138.

— applies to presidency for instructions in regard to the engagement of Mahomet Ali with Mysore, British authorities refuse to interfere, i. 140.

— advises the seizure of Nunjeraj and Morari Row, advice rejected by authorities of the presidency, i. 151.

- LAWRENCE, Major, opposed to attempt of Mahomet Ali to reduce
 Gingee, proceeds to Madras, his representations disregarded, i. 153.
 ————— wisdom of his advice made apparent, i. 154.
 ————— embarks with Swiss troops to reinforce English
 near Fort St. David, i. 156.
 ————— numerical superiority of his army to that of the
 French, enemy retire to Bahoor, i. 156.
 ————— his orders forbid his entering limits of French
 territory, attacks an outpost, enemy abandon it and army with-
 draw, i. 156.
 ————— weary of waiting for an attack from the enemy, has
 recourse to stratagem, i. 156.
 ————— attacks and defeats French force under Kerjean ;
 makes Kerjean and thirteen of his officers prisoners, i. 157.
 ————— his troops retire to winter quarters, i. 164.
 ————— receives from Court of Directors a sword set with
 diamonds, i. 164, *note*.
 ————— receives request from Capt. Dalton for assistance
 at Trichinopoly ; his difficulties, i. 167.
 ————— obliged to march his force to Fort St. David to
 escort supplies ; harassed by Mahratta troops, i. 171.
 ————— arrives at Trichinopoly, i. 171.
 ————— fatigues of his march, i. 171.
 ————— fails in attempts to force enemy's position at Se-
 ringham ; unable to establish himself in position from which the
 enemy had withdrawn, his communication with the country inter-
 rupted and transit of provisions stopped ; establishes post at Golden
 Rock, i. 173.
 ————— puts his troops in motion to relieve party at the
 Rock ; attacked by the French, defeats the French party, and re-
 turns to camp in face of the enemy, i. 173—175.
 ————— proceeds to Tanjore accompanied by Mahomet Ali,
 i. 175.
 ————— object in marching to Tanjore effected ; obtains
 assistance of force commanded by Monackjee, approaches Trichi-
 nopoly, finds enemy prepared to dispute his return, i. 176.
 ————— engages the enemy, his gallant bearing retrieves

the success of the day ; loses his palanquin, of which the French make an extraordinary use, i. 176, 177.

LAWRENCE, Major, again engages the enemy ; gains a brilliant victory, Astrue and other officers made prisoners, i. 177.

————— takes up quarters near Trichinopoly, i. 178.

————— Col., incapacitated by ill-health from taking command of expedition from Madras for recapture of Calcutta, i. 199.

————— approves Orme's suggestion of Clive as leader of the expedition ; suggestion adopted, i. 199.

————— proceeds to Madras to remonstrate against recal of British troops from the field ; his ill-health compels him to abandon command, which ultimately devolves on Major Brereton, i. 297.

————— Gen., remonstrates against draft of force for expedition against Manilla ; is overruled, i. 522.

————— revises with Gen. Calliaud proceedings of court-martial on Sir R. Fletcher, ii. 29, *note*.

————— Mr. (barrister in Supreme Court of Calcutta), his inquiry of the chief justice, in the case of Mr. Naylor ; reply of chief justice to, ii. 145, *note*.

LAWTIE, Lieut. Peter, reconnoitres position of Ummer Singh in Nepaul war, iv. 284.

————— suddenly attacked by party of enemy, whom he drives back, iv. 285.

LESLIE, Col., force assembled by government of Bengal, to afford assistance to that of Bombay in the Mahratta war, intrusted to his command, ii. 175.

————— his slow progress, recal, and death, ii. 181, 182.

LEYCESTER, Mr., member of council at Bengal, his testimony to the recognition of Noojum-ad-Dowlah by Meer Jaffier, as entitled to the succession, i. 467, *note*.

————— receives one lac twelve thousand five hundred rupees on accession of Noojum-ad-Dowlah, i. 473.

————— desirous of obtaining explanation of the powers of the committee appointed from home to restore peace and tranquillity in Bengal, i. 484.

LIGHT, Capt., receives from King of Queda the island of Pulo Penang, as marriage portion with sovereign's daughter, v. 192, 193.

- LIGHT, Capt., transfers island of Pulo Penang to East-India Company; appointed governor of it, v. 193.
- LINDSAY, Capt., at Seringapatam, pushes forward in hope of entering the gates with the flying troops of Tippoo, ii. 468.
- Sir John, Court of Directors grant commission to, to act in Gulf of Persia; question of granting further powers discussed in general court, negatived; he receives secretly a royal commission granting the powers refused by the Company, ii. 17, 18.
- announces to governor and council of Madras that he is bearer of letters and presents from the Crown to Mahomet Ali; invites them to attend their delivery; they decline, ii. 26, 27.
- is disposed to support Mahrattas against Hyder Ali, ii. 27.
- is succeeded by Sir Robert Harland, ii. 27.
- his assurances from King of Great Britain referred to by Mahomet Ali, ii. 200.
- LINOIS, Adm., his squadron attacked and put to flight by fleet of homeward-bound East-Indiamen under Commodore Dance, iii. 375—377.
- LITTLE, Capt., and British detachment with Purseram Bhow, Mahratta general, endeavour to reduce Dooradroog (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 458.
- attacks and takes Hooly Onore, i. 459.
- proceeds towards Simorga, i. 461.
- attacks and entirely disperses the army of Reza Saib, ii. 462.
- prepares to prosecute siege of Simoga, terms of capitulation made and accepted, conditions, ii. 463.
- LORDI refuses to acknowledge Shah Jehan; tenders submission, and receives pardon, i. 34.
- is ordered to proceed to court, is ill-received there; flies with his relatives, takes the road to the Deccan, is followed by the Emperor at the head of an immense army; experiences innumerable disasters; dies, i. 34.
- LOGAN, Lieut., falls before breach at Lahar, ii. 188.
- LONDON, corporation of, petition House of Commons against East-India Bill, their representations respecting it, ii. 54.

LORAINÉ's regiment, mutiny of, i. 322, 323.

————— charges regiment of Col. Coote at battle of Wandewash ; falls back in disorder to regain the camp, i. 341, 342.

LUCAN, Lieut., commanding body of Hindoostanee cavalry employed in following Holkar, iii. 428.

————— assists in attacking force of Tantia (native chief), which surrenders, iii. 428.

————— his cavalry cut to pieces, himself wounded and made prisoner, iii. 431.

————— his death, iii. 431, *note*.

LUDLOW, Major, greatly distinguishes himself at Kalunga, iv. 274.

————— commands column in attack upon stockade near Jyettuck (Nepaul war), unfortunate results, iv. 278, 279.

————— Bappoojee Scindia placed under his care, iv. 504.

LUFT Ali Beg, his despair on the fall of Nundedroog, ii. 441.

————— his failure of success at battle of Arnée ; how punished by Hyder Ali ; is employed by Tippoo Sultan in diplomatic services, ii. 442.

LUSHINGTON, Major J. L., receives intelligence of Pindarries entering and plundering Peishwa's territories, iv. 422.

————— overtakes them by forced marches, surprises, and put them to flight, iv. 422, 423.

————— brilliant services of his brigade of cavalry at battle of Mahidpore, iv. 493.

LYALL, Mr. George, his evidence on the American trade with China, v. 244, 245.

————— opposes in Parliament the limitation of the Company's tenure of government to ten years, v. 333.

————— opposes fourfold system of nomination to college at Haileybury, v. 335.

MACAN, Capt., his evidence on the cause of the mutiny at Barrackpore, v. 109—111, *note*.

————— petition of mutineers to commander-in-chief, translated by, v. 110, 111, *note*.

————— note appended to petition by, v. 111, *note*.

- MACAN, Capt., his representation of the effect of the destruction of detachment at Ramoo, v. 112.
- MACAO, expedition fitted out against, from Bengal; settlement occupied; Chinese stop trade; place abandoned; displeasure of the Court of Directors, iv. 131, 132.
- MACARTNEY, Lord, governor of Madras, arrives there; prevails on Sir E. Coote to endeavour to keep the army together, ii. 262, 263.
- _____ his disputes with Sir Eyre Coote; attacks Negapatam without consulting the latter, ii. 269, 270.
- _____ opposes plan of Hastings for surrendering Northern Circars to the Nizam, on condition of his furnishing a body of cavalry, ii. 293.
- _____ obtains from Nabob of Arcot an assignment of revenues of the Carnatic for support of war, ii. 293.
- _____ his resistance to government of Bengal in various instances, ii. 293.
- _____ resigns government of Madras, ii. 294.
- _____ letters of Benfield filled with abuse of, ii. 382, *note*.
- _____ arrives at Calcutta from Madras, his object in proceeding to Bengal; receives appointment of Gov.-Gen., which he declines; his reasons, ii. 382—386.
- _____ his arrival in England; enters into communication with chairman and deputy-chairman of East-India Company; his representation of abuses, ii. 385, 386.
- _____ his views communicated to ministers, is invited to an interview with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas; his desire for English peerage, desire not gratified, ii. 386.
- _____ engaged in a duel with Gen. Stuart, whom he had forcibly removed from command of army, is wounded, cause of duel, ii. 386, 387, *note*.
- _____ involved in dispute with Mr. Sadleir in India; hostile meeting ensues, in which he is wounded, ii. 387, 388, *note*.
- MACAULAY, Col., resident in Travancore, presses payment of subsidy from Rajah, iv. 118.
- _____ assailed at midnight by armed force, his narrow escape, iv. 120—122.

MACAULAY, Col., his suspension, iv. 124.

———— is requested to return to his duties, iv. 126.

———— Mr. T. B., his remarks on the unfitness of the House of Commons for the discussion of Indian affairs, v. 314, 315, *note*.

MACBEAN, Major, joins Col. Stewart at the siege of Malligaum; their united attack obtains possession of the town, iv. 550.

———— Col., his services in the Burmese war, v. 24—29, 30.

MACGREGOR, Capt., fall of, at Talneir, iv. 509.

MACHERY, stipulations in treaty with Rajah of, iii. 384.

———— portion of territory proposed to be assigned to Rajah of, by Marquis Cornwallis, iv. 31.

MACLEAN, Col., intrusted with authority to tender resignation of Warren Hastings, mystery attending his proceedings, ii. 91.

———— state of feeling on his arrival in England unfavourable to Hastings, ii. 91.

———— engaged in series of intrigues; propositions agreed upon with Robinson, confidential servant of ministry, ii. 94.

———— addresses letter to Court of Directors tendering Hastings's resignation, ii. 94, 95.

———— is questioned as to his authority, professes to be ready to give Court satisfaction, proposes to submit papers to inspection of three Directors, ii. 95.

———— his letter a subject of conversation with Robinson, ii. 95, *note*.

———— Mr. Roberts, Mr. James, and Mr. Becher empowered to make requisite examination as to his authority, ii. 95, 96.

———— his acts repudiated by Hastings, ii. 97.

———— in addressing Hastings, refers to the powers intrusted to him; his answer to question from Mr. Becher as to his authority, ii. 109, 110, *note*.

———— his intriguing and unscrupulous character, remarks on his conduct, ii. 113—116.

———— in letter to Hastings, refers to difficulty of maintaining majority in General Court, ii. 114, 115, *note*.

———— his remarks to Hastings on the effects of Col. Monson's death, and Mr. Wheler's appointment, ii. 121—124, *note*.

MACLEOD, Col., sent by Sir Eyre Coote, to take command of remnant of Col. Humberstone's force, resists attack of Tippoo; is joined by Sir Edward Hughes with reinforcement, ii. 271.

———— dislodges enemy from villages of Colar and Nagrecoil (Travancore), iv. 129.

———— carries Fort of St. Denis (Isle of Bourbon) at point of bayonet, iv. 151.

———— William, detached to attack batteries in Mauritius, iv. 165.

———— A., joins Col. Gillespie at Palembang, iv. 200.

———— Gen., departs from Mangalore, ii. 581.

———— Lord, represents to Governor of Madras (Mr. Whitehill) the necessity of taking measures to oppose Hyder Ali, ii. 227.

———— Major, his gallant conduct at Alyghur, he is wounded, iii. 315, 316.

MAC MORINE, Col., takes possession of fort of Chouragurh (Nagpore) and adjoining town, iv. 538.

MAC NEIL, Col., visits Azim-ul-Dowlah, iii. 155.

MACPHERSON, Mr. John, solicits commission from Mahomet Ali to proceed to England as his accredited agent, authority given, results of his mission, ii. 19—21.

———— obtains introduction to the Duke of Grafton, and presents plan for the administration of Indian affairs, ii. 21.

———— urges the claims of Mahomet Ali; offers presents, which are refused, i. 21, 22.

———— proposes, on behalf of Mahomet Ali, to invest seventy lacs in the purchase of British stock, or to lend that sum to the government at two per cent.; proposes an act to restrain Company's servants from interfering with India princes, his intrigues to foment differences between the Crown and the Company, ii. 24—26.

———— on recommendation of Duke of Grafton, appointed writer on Madras establishment; is dismissed the service, ii. 378.

———— conflicting legal opinions on the effect of his dismissal; appointed member of council of Bengal to supply

vacancy caused by retirement of Mr. Barwell; eventually becomes successor of Hastings, ii. 380.

MACPHERSON, Mr. John, Select Committee of the House of Commons inquires into appointment of, ii. 379.

———— his alleged secret service, ii. 381.

———— enforces necessary reforms, and restores credit of Company's Government; character of, ii. 382.

MACRIE, Col., commands the force composing the storming party at Deeg, iii. 459.

MADEIRA, discovery of, i. 36.

MADGE, Captain, commander of Fort M'Dowall (Ceylon), on receiving intelligence of the massacre of the garrison of Candy, evacuates the fort and retreats towards Trincomalee, iii. 412.

MADHOO Singh quarrels with his brother Doorjun Saul, attempts to seize fort of Bhurtpore and the person of his brother, fails, v. 137, 138.

———— retires to Deeg, repulses detachment sent against him by Doorjun Saul, is joined by body of Mahrattas, v. 138.

MADRAS, its establishment as a station of the East-India Company, i. 73.

———— attacked and taken by the French, i. 76.

———— possession of, promised to the Nabob of the Carnatic by Dupleix, i. 76, 77.

———— treaty concluded by La Bourdonnais on its surrender declared null by Dupleix; property of the English seized, and those who refused allegiance to the French sovereign required to depart; governor and principal inhabitants marched to Pondicherry, i. 78.

———— restored to the English by peace of Aix la Chapelle, i. 79.

———— besieged by Lally, i. 284.

———— garrison make a sally, i. 284, 285.

———— Lally raises the siege, i. 294.

———— sudden appearance of Hyder Ali before it, i. 572.

———— Mr. Dupre, member of council, proceeds to camp of Hyder, and concludes treaty, i. 573, 574.

———— violent disputes at, arrest of the governor, Lord Pigot, who dies under restraint, ii. 201—203.

MADRAS, monstrous corruption there, ii. 223, 224, 244, 246.

——— discontents in army at, iv. 133.

——— discontent inflamed by commander-in-chief, iv. 137.

——— remarks on, iv. 139, 140.

——— presidency of, not deprived of council, v. 361.

MADURA (south of India), failure of Capt. Calliaud in attempt to take by surprise, i. 268.

——— Capt. Calliaud returns to, it surrenders, i. 275.

——— held in opposition to Mahomet Ali by Mahomet Isoof, siege of; falls, i. 523, 524.

——— (Indian Archipelago), French fortress in, reduced by Capts. Harris and Pellew, iv. 194, 195.

——— Sultan of, joins the English, iv. 195.

MAHA Nemiou (Burmese commander) carried in a litter from point to point to sustain the energy of his men, v. 71.

MAHÉ, and dependencies on coast of Malabar, surrender of, i. 359.

——— surrenders to Col. Braithwaite, fort blown up, ii. 215.

MAHER Merza Khan (officer of Hyder Ali) attacks Arcot, effects an entrance, ii. 274.

MAHMOOD, Sultan, son of Subooktugeen, reigns at Ghizni in Affghanistan, and becomes founder of Ghiznividian dynasty, i. 12.

——— first Mahometan prince who established a solid power in India, i. 12.

——— defeats the Rajah of Lahore, enriches himself with plunder, and stipulates for payment of annual tribute, i. 12.

——— destroys many monuments of Hindoo idolatry, including temples of Nagrakote and Somnaut, i. 12, *note*.

MAHOMED Ameen, his faithlessness; forms project of assassinating those administering the government of Hyder Ali after the death of that prince, assumes their power in the name of his second son, plot detected, conspirators seized, ii. 271, 272.

——— Bey, his plundering band destroyed and dispersed by Gen. Campbell, iii. 365, 366.

——— Esa, leads the insurgents in disturbances at Bareilly, iv. 375.

——— Kooli, assists the Shazada, i. 366.

MAHOMED Reza Khan, selected for office of chief minister to the Nabob Noojum-ad-Dowlah, i. 469.

_____ manifests his gratitude towards those to whom he owed his appointment, i. 472.

_____ complaints of Nabob against, i. 487.

_____ exonerated from charges preferred against him, i. 493.

_____ reports prejudicial to character of, reach Court of Directors; orders sent to seize him, ii. 31, 32.

_____ his acquittal after tedious inquiry, ii. 33.

_____ Court of Directors satisfied of his innocence, direct his restoration to office, ii. 87, 88.

_____ complaints against, by Mobarik-ul-Dowlah; is removed from his charge, ii. 125.

_____ distribution of his salary by Nabob, ii. 126.

_____ is favourably noticed by Court of Directors, ii. 127.

_____ his restoration an article in the compact between Hastings and Francis, ii. 131.

MAHOMET Ali Khan, government of Arcot transferred to, i. 89.

_____ his camp attacked by the French; precipitate flight of, i. 90.

_____ endeavours to make terms with the French, i. 96.

_____ small body of troops sent to his assistance by the British to prevent his falling off to the French, i. 96.

_____ his pecuniary distress, his troops threaten to desert him, applies to Mysore for aid, i. 115.

_____ Rajah of Tanjore declares in his favour, and dispatches troops to his assistance; he receives further aid from other quarters, i. 116.

_____ head of Chunda Sahib, sent to, directs it to be publicly exhibited, i. 131.

_____ urged by Major Lawrence to proceed to reduction of unsubdued parts of the Carnatic, i. 138.

_____ objects to fulfil agreement for transfer of Trichinopoly to Mysore, i. 138.

- MAHOMET Ali Khan professes himself willing to give up Trichinopoly when placed in quiet possession of his other dominions, i. 139, 140.
- _____ his conference with Morari Row, i. 141.
- _____ makes over to Mysorean general revenues of Seringham, and receives Mysorean troops into Trichinopoly, i. 144.
- _____ marches northward, accompanied by British force, i. 144.
- _____ succeeds in obtaining partial recognition of his authority; applies to British authorities for additional force to reduce Gingee; Major Kinnier dispatched for that purpose, but fails to effect it, i. 153.
- _____ congratulated by Mahrattas on successes against Kerjean, i. 158.
- _____ makes application to the English for means of reducing Chingleput and Covelong; small force furnished him, i. 158.
- _____ his army broken up, i. 164.
- _____ accompanies Major Lawrence to Tanjore, i. 175.
- _____ English continue to aid him in collecting his revenues and reducing his vassals to obedience, i. 181.
- _____ his embarrassments, i. 268.
- _____ desirous of quitting Madras when French appear before it, departs with family to Negapatam, i. 288.
- _____ arrives at British camp before Pondicherry, and concurs in the indulgence given to the fugitives from that place, i. 353.
- _____ assisted by government of Madras in reducing rebellious vassals; Madura held in opposition to him, attacked and taken, i. 523, 524.
- _____ his dispute with the sovereign of Tanjore, i. 524.
- _____ authorizes Mr. John Macpherson to proceed to England as his accredited agent, ii. 19.
- _____ his disputes with Tanjore, premature peace concluded; hostilities recommenced; their termination, ii. 27, 28.

MAHOMET Ali Khan obtains aid of English in punishing certain poligars, ii. 38.

_____ renewed war with Tanjore, country conquered for him by the English, ii. 30.

_____ his opposition to the restoration of Tanjore, ii. 199.

_____ objects to negotiate with the Nizam, proposes to send a vakeel to Basalat Jung, ii. 216.

_____ impoverished by purchasing services of Europeans, his army inefficient and mutinous, ii. 246.

_____ death of, ii. 556.

_____ evidence of his perfidious correspondence with Tippoo Sultan found at Seringapatam; examination of, iii. 131—136.

MAHRATTAS, origin and early history of, i. 56—62, 64—66.

_____ English aid a prince of that nation in endeavouring to recover throne of Tanjore; results, i. 79—81.

_____ reduce Chunda Sahib, i. 83.

_____ body of, engaged to assist Mahomet Ali, remain inactive about thirty miles from Arcot, during Clive's defence of that place, i. 107.

_____ arrival of at Arcot, attempt to enter the town, have recourse to plunder, fire the houses, and retreat, i. 108.

_____ aid Clive against Rajah Sahib, i. 113, 114.

_____ large body of, dispatched from Trichinopoly to join the French; hear of defeat of Kerjean by the British; proceed to congratulate Mahomet Ali, i. 158.

_____ their mode of dealing, i. 332, *note*.

_____ Hyder Ali suffers in contests with, i. 540.

_____ attack Mysore, advance to Sera; they propose terms to Meer Sahib, terms accepted, fort and district surrendered to; Hyder Ali purchases their retreat, i. 545.

_____ body of, taken into English service; join Col. Smith; failure of attack upon by Hyder Ali, i. 558.

_____ attack Hyder Ali, Mahomet Ali disposed to favour them, ii. 26.

- MAHRATTAS, negotiations with, by Sir Robert Harland, ii. 28.
- _____ conduct Emperor to Delhi; he transfers to them the districts allotted for his support by the British government, ii. 35.
- _____ defeated by Shoojah-ad-Dowlah and Hafiz, ii. 42, *note*.
- _____ retreat of, towards the Jumna; no terms of accommodation settled with, ii. 44, *note*.
- _____ Salsette, Bassein, Kenery, Hog Island, Elephanta, and Auranjee occupied by, ii. 156.
- _____ government of Bombay offer Broach and Fort Victoria to, in exchange, ii. 157.
- _____ reinforce the garrison of Tannah, ii. 160.
- _____ treaty concluded with, by government of Bombay, by which previous treaties ratified, ii. 161.
- _____ refuse compliance with Col. Upton's demand of Salsette and Bassein, ii. 167.
- _____ another treaty concluded with; Salsette and the islands confirmed to the Company, ii. 168, 169.
- _____ their right to Salsette founded in force, ii. 170.
- _____ intrigues of the Chev. St. Lubin with, ii. 174, 175.
- _____ expedition from Bombay surrounded by, ii. 178.
- _____ convention concluded with, securing peaceable return of British army; Salsette and all recent acquisitions from Mahratta states to be restored, ii. 179.
- _____ attack the Rana of Gohud: British force under Capt. Popham dispatched to his assistance; results, ii. 187, 188.
- _____ seek destruction of Col. Hartley's army, but are unable to gain any advantage, ii. 191, 192.
- _____ spirits of, elevated by their success in compelling Gen. Goddard to retreat, ii. 195.
- _____ treaty of peace with, ii. 197.
- _____ consent to the surrender of conquests of Hyder Ali, from Nabob of Arcot, ii. 197.
- _____ their right to *chout*, under treaty between the British government and the Nizam, 1768, ii. 393, 394.
- _____ attack and plunder the garrison of Darwar, retiring under stipulation, ii. 419.

MAHRATTAS, junction of, with British army under Col. Stuart (war with Tippoo), ii. 435, 436.

———— fall upon fugitives from Hooliordroog and plunder them, ii. 437.

———— their continued co-operation with the English against Tippoo secured by a loan, ii. 438.

———— their army, under Purseram Bhow, proceeds to attack Dooradroog; fails; marches to Chittledroog; plunders generally; Hooly Onore subjected to plunder, ii. 458.

———— manifestation of their perfidy and bad faith at Samoga, ii. 464.

———— their demands for chout on Tippoo and Nizam, ii. 551.

———— attack Nizam, who is forced to purchase peace on ignominious terms, ii. 551, 552.

———— circumstances of, at the commencement of the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, iii. 5.

———— power of, at Surat, iii. 105.

———— defeat of, by Gen. Lake, at Laswanee, iii. 334—340.

———— character of, by one of themselves, iii. 555, 556, *note*.

———— war with, review of, and observation upon the policy of the Marquis Wellesley, in reference to, iii. 557—575.

———— considerable body of, attracted to Bhurtpore by disturbances there, v. 138.

See also Appa Sahib, Bajee Row, Berar, Guicowar, Holkar, Nagpore, Peishwa, Sattara, and Scindia.

MAITLAND, Capt., drives enemy from covered way at Paligaut; pursues fugitives; garrison struck with panic and surrenders (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 282, 283.

MARJORIBANKS, Mr., chairman of East-India Company, dissents from resolution of Court of Directors, recommending compliance with the views of ministers, v. 314.

———— again dissents from amendment of similar character, v. 344.

———— his dissent, v. 344—347, *note*.

———— retires from the chair, v. 347, *note*.

- MARJORIBANKS, Mr. Charles, opinion of, on union of trade with East-India Company's government, v. 316, *note*.
- MALABAR, piracy on the coast of, carried on by family of Angria; suppression of, i. 181, 182.
- means adopted by Hyder Ali towards the chiefs of, i. 556.
- MALARTIC, Gen., governor of Mauritius, issues proclamation recounting proposal of Tippoo to form an alliance with the French, and inviting volunteers to join him, iii. 13.
- MALASTRIE, in Mauritius, fort of, abandoned by the French, iv. 164.
- MALAYS resident in the kingdom of Candy permitted, by treaty with Mooto Sawmy, to proceed with their families to the British settlements, iii. 403.
- MALAVELLY, grain found at, by army of Lord Cornwallis, ii. 423.
- MALCOLM, Capt., dispatched to camp of Scindia, succeeds in effecting treaty of alliance, articles and conditions of, iii. 378—383.
- Col., opens negotiation with agents of Scindia, his authority from Lord Lake, iv. 38.
- intrusted with negotiating treaty with Scindia, successfully brings it to a close, iv. 49, 50.
- Sir John, endeavours to account and apologize for the eagerness of British officers in the East to secure booty, i. 183, *note*.
- his statement of the question proposed by Clive at the council of war held previously to the battle of Plassy, i. 236, *note*.
- his observations on the exclusion of Clive from the chair at Calcutta under the rotation system, i. 363, *note*.
- his account of the circumstances preceding Clive's return to India, i. 480, *note*.
- mistake of, as to a letter addressed by Clive to the secretary of the Company, i. 481, *note*.
- improbability of his statement as to the inability of the party of Mr. Sullivan to procure a requisition for a ballot, i. 481.

- MALCOLM, Sir John, remarks of, upon revival of an offensive alliance against Tippoo, his observations on engagement with Nizam, ii. 396.
- his remarks upon the view taken by the home government of the policy of Lord Cornwallis, ii. 507.
- his observations on the necessity of maintaining national honour by the British government in the East, ii. 553.
- his character of the minister of the Nizam at the time of the dissolution of the French force, iii. 32, *note*.
- his opinions on the proper policy of the British government in India, iii. 569, 570.
- engaged in series of operations against Chetoo and other Pindarries, iv. 485.
- ordered to proceed towards Oojein, effects junction with Sir T. Hislop, iv. 486.
- conducts negotiation with government of Holkar, iv. 487.
- leads brigade of infantry at battle of Mahidpore, his successes, iv. 493.
- receives overtures from the Peishwa, who surrenders, iv. 556.
- his engagements for provision for Peishwa, iv. 560, *note*.
- acts on his own responsibility, his defence of the arrangement made by him, iv. 561, 562.
- duty assigned to him at siege of Asseergurh, iv. 573, 574.
- suggestion of, as to subjects before parliamentary committee on affairs of East-India Company, v. 276.
- moves series of resolutions in General Court of East-India Company expressive of disposition to accept generally the bargain proposed by ministers, v. 307, 308.
- MALLIA taken by English, iv. 173.
- MALLIGAUM, description of, iv. 545, 546.
- siege and surrender of, iv. 545—552.

MALWA, Col. Camac penetrates into, ii. 196.

MANCHESTER, petition from, on East-India trade, presented to House of Lords by Marquis of Lansdowne, v. 248.

MANGALORE falls into the hands of the English (war with Hyder Ali), i. 554.

————— Hyder Ali suddenly appears before it, English withdraw; artillery and stores abandoned to the enemy, i. 555.

————— capitulates to Gen. Matthews, ii. 276.

————— besieged by Tippoo Sultan, defended by Col. Campbell, ii. 277.

————— included in armistice with Tippoo, ii. 278.

————— expected relief from Bombay, not received at, ii. 280.

————— distress of garrison of, becomes extreme; want and sickness prevail; negotiation opened, capitulation agreed upon, supplies of provisions arrive too late, ii. 281, 282.

MANILLA, expedition against projected by crown, East-India Company invited to aid in; government of Madras furnish force for, i. 522.

————— taken by storm, all dependencies surrendered; restored to Spain at general peace, i. 523.

MANIPUR subjugated by the Burmese, v. 111.

MANNINGHAM, Mr. (member of government of Bengal), sent with Mr. Frankland to superintend embarkation of females on approach of Soojah-oo-Dowlah; refuses to return, example followed by others, i. 190.

————— objects to making Clive independent of council in military matters, i. 200.

MANSFIELD, Earl, condemns East-India Bill (1767), as an exertion of arbitrary power without precedent, ii. 11.

MARKHAM, Mr., arrests Cheyt Singh by order of Hastings, ii. 298, 299.

MARLEY, Major Gen., commands division of army intended to advance against Katmandoo (Nepaul war), iv. 265.

————— his delay in joining the division, iv. 298.

————— waits for battering-train, iv. 298.

————— displeasure of Gov.-Gen. with, iv. 299.

MARLEY, Major Gen., his hesitation between his instructions and the conclusions of his own mind, iv. 300.

——— Gen., advances towards Pursah, but almost immediately retrogrades, iv. 301, 302.

——— his despondency increases; he takes the opinion of certain officers; is recalled, iv. 303.

——— is accused of misconstruing his instructions, *ibid.* 303.

——— suddenly quits camp without making any provision for command, iv. 305.

MARRIAGE, Hindoo law of, i. 8, *note*.

MARRYATT, Capt., becomes senior naval officer by retirement of Commodore Grant (Burmese war), v. 25.

——— fourteen pieces of artillery silenced by the fire from the shipping under, v. 30.

——— constructs bridge for passage of troops at Syriam, v. 32.

MARSHALL, Major-General, reduces Hattrass and Moorsaum, iv. 426.

——— Gen., ordered to advance upon Mundela, iv. 534.

——— opens batteries, which are answered from enemy's works; his dispositions for storming Mundela; garrison surrender, iv. 536.

MARTEBAN, expedition against, under Col. Godwin, description of the place and its capture (Burmese war), v. 34—36.

MARTINDELL, Col., advances towards Scindia, iii. 541.

——— Gen., appointed to succeed Gen. Gillespie, iv. 276.

——— unfortunate attack on stockade near Jyetuck planned by (Nepaul war); remarks, iv. 276—281.

——— army under, remains before Jyetuck, iv. 307.

——— displeasure of the Gov.-Gen., iv. 318.

——— difficulties of, increased by defection of irregulars; his complaints of want of correct intelligence, and desire to be relieved from command, iv. 320.

MASKELYNE, Capt., Clive engages in salt trade for his benefit, i. 505.

——— his character and fortune, i. 505, *note*.

MASULIPATAM, first settlement by the English East-India Company on coast of Coromandel at, i. 73.

———— Bussy obtains reinforcements from, i. 216.

———— part of scattered troops of Confians collected at, i. 302.

———— falls to Col. Forde, i. 308.

———— discontent of officers of Madras army breaks out into open mutiny at, iv. 139.

MATHESON, Lieut., his gallant conduct at Pursah (Nepaul War), iv. 299.

MATHEWS, Gen., dispatched to relief of Col. Humberstone at Paniani; ordered to discontinue operations on the coast and push for Bednore; protests against orders, but proceeds to execute them; obtains possession of Bednore, Mangalore, Anantpore, and other places, ii. 276.

———— marches with his garrison out of Bednore on conditions, which are violated; charged with plundering the public treasury, ii. 277.

———— declares government indebted to him for advances to the amount of 33,000 rupees, ii. 277, *note*.

———— and other British prisoners murdered by Tippoo, ii. 286.

MATTHEWS, Capt., disguises as a native to obtain possession of Mulwagul, his success not very creditable, i. 558, *note*.

MAURITIUS, preparations for attacking, iv. 159, 163.

———— landing of the British there, iv. 164.

———— their operations, iv. 164—166.

———— British ensign first planted there, iv. 166.

———— surrendered by the governor, iv. 167.

———— remarks on articles of capitulation, iv. 168—171.

MAW, Lieut., wounded at attack upon Syriam, his own account of the misfortune (Burmese war), v. 33, *note*.

MAWBAY, Col., unsuccessful attempt of, on Kalunga (Nepaul war), causes of failure, iv. 273.

———— takes possession of Kalunga on its evacuation by the garrison, iv. 274.

MAXWELL, Col., effects junction with Gen. Medows, ii. 412.

- MAXWELL, Col., attacks and breaks line of Tippoo's infantry, ii. 430.
 ———— dispatched into Baramâhal, takes the fort of Penagra, takes and sets fire to pettah of Kistnaghery; attack on fort fails, ii. 443.
 ———— leads attack at the Carigaut Hill (Seringapatam, first siege), ii. 466.
- McCREAGH, Gen., conducts expedition against Chedula, effects landing, carries stockade, island surrendered (Burmese war), v. 28.
 ———— left in Rangoon to abide further orders, v. 51.
- M'DOWALL, Gen., dispatched on a mission to the court of Candy, iii. 400.
 ———— Gen., requests permission to construct a road through the King's territories; refused, iii. 401.
 ———— marches from Colombo with a force about two thousand strong, iii. 402.
 ———— concludes treaty with Mootto Sawmy in Candy, iii. 403.
 ———— his conference with second adigur; agrees to invest Pelime Talauve with supreme authority, provision being made for Mootto Sawmy, iii. 405.
 ———— departs for Colombo, iii. 406.
 ———— marches from Colombo, arrives at Candy; seized with fever and compelled to depart, iii. 407.
 ———— appointed commander-in-chief at Madras, but not to a seat in council; applies himself to aggravate and extend ill-feeling in army, iv. 135.
 ———— his violent conduct; arrests Col. Monro, iv. 137.
 ———— embarks for Europe, leaving behind him inflammatory order; formally removed from office of commander-in-chief, iv. 138.
 ———— lost on his passage to Europe, iv. 140.
 ———— Major, surprises and puts to flight large body of Pindaries, iv. 424.
- M'DOWELL, Col., leads a party in attack on Watty-goon; is shot through the head (Burmese war), v. 70.
- MEDOWS, Gen., appointed to supersede Mr. Hollond in government of Madras, ii. 402.

- MEDOWS, Gen., joins army assembled on plains of Trichinopoly ; his announcement of his arrival and assumption of office to Tippoo, ii. 403.
- purport of his answer to communication from Tippoo, ii. 404.
- advances to Caroor, which is abandoned on his approach, ii. 406.
- marches to Coimbatore, ii. 407.
- informed by Col. Floyd of the approach of Tippoo ; orders Col. Floyd to maintain his position, ii. 409.
- effects junction with Col. Floyd, further reinforced by Col. Stuart, desires to bring Tippoo to general action, ii. 412.
- effects junction with Col. Maxwell, arrives at Velout, ii. 412, 413.
- is superseded in chief command by arrival of Lord Cornwallis, ii. 413.
- his call to the troops at the siege of Bangalore, ii. 414.
- commands column in attack on enemy's position at Seringapatam ; mistake, difficulties and disappointment, ii. 466, 467, 472.
- his disinterested conduct, ii. 510.
- remarks on his character, ii. 510, 511, *note*.
- MEER Cossim makes Sooraj-oo-Dowlah and his attendants prisoners, and takes possession of their effects, i. 246.
- aids in appeasing mutiny of Meer Jaffier's troops by becoming security for payment of their arrears, i. 389.
- aspires to the throne, circumstances favour his pretensions, obtains support of British government, i. 393, 394.
- obtains permission of Meer Jaffier to visit Calcutta to arrange plan of campaign against the Emperor, i. 395.
- to be invested with the dewanny and to exercise all executive authority ; formal treaty signed by British authorities to this effect, i. 396.
- is declared by Meer Jaffier to be the fittest man to lend him aid in his government, i. 398.
- is apprehensive of violence from the Nabob, i. 399.
- is seated on the musnud ; congratulations tendered him by English authorities and natives, i. 400.

- MEER Cossim, his offer of twenty lacs to the select committee, i. 401.
- makes donation of five lacs to the Company, i. 402.
- his large gifts to the select committee, i. 402.
- remarks on his elevation, i. 405, 414.
- applies himself to replenish his treasury, i. 414.
- is jealous of the friendly intercourse between the Emperor and the English, proceeds to Patna, is invested by the Emperor with a khelaut, and undertakes to pay tribute, i. 415.
- refuses to proceed to camp of the Emperor; investiture takes place in English factory, i. 415, 416, *note*.
- demands settlement with Ram Narrain, i. 416.
- his demand upon Ram Narrain evaded; forms designs against the power and life of Ram Narrain, i. 417, 418.
- bent upon destruction of Ram Narrain, offers bribes to Major Carnac and Col. Coote to aid his purpose, i. 419.
- again demands accounts from Ram Narrain; they are rendered, are unsatisfactory; he seizes Ram Narrain, confiscates his effects, and subjects all his dependents to amercement, i. 420.
- refuses compliance with demand for payment of twenty lacs to the Company, i. 427, 428.
- disputes with, about private trade; agrees with Mr. Vansittart on body of regulations, which he orders to be acted upon immediately, i. 429—431.
- engaged in an expedition against Nepaul, returns defeated; his orders for carrying into effect Vansittart's regulations disregarded at English factories, complains of grievances to Vansittart, i. 437.
- orders collection of all custom duties to cease, i. 438.
- is disinclined to receive deputation from council of Bengal, i. 440, 441.
- his guards stop boats laden with arms for British troops; their return demanded, he refuses unless British troops withdraw from Patna, or Mr. Ellis be removed from the factory there, i. 441.
- endeavours to induce British troops to desert; acts of hostility follow, i. 441.
- dismisses Mr. Amyatt, but detains Mr. Hay as a hostage, i. 441.

MEER Cossim makes Mongheer his capital; quits it on approach of English; commits great cruelties; murders Ram Narrain, the Bankers Seit, and others, i. 446, 447.

——— news of capitulation of Mongheer reaches him, threatens to put to death his European prisoners; is threatened by Major Adams with the vengeance of British nation if the prisoners sustain harm; perseveres, and murders prisoners, i. 447, 448.

——— his fortune decided; his army pursued by the English to banks of Caramnassa; he crosses the river, seeks refuge in territories of Oude, i. 449.

——— is desirous the Vizier should march against the English, his desire evaded; offers to undertake to reduce to obedience dependents of Bundlecund, his offer accepted, completes his task, i. 450.

——— proposes to quit Vizier's territories under pretence of collecting his revenues; Vizier objects, but demands payment of subsidy; he assumes habit of a devotee, but throws it aside at request of Vizier, i. 461, 462.

——— his troops mutiny for pay; he is compelled to appease them by compliance; is anxious to get rid of his army, communicates his intention to Sumroo; Sumroo and his battalions with their arms and accoutrements enter service of Vizier; is plundered by the Vizier, but secretes a number of jewels, i. 462, 463.

——— escapes from Vizier, i. 475.

MEER Jaffier aspires to soubahdarship, i. 227.

——— selected by Sooraj-oo-Dowlah for command of large number of troops to reinforce his army near Plassy, i. 228.

——— afraid to decline command, proceeds to obey his orders; returns to capital, gives audience to Mr. Watts, agrees to terms of treaty with English, and swears to observe it, i. 229, 230.

——— is deprived of his command by Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, charged with being engaged in conspiracy with the English against the Soubahdar, i. 231.

——— is summoned by Sooraj-oo-Dowlah to conference, refuses to attend, i. 232.

——— exchanges professions of reconciliation and fidelity with Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, and swears to adhere to his engagement with him, i. 232.

- MEER Jaffier, his dubious conduct causes anxiety to Clive, i. 234, 235.
- _____ during battle of Plassy is sent for by Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, implored to forget differences, and conjured to defend the throne; promises accordingly, and advises suspension of battle, i. 242.
- _____ insists on recal of Mohun Lal's troops, his counsel prevails, i. 242.
- _____ his division observed by Clive with suspicion; on retreat, they keep apart from Soubahdar's army, i. 243.
- _____ addresses letter to Clive, acquainting him with advice given to his master, i. 244.
- _____ his endeavours to stand well with both parties, his doubts as to his reception by the English, i. 244.
- _____ his fears allayed when introduced to Clive; led by Clive to the musnud, in the Hall of Audience, at Moorsheadabad, i. 245.
- _____ his liberality to the members of the British government, i. 248.
- _____ said to be opposed to arrangement with Omichund, i. 260.
- _____ difficulties of his government, relieved by Clive, i. 360.
- _____ confirmed in authority by sunnud from Delhi, i. 361.
- _____ court of, scene of intrigues, i. 363.
- _____ is menaced with invasion by the Shazada; his troops in a state of mutiny, i. 364.
- _____ attempts to stop the march of the Bankers Seit, and fails through the desertion of his own troops, i. 364, 365, *note*.
- _____ alarmed by advance of the Shazada, i. 365, 366.
- _____ receives favours from the Emperor, i. 367.
- _____ offended at the Dutch, and stops their trade; is propitiated by submission; enters into private negotiation for the introduction into Bengal of a Dutch force, i. 369, 370.
- _____ change of his views; expresses displeasure at the proposed armament; demands aid of the English, i. 371.
- _____ visits Clive at Calcutta, i. 371.
- _____ receives the Dutch authorities; makes disingenuous communication to Clive, i. 372.

MEER Jaffier concludes treaty with the Dutch through mediation of Clive, i. 379.

————— regards the approaching departure of Clive from India with alarm, i. 380.

————— grants permission to Meer Cossim to visit Calcutta to arrange plan for campaign against the Emperor, i. 395.

————— visits English governor (Vansittart), i. 397.

————— confesses that age and grief incapacitate him from struggling with his difficulties, i. 398.

————— declares Meer Cossim the fittest man to lend him aid, i. 398.

————— is apprized of the views of the English; threatens to resist and abide his fate; is content to stipulate for preservation of life and an allowance for his maintenance, i. 399, 400.

————— declines the name of prince when deprived of authority, and asks permission to retire to Calcutta, i. 400.

————— observations on his dethronement, i. 403—414.

————— council determine on restoration of; proclamation issued, declaring him sovereign of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, i. 442.

————— terms of restoration not settled at time of issuing proclamation; differences occur in arrangement, but council disposed to yield in slight matters in regard to the Nabob's concessions in respect of trade, i. 443.

————— conditions of treaty with, i. 444.

————— his death, competitors for his throne, i. 467.

————— legacy bequeathed by, to Clive, i. 513.

MEER Niser Alee (Tittoo Meer), originator of disturbances in Baraset, v. 179.

MEERUN devotes Sooraj-oo-Dowlah to death, i. 246.

————— encamps near Chinsura, to the terror of the Dutch, i. 378.

————— receives Dutch deputies, basis of treaty agreed upon, terms, i. 378, 379.

————— his designs against the Foujdar of Purneah, i. 379, 380, *note*.

————— accompanies Col. Calliaud for Patna with a numerous army, i. 382.

MEERUN refuses small body of cavalry to Col. Calliaud for pursuit of the Emperor, i. 383, 384.

—— again refuses the like assistance for pursuit of Foujdar of Purneah, i. 386.

—— is killed by lightning, i. 386.

—— various victims of his cruelty, i. 386—388, *note*.

—— his death concealed from the army till its arrival at Patna, i. 388.

MEESTA Corselis (Java), port of, assaulted by Col. Gillespie, taken, iv. 188—190.

MELVILL, Lieut., his relation of the sufferings of the British prisoners of Hyder Ali, ii. 234—238.

—— Mr. J. C. (Secretary to the East-India Company), his explanation of the commercial operations of the Company, v. 264—270.

—— his lucid, masterly, and convincing evidence with regard to the relative claims of territory and commerce in the transactions of the Company, v. 283.

MELVILLE, Lord, moves for papers connected with removal of Sir George Barlow, iv. 89—91.

MENGEE Maha Bundoola, his success in Arracan, and its effects on the Court of Ava, v. 42.

MERGUI attacked and carried by Col. Mills (Burmese war), v. 37.

MENU, laws of, reference to, i. 5, *note*.

MENZIES, Major, a volunteer at the first siege of Bhurtpore, death of, iii. 476.

MEREDITH, Sir W., his reply to the sarcasm of Burke on the two Parliamentary committees sitting on the affairs of the East-India Company, ii. 50, *note*.

METCALF, Mr., conducts negotiation, and concludes treaty with Runjeet Singh, iv. 132.

—— treaty with Ameer Khan negotiated by, iv. 462.

—— gives instructions to Capt. Tod for opening negotiation with Toolsee Bhye, regent at camp of Holkar, iv. 485.

METCALFE, Sir C. T., his remarks upon Bengal permanent settlement, ii. 531, *note*.

—— appointed to residency of Delhi, v. 134.

METCALFE, Sir C. T., reports and documents connected with affairs of Bhurtpore referred to, v. 143.

————— elaborate statement of his opinions on general question of interference and specific measures to be adopted with regard to Bhurtpore, v. 143—148.

————— authorized to maintain the succession of the rightful heir at Bhurtpore, v. 151.

————— his views as to final settlement of Bhurtpore, adopted by government, and embodied in resolution, v. 151.

————— does not succeed in settling affairs of Bhurtpore by negotiation, v. 152.

————— his communication to Gov.-Gen. concerning Doorjun Saul, and the causes of his finding support, v. 153, 154.

————— issues proclamation denouncing pretensions of Doorjun Saul, and declaring intention of the British government to support Bulwunt Singh ; his interview with Lord Combermere, v. 155.

————— does not allow communications of Doorjun Saul to interfere with the progress of the army, v. 156.

M'GUIRE, Mr., influence of, employed in vain to induce Ram Narrain to render accounts, i. 418.

————— after elevation of Meer Cossim to the musnud, receives present of one lac and 80,000 rupees and 5,000 gold mohurs, i. 402.

MIDDLETON, Mr., receives one lac twenty-two thousand rupees on the accession of Noojum-ad-Dowlah to the musnud of Bengal, i. 473.

————— appointed British resident at court of Vizier ; communications pass between him and Gov.-Gen., which are not submitted by the latter to his colleagues, ii. 60, 61.

————— recalled, and ordered to bring with him the whole of the correspondence, including that refused by Gov.-Gen., ii. 62.

————— brings fifteen lacs in payment of part of the debt of the Vizier, ii. 65.

————— reappointed resident at Oude, appointment resisted by Clavering and Francis, ii. 89.

————— again appointed, having been previously displaced in favour of Mr. Bristow, under arrangement between Hastings and

- Francis; obtains authority from Vizier to seize Kellah at Fyzabad, residence of begum, ii. 329.
- MIDDLETON, Mr., relinquishes office, his place supplied by Mr. Bristow, ii. 336.
- MILES, Col., dispatched with expedition to coast of Tenasserim (Burmese war), v. 36.
- captures fort of Tavoy, v. 36, 37.
- attacks and carries Mergui, returns to Rangoon, v. 37.
- force under, defeat Burmese army near Rangoon, v. 45, 46.
- MINCHIN, Capt., Commandant at Calcutta, his disgraceful flight on the approach of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 191.
- MINTO, Lord, appointed Gov.-Gen., iv. 96.
- his arrival at Calcutta, state of the country, iv. 117.
- proceeds to Madras in consequence of the disturbances in the army of that presidency, crisis passed before his arrival, iv. 139.
- his operations against the Mascarenha islands, iv. 142—168.
- his measures for reducing the Dutch settlements; his wise and vigorous policy, iv. 175—204.
- establishment of British power in the East without a rival the crowning act of his administration, iv. 204.
- brief notice of various diplomatic affairs of his administration, iv. 204—206.
- his resignation, return to Europe, elevation to an earldom, death, iv. 206.
- Earl, remarks on his administration and character, iv. 251.
- reference to his proceedings in regard to the Nepalese, iv. 255—257.
- MIR Jumla, a Persian, becomes resident at the court of Kootb, sovereign of Golconda, and obtains the highest command there; conducts wars in the Carnatic, i. 40.
- throws himself upon Aurungzebe, then commanding for his father, Shah Jehan, in the Deccan, i. 40.
- his desertion, followed by imprisonment of his son and confiscation of his wealth, i. 40.

- MIR Jumla acquires the confidence of Aurungzebe, exerts his influence to bring about a war with Kootb, i. 41.
- his nominal command of army invading Beejapore, i. 42.
- MIRZA Mahmood (Sooraj-oo-Dowlah) succeeds Aliverdi Khan, i. 184.
- See also Sooraj-oo-Dowlah.
- MOOBARIK (last prince of the dynasty of Khilgy) murdered, i. 16.
- MOBARIK-UL-DOWLAH succeeds Syef-al-Dowlah as Nabob of Bengal, ii. 31.
- complains of conduct of Mahomed Reza Khan, claims to be admitted to the management of his own affairs, reminds Gov.-Gen. that the power of the Company is derived from his ancestors, ii. 125, 126.
- his request complied with, ii. 126.
- informed of wish of Court of Directors for restoration of Mahomet Reza Khan to the office of manager; remonstrates, ii. 128.
- MOFFATT, Capt., of the Ganges, engaged in attack on French squadron under Admiral Linois, iii. 376.
- acknowledgment of his services by East-India Company, iii. 376, *note*.
- MOGUL empire, origin of, i. 19.
- in a state of dissolution in the early part of the eighteenth century, i. 73.
- MOHAMMED (eldest son of Aurungzebe) enters Golconda, horrors perpetrated by him, marries the sovereign's daughter, i. 41.
- pursues Shooja, who flies in the direction of Bengal, i. 50.
- enamoured of daughter of Shooja, overture of marriage made and accepted, breach between the imperial brothers prevents its completion, i. 50, 51.
- abandons the cause of his father, passes over to Shooja, disappointed in expectation of being followed by his army, i. 51.
- obtains the hand of Shooja's daughter, i. 51.
- is dismissed by Shooja in consequence of suspicions raised by Aurungzebe, i. 51.
- placed in confinement at Gwalior, dies in obscurity and neglect, i. 52, 53.
- Ghoori, his conquest in India, i. 14, 15.

MOHAMMED Ghoory leaves behind him incredible wealth, i. 14.

————— his atrocious conduct in regard to the Rajah of Docha, i. 15, *note*.

————— Toghluks carries off the whole of the inhabitants of Delhi to Dowlatabad (formerly Deogur), i. 17.

————— resolved upon making Dowlatabad the chief seat of Mohametan empire in India, i. 17.

————— dies, i. 18.

————— Bengal revolts, and his possessions in the Deccan are wrested from him, i. 18.

————— his cruelties, i. 18.

MOHUN Lal (dewan of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah) ordered, on suggestion of Meer Jaffier, to recal troops to camp at the battle of Plassy, i. 242.

————— Panreh sits in dhurna before the house of certain Rajpoots, i. 532, *note*.

MOIRA, Earl of, succeeds Earl Minto as Gov.-Gen., his arrival at Calcutta, iv. 251.

————— his statement of the prospect of affairs on his arrival at Calcutta, iv. 251—257.

————— threatens Rajah of Nepaul with immediate resort to hostile measures; his instructions to Col. Bradshaw, iv. 260.

————— further attempt to effect settlement with Nepaul without resort to arms, iv. 261, 262.

————— takes measures for commencing war, his plan of operations, iv. 262, 263.

————— proposes series of political arrangements in aid of military operations, iv. 263.

————— expresses discontent and surprise at failure of Col. Mawbey at Kalunga, iv. 273, 274.

————— his dissatisfaction with Gen. Martindell, iv. 279, 280.

————— orders the Terraie of Bootwul and Shiraz to be desolated, iv. 296, 297.

————— his displeasure called forth by events befalling the division under Gen. Marley, iv. 299.

————— his frequent attempts to corrupt the enemy's officers, iv. 311.

- MOIRA, Earl of, forwards instructions to Col. Bradshaw with reference to negotiations with Gujraj Misser, iv. 325.
- makes further effort to restore relations of peace by letter to Rajah of Nepaul; result, iv. 325, 326.
- his extreme disappointment at miscarriage of attempt to negotiate, iv. 326.
- his censure of Col. Bradshaw's conduct in negotiation, iv. 327.
- transmits project of treaty to Col. Bradshaw, iv. 329, 330.
- declares his intention not to make any attempt to renew negotiations, iv. 330.
- in a short time directs negotiations to be re-opened, iv. 330.
- his anxiety for peace leads to proposed relaxation of terms, iv. 332.
- ratifies treaty with Nepaul; prepares at same time to make further concessions, iv. 333.
- observations on his conduct, iv. 340—346.
- elements of commotion everywhere prepared when government of India undertaken by, iv. 379.
- desirous at an early period of his administration of putting down the Pindarries, iv. 421.
- is of opinion that the adoption of vigorous measures for the purpose is an undeniable obligation of public duty, iv. 424.
- his arrangements for suppressing the Pindarries and opposing the Peishwa, iv. 442—457.
- his opinion of Scindia, iv. 482.
- his conversion with regard to questions of India policy, iv. 497.
- See also Hastings, Marquis of.*
- MOLLE, Capt., his gallant conduct at storming of Seringapatam, iii. 49, 50.
- MONACKJEE (Tanjore officer) inveigles Chunda Sahib, and causes him to be murdered, i. 131—133.
- withdraws from Trichinopoly, i. 145.

- MONACKJEE commands force in aid of Major Lawrence, i. 176.
- attacks French camp before Madras by treachery ; fails,
i. 281.
- MONGHEER (capital of Meer Cossim), advance of British army to ;
quitted by Meer Cossim, i. 446.
- cruelties of Meer Cossim there, i. 446.
- attacked, capitulates to the English ; news of its fall reaches
Meer Cossim, who thereupon murders two hundred Englishmen,
i. 447—449.
- MONICHUND, governor of Calcutta, attacks English force under Clive,
is repulsed, shot passes near his turban ; he flies, i. 205.
- moves successively to Calcutta, Hooghly, and Moorshe-
dabad, i. 206.
- MONRO, Col. (quarter-master-gen., Madras), put under arrest by Gen.
McDowall, released by government, iv. 137, 138.
- MONSON, Capt., intrusted with attack on western hill of Savandroog,
which is carried by storm, ii. 452, 453.
- Col., proposes to retire to Madras ; command of troops be-
fore Pondicherry surrendered to, by Col. Coote ; his differences
with Col. Coote, i. 350.
- attacks redoubts and French at Oulgarry, with partial
success, i. 351.
- wounded and incapacitated for service, i. 351.
- appointed member of council of Bengal, ii. 58.
- supports Gen. Clavering in calling for correspondence of
Hastings with Middleton ; suggests recal of Middleton, is sup-
ported by Clavering and Francis, ii. 61.
- moves that Nuncomar be called before the board to
substantiate charges against Hastings, ii. 72.
- his altercation with Hastings, ii. 74, 75.
- death of, ii. 88.
- leads attack on Alyghur, obtains possession of it, is
wounded, iii. 314—316.
- detached by Gen. Lake to protect the city of Jyena-
ghur, iii. 424.
- detachment under, keeps the field, iii. 426.
- is joined by Col. Don, moves in the direction of Kotah

and is there joined by a body of troops in the service of the Rajah, iii. 429.

Monson, Col., advances to Mokundra pass, and thence to Hinglaisghur, which he captures, iii. 429.

— advances fifty miles beyond Mokundra pass, becomes alarmed, determines to retire to Mokundra pass, iii. 430.

— marches; hears of Holkar's attack on Lieut. Lucan's cavalry, forms in order of battle for their support; learns that the cavalry are destroyed, resumes his march, and reaches Mokundra pass, iii. 431.

— is attacked by Holkar, attack repulsed, iii. 432.

— continues his retreat to Kotah, thence, abandoning his guns, to Tonk Rampoor, iii. 433.

— is joined by reinforcement dispatched by Commander-in-chief from Agra for his relief, iii. 433.

— continues retreat to Banas river, encounters the whole force of the enemy, whom he repulses; resumes march on retreat, abandons baggage and arrives at Kooshailghur, iii. 435, 436.

— discovers correspondence between native commissioned officers and Holkar; marches to Biana pass, compelled to proceed by annoyance of the enemy; order and regularity of movement lost, iii. 436.

— those of his detachment who escape the enemy arrive at Agra, iii. 436.

— remarks on his retreat, iii. 433.

— command of the British troops at the battle of Deeg devolves on, Gen. Frazer being severely wounded; victory brilliant and complete, iii. 452, 453.

— forwards from Tonk Rampoor intercepted letters addressed to Holkar by the Rajah of Bhurtpore and others, iii. 456.

— commands party in one of the assaults on Bhurtpore, iii. 475.

— Major, English force under, dispatched from Conjeveram appears before Coverpauk, summons garrison to surrender, summons complied with, i. 311.

MONSON, Major, proceeds to Arcot, marches back to Conjeveram, leaves garrison at Coverpauk, i. 312.

————— leads a division in attack on French in Wandewash, i. 317.

————— receives commission of Lieutenant-Colonel from government, i. 349.

MONTRESSOR, Col., takes post at Sedasseer, iii. 39.

————— his brigade surrounded by the army of Tippoo Sultan; enemy put to flight by assistance of Gen. Stuart, iii. 40.

MOODEEM Khan (officer of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah) killed at battle of Plassy, i. 240.

MOOR, Lieut., his lively picture of the bazaars of Mahratta camp, ii. 436, *note*.

MOORHOUSE, Col., his fall at attack on Bangalore, his high character by Col. Wilks, honours paid to his memory, ii. 415.

MOORSAUM taken and dismantled, iv. 426.

MOORSBEDABAD, British obtain possession of (war with Meer Cossim), i. 444.

MOOTEJIL, lines of, stormed by British (war with Meer Cossim), i. 444.

MOOTTO Sawmy, lawful inheritor of the throne of Candy, escapes from prison and claims protection of British government, iii. 400.

————— placed under the care of Col. Barbutt, iii. 402.

————— arrives in capital of Candy, convention concluded with, by British authorities, iii. 402, 403.

————— deprived, by new arrangement with Pelime Talauve, of nearly all that had been professedly secured to him, iii. 405, 406.

————— accompanies British troops towards Trincomalee, demand of Candian chiefs for his surrender, iii. 408.

————— is delivered up, marched to Candy and put to death, iii. 409.

MORAD (son of Shah Jehan) deceived by professions of his brother Aurungzebe, junction of their forces determined on, i. 44.

————— saluted as Emperor by Aurungzebe, who solicits permission to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, i. 46.

————— seized by Aurungzebe and placed under restraint, i. 46.

MORARI Row (Mahrattah chieftain) consents to act as a mediator

between Mahomet Ali and the government of Mysore; conference, i. 141.

MORARI Row produces treaty, calls upon Mahomet Ali to fulfil his engagement, i. 141.

_____ is presented by Mahomet Ali with 50,000 rupees for his services, i. 142.

_____ solicits pardon of the men employed to assassinate Capt. Dalton and Kheir-o-Deen, i. 147.

_____ departs for Pondicherry, i. 164.

_____ harasses British troops under Major Lawrence, i. 171.

_____ his camp attacked by Hyder Ali, attack fails, i. 558, 559.

MORE, Capt., watches motions of Basalat Jung, i. 331.

_____ Major, defeat of, by Mysorean force, i. 347.

MORNINGTON, Earl of, appointed Gov.-Gen., his qualifications for the office, iii. 1, 2.

_____ his arrival at Madras and at Bengal, iv. 16.

_____ directs attention of Gen. Harris, Governor of Madras, to the collection of a force on the coast to meet any emergency, iii. 17.

_____ determines to take measures to frustrate hostile designs of Tippoo Sultan, his motives, iii. 20—23.

_____ his reasoning on the necessity of preparation without regard to its effect in accelerating an attack from Tippoo, iii. 24—26.

_____ instructs government of Madras to reform its military establishment, iii. 26.

_____ his remarks on the nature of the defects in the Madras establishment, iii. 27, 28, *note*.

_____ concludes new treaty with Nizam, conditions of, iii. 28, 29.

_____ directs government of Madras to raise detachment to co-operate with British troops at Hyderabad against the French force there, iii. 31.

_____ his attempts to restore triple alliance defeated, proceeds with operations against Tippoo, iii. 34.

_____ addresses various letters to Tippoo, arrives at Madras, receives answers from Tippoo, iii. 35.

- MORNINGTON, Earl of, receives further communication from Tippoo, resolves to accompany negotiation by the movement of his army, iii. 37, 38.
- _____ appoints Gen. Harris to command the army about to march into Mysore; its advance, the capture of Seringapatam, death of Tippoo, and complete conquest of Mysore, iii. 38—69.
- _____ his disposition of the conquered country, iii. 70—79.
- _____ makes magnificent provision for the family of Tippoo; principal chiefs and officers conciliated, iii. 80.
- _____ articles of partition treaty of Mysore concluded by, with Nizam, iii. 80—83.
- _____ his explanation of his views in undertaking the protection of the new state of Mysore, and reserving to East-India Company the powers of interposition in its affairs, iii. 85, 86.
- _____ apprizes Rajah distinctly of the nature of his dependence on the Company, iii. 86.
- _____ articles of subsidiary treaty of, with Rajah of Mysore, iii. 83—92.
- _____ his prudence in not making Mysore ostensibly a British possession, though substantially so, iii. 89.
- _____ having completed his great work, returns to Bengal, iii. 96.
- _____ takes measures for settling government of Tanjore, iii. 97.
- _____ places adopted heir of the deceased Rajah on the throne, iii. 102, 103.
- _____ assumes entire civil and military administration of Tanjore, splendid provision being made for the Rajah, iii. 103.
- _____ treaty of Tanjore ratified by, iii. 104.
- _____ assumes civil and military administration of Surat, iii. 111.
- See also Wellesley, Marquis.
- MORRIS, Col., gallant conduct of, at Bhurtpore, iii. 469.

MORRISON, Gen., army of 11,000 men under command of, assembled at Chittagong (Burmese war), v. 61.

———— his operations, difficulties ; capture of Arracan, v. 61—65.

———— his official account of attack upon Arracan, v. 63.

———— instance of Col. Gardner's devotedness to duty quoted by, v. 65, *note*.

MOSTYN, Mr., appointed resident at Poona after Colonel Upton's retirement ; is embarrassed by the intrigues of the Chevalier St. Lubin, ii. 174.

MOZUFFAR Jung is supported by Chunda Sahib, i. 85.

———— resolves to surrender himself to Nazir Jung, under promises of liberal treatment ; his person secured, he is treated with rigour, i. 89.

———— on death of Nazir Jung, is saluted Viceroy of the Deccan, i. 92.

———— bestows large sum of money and valuable jewels on Dupleix, i. 94.

———— sets out for Golconda, escorted by French European and sepoy troops, commanded by M. Bussy, i. 94, 95.

———— attacked by Patan nabobs, who, by aid of a few French troops, are defeated, i. 95.

———— is killed in pursuing the fugitives, i. 95.

MULWAGUL, possession of, obtained by English (war with Hyder Ali), i. 557.

———— discreditable manner of gaining possession of, i. 557, 558, *note*.

———— returns into the hands of Hyder Ali, i. 560.

MUNDELA, fort of (Nagpore), demand for surrender evaded ; garrison attack Major O'Brien, iv. 532, 533, 534.

———— storming and surrender of, iv. 536.

MUNNY Begum appointed guardian of infant Nabob of Bengal by Warren Hastings, ii. 34.

———— examination of her receipts and disbursements ; large sum unaccounted for ; she is placed under restraint ; charges Warren Hastings with receiving money from her, charge partially admitted, ii. 70, 71.

MUNNY Begum suspended from office of guardian ; charge conferred on Goodias, ii. 78.

————— share of Mahomed Reza Khan's salary allotted to, ii. 126.

MUNRO, Major, succeeds Major Carnac in command on the frontier of Oude ; finds the army in a state of mutiny, i. 452, 453.

————— his strong measures, i. 453—455.

————— prepares to take the field, i. 455.

————— dispatches Major Champion to dislodge party of the enemy, i. 455.

————— marches towards Buxar, arrives there, is attacked, enemy give way and retire ; strength of his force, loss of killed and wounded, i. 456, 457, 458.

————— his humanity after the battle, i. 459.

————— receives letter from Emperor congratulating him, and soliciting protection ; Emperor seeks an interview with him, i. 459.

————— marches in direction of Benares, Emperor constantly pitches his tent near British encampment ; refers offer of Emperor to Calcutta ; instructions arrive, i. 459, 460.

————— arrives at Benares, receives envoy from Vizier with proposals of peace ; insists upon Meer Cossim and Sumroo being delivered up ; large sum offered by Vizier to the Company, the army, and the general, if demand abandoned, i. 464.

————— reply of, to the offers of Vizier, i. 464.

————— declines advising Capt. Stables either to accept or decline invitation to proceed to the Vizier, i. 465.

————— besieges Chunarghur ; fails in two assaults ; converts siege into blockade, retires to Benares, relinquishes his command and quits India, i. 466, 467.

————— Gen., advances against Pondicherry, cuts off communication with surrounding country, breaks ground and opens fire, capitulation proposed and accepted, ii. 213, 214.

————— his conduct on certain points declared by Court of Directors to deserve the strongest marks of their displeasure, though he was acquitted of corrupt motives, and his military conduct pronounced highly meritorious, ii. 224, *note*.

————— Sir Hector, retained at Madras to secure to select committee

the benefit of his military judgment; subsequently consents to take the field, ii. 227.

MUNRO, Sir Hector, arrives at Conjeveram, takes command of force five thousand strong, to be joined by detachment under Col. Baillie, ii. 228.

——— informed of Col. Baillie's doubt of being able to effect a junction, dispatches to Col. Baillie a detachment under Col. Fletcher, ii. 229.

——— defers moving to the support of Col. Baillie till too late; his explanation; returns to Conjeveram; arrives at Chingleput, ii. 240, 241.

——— is joined at Chingleput by Capt. Cosby, compelled by deficiency of food to make a forced march to St. Thomas's Mount, ii. 240, 241.

——— proposes delay in acting on orders suspending Mr. Whitehill, governor of Madras, ii. 248.

——— Sir Thomas, his sentence upon the ill-judged parsimony of the Madras government, ii. 401, 402.

——— his account of the conduct of Tippoo's infantry at the battle of Arikeram, ii. 432, 433.

——— his proposed mode of disposing of Seringapatam if captured, ii. 506, 507.

——— his method of making princes keep the peace, ii. 507, *note*.

——— his observations on the passion for innovations in India, ii. 535—537, *note*.

——— remarks on the attempt of Dhoondia Waugh, and its possible results, iii. 118.

——— Brig.-Gen., occupied in reduction of Peishwa's country, south of Kistna, iv. 503.

MURRAY, Col., directed to march from Guzerat to co-operate against Holkar, iii. 424.

——— becomes suddenly alarmed, and resolves to retreat, iii. 430.

——— arrives at Oujein, takes possession of the whole of Holkar's territories in that quarter, iii. 463.

——— resigns his command to Major-Gen. Jones, iii. 463.

MURRAY, Col. Macgregor, his statement as to the conduct of the Arabs at Talneir, iv. 508.

————— passes the wicket at Talneir, his danger, is rescued covered with wounds, iv. 509.

MURTEZA Khan selected by Dupleix for Nabob of Arcot; his previous life, his avarice, proceeds to Pondicherry, is installed in his new dignity, which he shortly abandons and retires to Vellore, i. 168—170.

MURZAFÄ Beg defends Conjeveram, surrenders, and is slain by Mahomet Isoof, i. 297.

MUSTAPHA Beg offers solitary instance of fidelity in the garrison of Vellore; his statement of the designs of the conspirators disregarded, massacre follows, iv. 64—66.

MUTTRA abandoned by the British, iii. 445.

———— reoccupied by a force under Col. Don, iii. 445.

———— Col. Monson retires to, the wounded at the battle of Deeg and the ordnance therein captured, deposited at, iii. 455.

MYSOORE, its rulers afford aid to Mahomet Ali, i. 116.

———— disclosure of the price at which the aid was purchased, i. 138.

———— means by which Hyder Ali rose to supreme power there, i. 525—537.

———— conquest of, by the British, completed, iii. 69.

———— infant prince of the ancient house of, placed on the throne, iii. 78, 79.

———— articles of partition treaty of, and subsidiary treaty with the Rajah, iii. 80—92.

See also Hyder Ali Khan; Mornington, Earl of; and Tippoo Sultan.

NADIR Shah, his origin, i. 68.

———— falls suddenly upon the forces of the Emperor of Delhi and puts them to flight; enters the capital, i. 68.

———— inhabitants rise upon invaders, scenes of tumult and violence ensue, i. 69.

———— gives orders to his troops to slaughter, 8,000 perish, the city pillaged and set on fire, i. 69.

NADIR Shah seizes the imperial treasures and levies contributions on the inhabitants, i. 69.

———— annexes to his dominions the provinces on the west side of the Indus, i. 70.

———— withdraws from Delhi, i. 70.

NAGORE and its dependencies purchased by the Dutch; arrangement made for surrender, ii. 30.

NAGPORE, a powerful Mahratta kingdom, i. 71.

———— hostility of the Rajah (Appa Sahib) to the British, iv. 467.

———— probable motives of his conduct, iv. 467, 468.

———— Rajah of, his intrigues with the Peishwa, iv. 469—471.

———— Rajah of attacks British and is defeated, iv. 472—475.

———— Rajah of seeks to negotiate, surrenders himself, iv. 476, 477.

———— capture of guns at by the British, and evacuation of the city, iv. 477—479.

———— provisional engagement with Rajah of, iv. 479, 480.

———— continued success of British arms in; results, iv. 480—482.

———— narrative of progress of events resumed, and diplomatic proceedings with Appa Sahib, iv. 532.

———— affair at Mundela in, iv. 532—534.

———— continued treachery of the Rajah; he is arrested and deposed, iv. 534.

———— Mundela surrenders, iv. 536.

———— surrender of Chouragurh in, iv. 538.

See also Appa Sahib, Berar, and Pursagee Bhooslay.

NAGRAKOTE and Somnaut, temples of, destroyed by Mahmoud, i. 12.
note.

NAHUN falls to the English (Nepaul war), iv. 276.

NALAGURH, surrender of fort of, depôt established at (Nepaul war), iv. 281.

NANDEDROOG, disaffected feeling among the troops there, iv. 82.

NANNING (Malacca), dispute of the British government with Pangholoo of, v. 200.

———— Pangholoo of subdued, and tranquillity at restored, v. 201.

NASH, Lieut., ordered to Coimbatore (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tip-poo), ii. 447.

———— is wounded, ii. 448.

- NASH, Lieut., summoned to audience with Tippoo, released on mission to British Commander-in-Chief, ii. 482—484.
- NASSAU, Fort (Java), surrenders to the English, iv. 180.
- NATTES, Lieut., killed in the breach at Malligaum, iv. 550.
- NAWUNG Thuring (Prince of Sunset) defeated by Sir A. Campbell, seeks safety in the jungle (Burmese war), v. 77—80.
- NAYLOR, Mr. North (Company's solicitor at Calcutta), rule against granted by Supreme Court, and made absolute, ii. 144, 145.
- he is committed, ii. 145.
- remark of Chief Justice (Sir E. Impey) upon, ii. 145, *note*.
- NAZIR Jung (second son of Nizam-ool-Moolk) seizes his father's treasure, and is recognized as his successor, i. 86.
- enters the Carnatic, seeks assistance of the English, which is afforded, i. 86.
- differences between him and the English, i. 89.
- proceeds to Arcot, i. 90.
- takes the field, supplies procured with difficulty, sickness in his camp, intrigues fomented by the French, i. 91.
- force under command of M. de la Touche advances from Gingee upon his camp, i. 91.
- falls by the hands of a treacherous dependent, i. 92.
- Hyder Ali benefits by confusion ensuing on his death, i. 525, 526.
- NEARCHUS dispatched with about ten thousand Greeks and Phenicians, to explore the navigation between the Indus and Euphrates, i. 10.
- NEAVE, Mr., his striking description of Toree, v. 202.
- NEGAPATAM taken by the English (war with Hyder Ali), ii. 263.
- NELLORE, Col. Forde proceeds to, in aid of Mahomet Ali, i. 268.
- NEPAUL, unsuccessful expedition to, projected by Verelst, ii. 30.
- dispute with, iv. 252.
- various encroachments from, iv. 253—257.
- negotiations; further outrages, iv. 258—262.
- preparations of Gov.-Gen. for war with, iv. 262—266.
- renewed overtures for negotiation, attempts to corrupt Nepaulese commanders, iv. 266—270.

NEPAUL, various events of the war, iv. 270—320.

—— negotiations; conclusion of treaty; remarks, iv. 321—337.

—— court of Katmandoo refuse to ratify treaty, renewal of hostilities, iv. 337.

—— treaty ratified, iv. 338.

—— review of the origin and operations of the war, iv. 339—346.

NERBUDDA, force stationed permanently on, in consequence of movements of Ameer Khan, iv. 175.

NERIMGIN Lall, agent of Holkar, seized at Muttra, iii. 456.

NESBITT, Lieut.-Col., commands storming party on Savandroog (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 452.

NEWPORT, Sir J., recommends delay (renewal of Company's term of government, 1813), iv. 242.

NEWTON, Major Thos., commanding on Sylhet frontier, attacks Burmese with success, v. 13.

—— withdraws his troops from Cachar, v. 13.

NICHOLL, Capt., attacked by body of troops belonging to Scindia (retreat of Col. Monson), iii. 434.

—— disappointed of storming Scindia's battery by retreat of the enemy, iii. 435.

NICOLLS, Col., successfully attacks the heights and town of Almora (Nepaul war), iv. 311.

—— Gen., ordered to march to Bhurtpore, v. 155.

—— leads column of attack at Bhurtpore, v. 157.

—— Sir Jasper, his opinion of native soldiers, v. 115.

NIGHTINGALE, Gen., succeeds Gen. Gillespie in chief command in Java, commands expedition against Rajahs of Bielling and Boni; his movements and operations, iv. 347.

NIXON, Capt., with small force encounters Hyder Ali, entire party destroyed with exception of one officer, i. 567—569.

NIZAM Ali, his enmity to Bussy, causes dewan of Bussy to be murdered, i. 310.

—— takes the field, advances to Hyderabad, i. 310.

—— restored to government of Berar, i. 311.

—— negotiations of English with, in regard to the Northern Circars, i. 542, 543.

- NIZAM Ali, advances to attack Mahomet Ali, retires and makes friendly overtures to British governor, i. 543.
- advances to form junction with English on frontier of Mysore, is bought off by Hyder Ali, deserts the English, unites his forces with Hyder Ali, i. 545, 546.
- defeated by Colonel Smith, repudiates flight, but ultimately has recourse to it, i. 550, 551.
- opens secret communication with Col. Smith, i. 553.
- moves northward, sends an officer to the English camp; treaty concluded, i. 554.
- arrangement made with, for transfer of Northern Circars; called upon by government of Madras to compel his brother to dismiss the French from his service, ii. 216.
- mission to from government of Madras; its results, ii. 219—221.
- his dissatisfaction with negotiations between British government and Basalat Jung, ii. 221, 222.
- proceedings of Lord Cornwallis for effective settlement with, in respect of Guntoor, ii. 390.
- engaged in war with Tippoo Sultan; receives proposal from Tippoo for uniting families by intermarriage, from which he recoils, ii. 391.
- new engagements with precluded by law, ii. 392.
- arrangement with, made by Lord Cornwallis, ii. 393—395.
- his army assembles near Hyderabad to co-operate with English against Tippoo, ii. 417.
- curious account of his cavalry given by Col. Wilks, ii. 420, 421, *note*.
- territories restored to by treaty with Tippoo, ii. 505.
- attacked by Mahrattas, compelled to purchase an ignominious peace, ii. 551, 552.
- desires to dispense with services of English battalions, battalions thereupon withdrawn, ii. 553, 554.
- his attachment to the French, attempts of British resident and Gov.-Gen. to counteract, ii. 554.
- rebellion of his son Ali Jah, ii. 555.

NIZAM Ali, English adventurers encouraged to enter service of, to counteract influence of French, scheme fails, ii. 556.

———— effects of Mahratta intrigues with regard to, ii. 556.

———— his anxiety for closer connection with British government, iii. 28.

———— new treaty concluded with by Earl Mornington, conditions of, iii. 28, 29.

———— state of French force in his service, iii. 30.

———— his hesitation to comply with demand for dispersion of French force, iii. 32.

———— ultimately consents to take necessary measures for the purpose, iii. 33.

———— conclusion of new treaty with, provisions of, iii. 156—158.

NIZAM-OOO-MOOLK, death of, i. 84.

———— power of gained by usurpation, i. 84.

NOOJUM-AD-DOWLAH, second son of Meer Jaffier, raised to throne of Bengal, his illegitimacy, i. 467.

———— unfavourable report of the conduct of those who placed him upon the throne made to Court of Directors, i. 490, 491.

———— holds a poonah, at which Clive assists, i. 515.

———— dies of malignant fever, his brother Syef-ad-Dowlah succeeds, i. 515.

———— his death ascribed to poison, English government accused of preparing it, accusation refuted, i. 515, *note*.

NOOR Jehan, her extraordinary history, i. 32, 33.

NORMAN, Lieut., falls in attempting to scale works at Ile du Passe, iv. 154, 155.

NORTH, Hon. Frederick (first Governor of Ceylon), his whimsical account of his position in a letter to Lord Mornington, iii. 389, 390, *note*.

———— remarks upon his character, iii. 419, *note*.

———— Lord, his declaration that he will have nothing to do with India matters out of parliament, ii. 93, *note*.

———— statement of Hastings to, ii. 112.

———— in belief of Col. Maclean, dreaded the consequences of Hastings's return from India, ii. 121, *note*.

NORTH, Lord, represented as anxious to learn effect of Col. Monson's death, treats Hastings's agent with little confidence, ii. 123, *note*.

———— inquires of Maclean what effect Col. Monson's death would have on the conduct of Hastings; Maclean's answer, ii. 123, 124, *note*.

NORTON, Sir Fletcher, opinion of on Clive's right to bequest of Meer Jaffier, i. 514, *note*.

NOTON, Capt., left with detachment at Ramoo to watch the enemy (Burmese war), v. 37.

———— makes a movement in advance; various disasters attend his progress; retires to Ramoo, enemy approach and open trenches, v. 38, 39.

———— his difficulties, determines to maintain his post, v. 39.

———— enemy gain upon him, finds it necessary to retreat, v. 40.

———— his troops throw away their arms and disperse, he and nearly all his officers killed, v. 40, 41.

———— names of the officers who fell with him, v. 41, *note*.

NUNCOMAR bought by Omichund for the English, i. 221.

———— attachment to of Meer Jaffier, power committed to, his power transferred to Mahomed Reza Khan, i. 468, 469.

———— influence of his station, his cunning and activity, applies to Emperor for sunnuds to confirm Noojum-ad-Dowlah in the succession, i. 469.

———— means adopted by Warren Hastings to conciliate him, ii. 32, 33.

———— prefers charge of bribery against Hastings, ii. 71, 72.

———— proceedings instituted in Supreme Court against, for conspiracy; required to give security to appear at trial; part of the council pay him a visit of ceremony to, ii. 77, 78.

———— apprehended on a charge of forgery, majority of council support him; he is committed, tried, found guilty, and hanged, ii. 78.

———— excitement occasioned by his fate; his deportment after sentence, and at the time of execution, ii. 78—80.

———— remarks on his case, and on the supposed connection of Hastings with it, ii. 80—87.

- NUNCOMAR, said by Burke to have been murdered by Hastings by hands of Sir E. Impey, ii. 366.
- NUNDEDROOG, attack on and capture of by the English (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 440—442.
- NUNJERAJ (Mysorean commander) demands Trichinopoly from Mahomet Ali, i. 138.
- his confirmed design to obtain possession of Trichinopoly, i. 144.
- attempts to corrupt Mahomet Ali's troops, i. 145.
- pursues his object, projects assassination of Capt. Dalton and Kheir-o-Deen, i. 146, 147.
- denies all knowledge of the meditated assassination; interposes for the protection of his instruments, i. 147.
- renews attempts to corrupt the fidelity of the garrison of Trichinopoly; his agents seized and executed, i. 148.
- seeks assistance of a Neapolitan, named Poverio, who apprizes the British commander in the fort, i. 148, 149.
- meditated attempt of on Trichinopoly frustrated, i. 150, 151.
- removes his camp; endeavours to revenge himself on Poverio for his disappointment, i. 151.
- formally demands surrender of Trichinopoly, his messengers reproached with the treachery of their master, i. 152.
- makes professions of friendship for the English, but intercepts their supplies, i. 165.
- treated as an enemy; his camp attacked by Capt. Dalton, i. 165.
- attacks British post and cuts to pieces nearly all the troops defending it, i. 166.
- his cruelty, i. 166.
- his complimentary reception of Hyder Ali, i. 530.
- gains knowledge of intrigues of Hyder Ali, shrinks from contest with him; makes arrangement for descent from power, presents himself to troops, and informs them misfortunes of his government had determined him to retire, i. 532.
- is visited by Hyder as a suppliant, and consents to make common cause with him, i. 535, 536.
- NUTFORD, Capt., death of, at battle of Deeg, iii. 452.

- O'BRIEN, Major, proceeds to Mundela (Nagpore war), iv. 533.
- his communications with the killadar, iv. 533.
- is attacked and fired upon by a detachment from the garrison of Mundela, iv. 533, 534.
- UCHTERLONY, Col., left at Delhi as resident, iii. 326.
- endeavours to provide for the defence of the city, threatened by Holkar, iii. 445.
- his remarks on the merits of Col. Burn and his troops, iii. 448, 449.
- division of army destined to act against Nepal committed to his command, iv. 262.
- doubts expediency of Gov.-Gen.'s political arrangements, iv. 263.
- furnished with draft of proclamation, declaring intentions of British government with regard to the chieftains of ancient hill principalities expelled by Goorkhas, iv. 263, 264.
- proceeds to Roopoor, iv. 264.
- receives frequent communications from Ummer Sing Thappa, iv. 266.
- receives secret instructions from British government to encourage advances of Ummer Sing Thappa, iv. 266, 267.
- receives further instructions of like character, acts upon them and is repelled, iv. 468.
- his opinion as to the probability of Ummer Sing retreating, and on other points connected with the war, iv. 282.
- advances on enemy, makes preparations for attack, iv. 283, 284.
- consults field-officers on expediency of attack; on their opinion, and with reference to inadequacy of force, abstains, iv. 286.
- his modest remarks on his own position and capacity, iv. 287.
- his force strengthened, iv. 287.
- his movements and those of the enemy, iv. 288.
- perseverance, judgment, energy, and precision with which he pursued his purposes, iv. 288.

OCHTERLONY, Col., passes the Gumber, takes up position on its right bank, steady and satisfactory progress of his arms, iv. 289, 290.

————— Gen., pursues substantial and brilliant career of success, iv. 313.

————— particulars of his movements, iv. 314—316.

————— signs convention, conditions of, iv. 316, 317.

————— remarks on the suspension of arms by, iv. 318.

————— ordered to take command of division before Jyettuck, iv. 320.

————— services of rewarded with Grand Cross of the Bath, iv. 337.

————— Sir David, advances towards Muckwanpore, iv. 337.

————— arrives at Muckwanpore, iv. 338.

————— his movements against enemy, iv. 338.

————— agrees to accept ratified treaty, conditions of, iv. 338, 339.

————— makes a right choice in determining in favour of peace upon original basis, iv. 339.

————— remarks on his talents, judgment, and success, iv. 342.

————— reserve assembled under, near Rewaree (Pindarrie and Mahratta war), iv. 443.

————— his investiture with Grand Cross of order of Bath by Marquis of Hastings, iv. 584.

————— reports accession of Buldeo Singh to musnud of Bhurtpore, and his application for investiture of his son, announces rumour of intention of Doorjun Saul to contest the succession, v. 120.

————— his urgency in supporting the wish of Rajah, hesitation of British government to comply with request, v. 121.

————— removes doubt as to relationship to Buldeo Singh of the proposed successor, v. 121,*122.

————— apprizes government of his intention of complying with wishes of Rajah, and carries intention into effect, v. 122.

————— adopts measures for assembling force to main-

tain the rights of the young Rajah of Bhurtpore; his acts disproved by Gov.-Gen., v. 122, 123.

OCHTERLONY, Sir David, ordered by Gov.-Gen. to recal his proclamation, v. 123.

_____ charged by government with acting on imperfect and unsatisfactory information, v. 124, 125.

_____ receives mission from Doorjun Saul; his answer requiring the transfer of the infant Rajah to his care, v. 125, 126.

_____ his warmth of reply to government, v. 126.

_____ receives proposals from mother of Buldeo Singh, v. 127.

_____ communicates to Doorjun Saul the orders of his government, v. 128, 129.

_____ recommends Doorjun Saul to send person to Calcutta to explain all circumstances, v. 129.

_____ reasserts the propriety of his previous course of action, v. 129, 130.

_____ returns to Delhi, his conversation with a priest from Bhurtpore, v. 130.

_____ proposes three conditions to Doorjun Saul, receives counter-proposals, v. 130, 131.

_____ returns with indignant feeling to the vindication of his own conduct, v. 131, 132.

_____ defends the investiture of the young Rajah during the life of his father, v. 132.

_____ complains of want of confidence of his government, v. 133.

_____ modification made with regard to his office, v. 134.

_____ his death, v. 134.

_____ eulogium on his character in general orders, v. 134, 135, *note*.

_____ review of his differences with the government, v. 135—137.

ODELL, Mr., his gallant conduct at attack upon Lahar, ii. 188.

O'DONOGHUE, Col., attacks and carries pagoda stockade (Burmese war), v. 52.

O'KEEFE, Major, fall of in the Mauritius, iv. 166.

OLDHAM, Col., takes Eroad, joins Col. Floyd (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 408.

——— Mr. James O., testimony of to character of native evidence, and power of zemindary influence, v. 191, 192, *note*.

OMDUT-UL-OMRAH, son of Mahomet Ali, succeeds his father, his ruinous policy, iii. 124, 125.

——— absence of friendly feeling towards the English on the part of, iii. 125.

——— his answer to proposals of Gov.-Gen., refuses to consent to any modification of treaty of 1792; his application to share in the dominions conquered from Tippoo Sultan, iii. 129.

——— evidence of his perfidy found in Seringapatam, iii. 130.

——— narrative of his intrigues with Tippoo, iii. 130—136.

——— labouring under mortal disease, communication of orders dispossessing him of the government withheld from him, iii. 138, 139.

——— precautions taken by Lord Clive to guard against danger on his decease, iv. 139.

——— his death, iii. 139.

——— proceedings consequent on his death, iii. 140—156.

OMICHUND, treasury of, falls into hands of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 202.

——— apprizes British deputies of their danger, i. 210.

——— buys Nuncomar for the English, i. 221.

——— employed by British agent to ascertain views of Yar Loot-tief; Loottief's views opened to him, i. 226.

——— his many services to the cause of the English, i. 253.

——— not at first intrusted with secret of conspiracy against Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 254.

——— subsequently apprized of it by Watts, i. 254.

——— his representations of the danger to which he was exposed, and of his claims to advantage, i. 254, 255.

——— requires five per cent. on all money in treasury and portion of jewels, i. 255.

- OMICHUND said to have threatened to betray secret of conspiracy;
 Clive's suggestions for disarming his hostility, i. 255.
 ————— mock treaty drawn up to deceive him, i. 256.
 ————— keeps the secret of the conspirators, i. 256.
 ————— remarks on his character and conduct, i. 257.
 ————— attends a meeting of parties concerned in revolution
 treaty produced, his agitation on discovering the fraud that had
 been committed on him, swoons; his future life a state of idiocy, i.
 257, 258.
 ————— remarks on the conduct practised towards him, i. 259—263.
 ————— the preservation of his name in history a blot on the repu-
 tation of Clive, i. 519.
- OASTRADROOG summoned to surrender, Killadar refuses (Lord Corn-
 wallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 438.
 ————— flag-officer who accompanies flag of truce beckoned
 from fort to advance, complies, and is fired upon, escapes unhurt;
 fort attacked and surrenders ii. 453, 454.
- OOSOR taken by the English (war with Hyder Ali), i. 558.
 ————— besieged by Hyder Ali, i. 563, 564.
- OPARROW, claims of British subjects upon (the Nozeed affair), ii. 243—
 245, *note*.
- ORME, Mr., maintains necessity of sending a large force to Bengal to
 recover Calcutta, his advice prevails, i. 198.
 ————— his mode of recording the advice as given by himself, i.
 198, *note*.
 ————— suggests Clive as leader of expedition, suggestion adopted,
 i. 199.
 ————— his account of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah's army, i. 235, *note*.
 ————— his account of Clive's proceedings at council of war pre-
 ceding battle of Plassy, i. 236, *note*.
 ————— his expressions of indignation at Omichund's threat of
 betraying to Sooraj-oo-Dowlah the conspiracy against him, i.
 258.
 ————— justice of his opinion on the claim of Omichund, i. 260.
 ————— his determination of the value of Anunderauze's army, i.
 300.
- OTTON, Capt., trusts to promise of Hyder Ali, and repairs to his tent,

is detained; refuses to sign order for surrender of Groad, consents next day, i. 568, 569.

- OUDE, government of, usurped on dissolution of Mogul Empire, i. 71.
- Emperor marches in direction of, i. 416.
- Mr. Bristow appointed resident at; treaty concluded, provisions of treaty, ii. 66.
- affairs of, in a distracted state, ii. 311, 312.
- embarrassments of vizier of, ii. 312.
- new treaty with, concluded by Hastings, conditions of, ii. 317—324.
- proceedings of the vizier, aided by Hastings, to extort money from the Begums, ii. 325—332.
- remarks, ii. 332—335.
- proceedings of Hastings with regard to residency at, ii. 335—339.
- proceedings of Sir John Shore with regard to succession in, ii. 561—576.
- state of, on Marquis Wellesley's arrival in India, iii. 162.
- views of the Marquis Wellesley respecting, iii. 162—165.
- endeavours of the Gov.-Gen. to reform military and civil establishments in, iii. 169—212.
- new treaty concluded with vizier, provisions of, iii. 212, 213.
- remarks on, iii. 213—227.
- further endeavours of Gov.-Gen. to promote reform in, iii. 230, 231.
- various transactions of Marquis of Hastings with, iv. 579, 580.
- King of, treaty concluded with, v. 173.
- misgovernment of, during administration of Lord Wm. Bentinck, v. 216.

See also Saadut Ali, Shoojah-ad-Dowlah, Vizier, and Vizier Ali.

OUDEPORE, engagement made with Rajah of, iv. 498.

OUTAHNULLA, defeated army of Meer Cossim fly to, and take shelter in; English attack and obtain possession of fort and cannon, i. 445.

PAGET, Sir E. (Commander-in-chief), means taken by, for suppressing mutiny at Barrackpore, v. 107.

PAGET, Sir E., records his opinion in favour of the interference of the British government as to the succession in Bhurtpure, v. 139.

———— succeeded by Lord Combermere as Com.-in-chief, v. 154.

PALAGAUT, English officer commanding at, obliged to save himself and garrison from massacre by secret flight (war with Hyder Ali), i. 567.

———— sustains vigorous siege, but falls suddenly and unexpectedly to English (first war with Tippoo), ii. 282.

———— defence of intrusted to Major Cuppage (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 443.

PALAMBANG, Sultan of, murders Dutch resident and every male person belonging to the factory and destroys fort, iv. 195, 196.

———— British mission to, its reception, iv. 197.

———— ambassadors from, arrive at Batavia, iv. 197.

———— expedition dispatched against, iv. 197.

———— its arrival, iv. 198.

———— attempts of Sultan to negotiate, iv. 198.

———— city, fort, and batteries occupied by the British, iv. 200.

———— Sultan flies, leaves palace and city in disorder: dreadful scenes in, iv. 198, 199.

PALAMOW, pergunnah of, in a state of insurrection; indiscriminate violence and pillage, v. 202.

PALMACOTTA, several native officers dismissed at, iv. 82, 83.

PALMER, William, and Co., pecuniary transactions of, iv. 580—583.

PANGHOLOO, chieftain of Nanning, resists British government, is subdued and tranquillity restored, v. 200, 201.

PAPANAVARAM, fort of, surrenders to Col. Macleod (war in Travancore), iv. 129.

PARKER, Col., gallantly attacks and carries the Bhore Ghaut, ii. 194.

PATEETA taken by storm, by Major Popham, ii. 300.

PATERSON, Capt., examines leeward side of Port Louis, iv. 163.

PATNA, besieged by the Shazadar; effects of Clive's approach, i. 366.

———— Mr. Ellis appointed chief of factory there; his acts disagreeable to Nabob; orders Capt. Carstairs to seize one of Nabob's officers; Capt. Carstairs withholds obedience, i. 422, 423.

———— military force employed by council at, in defence of trade; one

of Nabob's collectors made prisoner, body of horse dispatched to release him; they arrive too late, but commit certain acts of violence, i. 438.

PATNA, commencement of hostilities at; sudden attack of the English places the city in their possession; they are subsequently driven from it and from their own factory, and all destroyed or made prisoners, i. 442.

—— murder of English prisoners at, by Meer Cossim, i. 448.

—— taken by storm by the English, i. 449.

—— proceedings of Supreme Court with regard to persons concerned in proceedings of provincial council there; state of country resulting therefrom, ii. 136.

PATTERSON, Lieut., mortally wounded at Corygaum, iv. 502.

PATTON, Major, attacks and completely routs enemy to north-west of Almorah (Nepaul war), iv. 311.

PAULL, James, his conduct towards the Marquis Wellesley; his letter to Sir John Malcolm, iii. 227—229, *note*.

—— justifies removal of Sir G. Barlow, iv. 94.

—— charge relating to Oude brought against Marquis Wellesley by, iv. 356, *note*.

PEDDAPORE, battle at, French defeated, i. 300.

PEEL, Mr., moves for Select Committee to inquire into the affairs of India, statement of; remarks, v. 258, 259.

—— objections made to list of committee proposed by, v. 260.

PEGU, series of successes obtained by people of, against the Burmans; Peguers obtain possession of Ava with its sovereign; short duration of their dominion, v. 2.

—— invaders of Ava from, totally defeated by Alompra; assisted by French from Pondicherry, v. 3.

—— capital of surrenders to Alompra, v. 3.

—— proceedings in, v. 80.

PEISHWA, origin of authority of, i. 71.

—— disputes respecting the succession to the office of, ii. 58.

—— legitimacy of infant heir questioned; statement of facts respecting, ii. 159, *note*.

—— Bajee Rao, evasions and intrigues of, iii. 275.

- PEISHWA surrounded with difficulties, proposes to subsidize British troops, iii. 275.
- his indifference to the communication by the British resident of a modified assent to his proposal, iii. 277.
- quits Poona on approach of Holkar, iii. 277.
- flies to Sinugurh, after defeat of his army by Holkar, iii. 278.
- his continued flight and ultimate arrival at Bassein, iii. 278, 279.
- consents to the proposals of British government, iii. 279.
- concludes treaty, its conditions, iii. 280—284.
- reseated on the musnud at Poona, iii. 290.
- his differences with the Guicowar, iv. 379.
- his faithlessness and falsehood, iv. 384.
- change of his conduct towards Gurgudhur Shastry, iv. 385.
- proceeds on pilgrimage to Nassuck, iv. 385.
- Gungudhur Shastry invited to accompany him to Punderpore and murdered, iv. 386—388.
- returns to Poona; manifestations of alarm and anxiety; precautions, iv. 390, 391.
- evades giving audience to the British resident, iv. 391.
- inadequacy of the steps taken by, towards detection and punishment of the murderers of the Shastry, iv. 392, 393.
- refuses to allow arrest of Trimbucketjee Dainglia without previous investigation, iv. 395.
- yields to the representations of the resident, and surrenders Trimbucketjee, iv. 399, 400.
- intrigues of, against British power in India, iv. 428.
- suspicious circumstances in his conduct, iv. 430.
- continues Trimbucketjee's friends and family in favour, iv. 430.
- extraordinary changes in the habits of, his piety and seclusion; his warlike preparations, iv. 431, 432.
- further indulgence extended to, by British government, iv. 433.
- one of his forts taken possession of by insurgents, iv. 434.

PEISHWA invites Mr. Elphinstone to a conference; refuses to enter into any engagement, iv. 435.

——— accepts the conditions proffered by Mr. Elphinstone, iv. 436.

——— issues proclamation offering reward for apprehension of Trimbuckjee Dainglia, iv. 436.

——— new treaty concluded with, its important provisions, iv. 437—439.

——— his dissatisfaction at the treaty; his obstinacy; prepares for hostile proceedings, iv. 439.

——— endeavours to corrupt British troops, iv. 440.

——— pushes forward his troops, hostilities actually commenced by, iv. 440.

——— flight of, iv. 441.

——— prime instigator of hostile feeling to the British in India, iv. 466.

——— intrigues of Rajah of Nagpore with, iv. 469.

——— transmits khelaut to Rajah of Nagpore, iv. 471.

——— is joined by Trimbuckjee, iv. 499.

——— movements of after defeat at Poona, iv. 499, 500.

——— his army attack Capt. Staunton, results, iv. 500, 501.

——— varies his course on approach of his pursuers, arrives at Sholupore, iv. 502.

——— surrenders to the British government, iv. 555.

——— his dominions annexed to British territories, becomes pensioner upon British government, iv. 555.

See also Bajee Rao.

PELIME Talauve, his intrigues; places usurper on throne of Candy, iii. 399, 400.

——— his atrocious proposals to British government rejected, iii. 400.

——— carries on a deceitful correspondence, under the mask of friendship, with British commander, iii. 404.

——— overtures of, receive a favourable answer, iii. 405.

——— invested with supreme authority in Candy, iii. 406.

——— desires an audience with the British governor for the purpose of arranging a definitive treaty of peace, iii. 406.

——— is received by the British governor, iii. 406.

PELIME Talauve requests that General M'Dowall may be sent to Candy to negotiate with Mootto Sawmy, iii. 407.

————— attempts to entrap British commander; recommencement of war, iii. 467.

PELLEW, Capt., assists in brilliant service of reducing French fortress in Madura, iv. 194, 195. .

PEMBERTON, Lieut., accompanies Gumber Singh to Manipur and returns with him to Sylhet (Burmese war), v. 61.

PENNINGTON, Mr., his investigation of accounts of Company and report, v. 283, 284.

————— his observations on commerce receiving assistance from territory, v. 284, 285, *note*.

PEPPER, Col., stationed with force in Pegu to protect the province from irruptions; occupies Shoe-gein (Burmese war), v. 80.

————— dispatches Col. Conry to reduce Burman post, in which he fails, v. 80, 81.

————— attacks and carries works of Sitang, v. 81.

————— wounded in attack upon Sitang, v. 81.

PERON, M., succeeds M. Raymond in command of French force in the service of the Nizam, iii. 31.

PERRING, Mr. Peter, dismissed the service of the East-India Company, ii. 223, *note*.

————— threatened with penal proceedings, ii. 224, *note*.

————— included in threatened bill of pains and penalties, ii. 243, *note*.

PERRON, M., his origin; succeeds to chief command of force formerly under De Boigne; increase of his authority, iii. 309, 310.

————— designs of, aided by circumstances; his cunning, activity, and influence, iii. 310, 311.

————— his overtures to Gen. Lake; his retirement, iii. 316, 317.

————— effects of his retreat, iii. 318.

PERTAUB Singh elevated to the Mahratta sovereignty in place of Syagee, i. 80, *note*.

PERTHEE Saul Sing, Rajah of Palpa, driven from the hills by Ghoorkhas; his engagements with the British; imprisoned and put to death by Ghoorkhas, iv. 253, 254.

PETRIE, Mr., holds government of Madras provisionally, iv. 136.

- PETRIE, Mr., unceasingly opposes Sir George Barton, iv. 136.
 — removed from council, iv. 140.
- PHILLIPS, Capt., attacks and carries battery in Amboyna, iv. 177.
- PICKERSGILL, Lieut., discovers party of Goorkhas, iv. 305.
 — is attacked; enemy retreat, are pursued and cut to pieces, iv. 306.
 — ascends the breach at Mundela to ascertain the effect produced by the batteries, iv. 536.
- PIGOT, Mr., accompanied to Trichinopoly by Clive, in charge of recruits and stores, i. 100, 101.
 — and Clive, returning from Trichinopoly, attacked by hostile party, who harass them and kill seven of their men, i. 101.
 — order the rest of their men to disperse, save themselves by the fleetness of their horses, i. 101.
 — conducts defence of Madras with considerable skill and in an admirable spirit, i. 287.
 — demands delivery of Pondicherry to the presidency of Madras as having become the property of the East-India Company; Col. Coote complies under protest, i. 358.
 — created an Irish peer, ii. 199, *note*.
 — Lord, returns to government of Madras, ii. 199.
 — his instructions with respect to Tanjore, ii. 199.
 — proceeds to Tanjore and issues proclamation, ii. 200.
 — demands evidence of the claims of Paul Benfield on the revenues of Tanjore, &c., ii. 200.
 — proposes Mr. Russell as British resident at Tanjore; is defeated in council; violent disputes; refuses his signature, as governor, to the papers giving effect to the will of his opponents; his charge against two members of board, ii. 201, 202.
 — suspends Messrs. Brooke and Stratton; declares refractory members of board suspended; orders Sir Robert Fletcher into arrest, ii. 202, 203.
 — arrested by the opposing party in council; appeals to Sir Ed. Hughes for protection; results, ii. 202, 203.
 — his death, ii. 203—207.
 — remarks on the proceedings relating to, ii. 203—207.

- PIGOT, Lord, mode in which the proceedings against were regarded at Calcutta, ii. 207, 208.
- proceedings at home relating to, ii. 209—213.
- his opposition to corruption and its fatal consequences to himself, ii. 246, 247.
- PINDARRIES, character and conduct of, iv. 403, 404.
- characters of their leaders, iv. 406—416.
- their indiscriminate plunder, their aggressions in British dominions, their mode of warfare and government, iv. 416—421.
- party of attacked and dispersed by Major Lushington, iv. 422, 423.
- large body of put to flight by Major M'Dowall, iv. 424.
- unanimous opinion of Gov.-Gen. and council in favour of vigorous measures for their suppression, iv. 424—426.
- invited by Rajah of Nagpore to bring down force to attack British, iv. 470.
- their habits of flight described by Col. Blacker, iv. 503.
- their dispersion and ultimate fate, iv. 578.
- PIPER, Capt., drives back party of Burmese, v. 44.
- PITT, Mr., becomes the head of new ministry, finds an intractable House of Commons; moves for leave to bring in a bill for better government and management of affairs of East-India Company; bill lost, ii. 350.
- new bill brought in and passed, ii. 350, 351.
- provisions of his East-India Bill, ii. 354.
- declares intention to vote against Hastings on the charge relating to Cheyt Singh, ii. 362.
- effects of his death upon the administration, of which he was the head, iv. 88.
- reference to profuse expenditure which distinguished the administration of, v. 216.
- Pocock, Adm., arrival of at Calcutta, i. 218.
- takes to his barge in order to share in the attack on Chandernagore, i. 220.
- return of English squadron under; action with French squadron, i. 277.
- arrival of at Madras, with reinforcements, i. 295.

Pocock, Adm., returns with his fleet from Bombay; sails for Trincomalee, i. 312, 313.

_____ commences action with French fleet under D'Aché; enemy make sail and bear away; pursuit of enemy and their escape, i. 313, 314.

POHLMAN, Capt., pursues fugitives defeated by Capt. Royle, iii. 481.

POLICE establishment at Bareilly, account of, iv. 363, 364.

POLLOCK, Capt., totally defeats the Candians at Hangwell, iii. 413.

PONDICHERRY threatened by British fleet, i. 75.

_____ Nabob of Arcot interferes to protect the French possession of, i. 76.

_____ governor and principal inhabitants of Madras marched thither under an escort, i. 78.

_____ attacked by English, they fail, i. 78.

_____ British force return from, with loss of more than one thousand men, i. 79.

_____ wife and sons of Chunda Sahib take refuge in, and are treated with great respect by Dupleix, i. 83.

_____ money coined at, to be current in the Carnatic, i. 93.

_____ durbar, or court of Dupleix, held at, i. 94.

_____ boats with English troops seized in passing, i. 155.

_____ French garrison from Chingleput march to, i. 164.

_____ French authorities at Chandernagore dependent upon government of, i. 215.

_____ French troops landed at by M. Bouvet; squadron disappears, i. 274.

_____ Lally retires to, from ill-health, i. 296.

_____ French fleet under M. D'Aché arrive at, after action with Admiral Pocock, i. 314.

_____ discontent and dissensions in, on Lally's arrival there, i. 346.

_____ English approach the place, i. 346.

_____ attack upon French posts at, i. 351.

_____ inhabitants of expelled by Lally, their sufferings and despair, indulgence shewn them by English, i. 352, 353.

_____ operations of English against, i. 353.

_____ storm at, its destructive effects, i. 354.

PONDICHERY blockaded by English fleet; post attacked by English and carried; retaken by the French; distress prevailing for provisions, enemy surrender, i. 355.

———— advance against, by Gen. Monro, capitulation of, ii. 213, 215.

———— correspondence opened by French party in the Deccan with French prisoners at, ii. 555.

POONA becomes seat of a Mahratta government, under chieftain called the Peishwa, i. 71.

———— East-India Company seek and obtain permission for residence of an English agent at, ii. 156.

———— government of Bengal resolve to open negotiations with authorities of, Col. Upton appointed their representative, ii. 164.

———— councils of distracted by intrigues; members separate into parties; government of Bombay disposed to co-operate with the party supporting Rugonath Rao, ii. 175, 176.

———— capture of by Holkar; flight of Peishwa, iii. 278.

———— arrival of Gen. Wellesley there; flight of Holkar's commander, iii. 289.

———— Peishwa returns to, and takes his seat on musnud, iii. 290.

———— atrocities committed at, in making levy upon rich inhabitants for benefit of Scindia, iii. 493.

———— British residency there plundered and burned, iv. 440.

———— occupied by the English, iv. 442.

See also Bajee Rao and Peishwa.

POONAMALEE, Company's fort at threatened with attack, i. 117.

POPHAM, Capt., troops under, assigned for service of Rana of Gohud, enters Mahratta districts, attacks Lahar, and carries it by storm, ii. 188.

———— attacks and captures Gwalior; is promoted to rank of major, ii. 189, 190.

———— Major, takes Pateeta by storm, his success alarms Cheyt Sing, ii. 300.

———— advances toward Bidzeghur; on his approach, Cheyt Sing withdraws, leaving his wife and mother; place surrenders; treasure appropriated by military; act disapproved by, ii. 301.

———— Col., commands column at siege of Chanda, iv. 542.

PORLIER, Major (commanding officer at Fort St. David), exonerated by court of inquiry from cowardice in regard to surrender of fort, but his defensive arrangements condemned, i. 278.

———— mortally wounded during siege of Madras, i. 285.

PORTLAND, Duke of, opposes adjournment of House of Lords, and adverts to extraordinary rumour circulated as to feelings of the King with regard to the East-India Bill of the coalition ministry, ii. 348.

PORT LOUIS, its origin, iv. 161.

PORT LOUIS, measures of the French for its defence, iv. 162.

PORTO NOVO plundered by Hyder Ali, ii. 227.

PORTUGUESE, their discoveries, i. 36.

———— their arrival in India and departure, i. 36.

———— they return, attack Calicut without success; attack and capture Goa, which becomes their capital, i. 37.

———— claim dominion of the Indian seas, extend their commerce, establish factories and forts, i. 37.

———— their commander at Hooghly refuses the application of Shah Jehan for aid against his father, i. 38.

———— their factory at Hooghly attacked by order of Shah Jehan: it is courageously but ineffectually defended; lives of the defenders spared, but their images destroyed, i. 39.

———— commercial supremacy of, yielded to the Dutch, i. 73.

———— movements of, alarm Mahrattas for the safety of Salsette; fleet of appears off Bombay, and commander delivers a protest against conduct of British authorities in regard to that place, ii. 160, 161.

———— claim of to possession of Salsette, ii. 170, 171.

———— exempted from the general prohibition of European traders forming establishments within Mahratta dominions, ii. 198.

———— expedition fitted out from Bengal against their settlement of Macao, iv. 131, 132.

POTTINGER, Capt. (assistant to British resident at Poona), on murder of Gungudhur Shastri, instructed to provide for safety of surviving parties connected with the Baroda mission to Poona, iv. 389.

———— Col., treaties concluded by, with Khypoor and Hyderabad, in Scinde, v. 215, 216.

- POTTINGER, Sir H., compelled to remonstrate with his countrymen in China, v. 297, *note*.
- POVERIO, Clement, a European commanding company in service of Mahomet Ali, receives overtures from Nunjeraj for assistance in obtaining possession of Trichinopoly, i. 148.
- proceeds to Capt. Dalton, communicates all that passed with Nunjeraj, is instructed to return to the camp, and avow his willingness to undertake the required task, i. 149.
- makes terms with Nunjeraj to receive 23,000 rupees, to seize on the gate nearest to the Mysorean camp, and to hoist signal for their army to move, i. 149, 150.
- his plan to entrap Nunjeraj defeated by Mahomet Ali's brother-in-law, i. 151.
- POWELL, Lieut.-Col., joined by Himmud Bahaudur, enters country of Bundelcund, forts reduced by, iii. 371, 372.
- POWYS, Mr., takes a conspicuous part in debate of House of Commons on East-India Bill of coalition ministry; his observations on bill and ministry, ii. 345, 346.
- PRESTON, Major, takes Theagur from the French, i. 359.
- PRICE, Mr., commissioned from Ava to ascertain terms of peace (Burmese war), v. 76, 77.
- returns to Ava to procure ratification of treaty, v. 81, 82.
- PRINCE of Wales Island, establishment of at different periods, iii. 398.
- See also* Pulo Penang.
- PRINCE Regent (afterwards George IV.) admits officers of the East-India Company's service to the order of the Bath, iv. 583, 584.
- PRITZLER, Gen., obliges Peishwa to change his course, v. 499.
- proceeds to reduce forts and strongholds of Poona; Rajah of Sattara and family fall into hands of, iv. 503.
- Sir T., his representation of the feelings of native soldiers, v. 116.
- PROME, advance upon, by Sir A. Campbell, v. 50.
- possession of, taken by Sir A. Campbell, v. 56.
- PROVINCE Wellesley, territory on main land ceded by King of Quenda, so called, v. 193.
- PUHAR Sing (dewan of Hafiz Rehmut), advice of to his master, ii. 43, *note*.

- PULO Penang transferred to East-India Company by Capt. Light, and called Prince of Wales Island, v. 193.
- PURNEAH, foudjar of, takes the field on eastern bank of Ganges, with the supposed intention of joining the Shazada, i. 379.
- destined by Meerun for assassination, i. 379, *note*.
- he is apparently appeased, i. 382.
- PURSAJEE Bhooslah succeeds his father, Rughoojee Bhonsley, as Rajah of Nagpore; his weakness of mind; death, iv. 465.
- evidence of his having been murdered by Appa Sahib discovered, iv. 535.
- PURSARAM Thappa killed in personal encounter with Lieut. Boileau (Nepaul war), iv. 297.
- PURSERAM Bow, commanding Mahratta army, joined by English detachment; moves to attack Darwar, which ultimately surrenders (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 418, 419.
- his army, with British detachment under Capt. Little, proceed to attack Dooradroog; reduction of impracticable; marches towards Chittadroog, which is deemed too strong for attack; arrives at Hooly Onore, which is attacked and taken, ii. 458, 459.
- his admiration of the humane and honourable conduct of a British officer, and recommendation of the example to the imitation of his own servants, ii. 461.
- instead of joining Lord Cornwallis, prefers plundering expedition into Bednore, alarmed at approach of Kummer-odeen, ii. 464.
- PYM, Capt., recaptures *Windham* East-Indiaman; attacks French squadron in harbour of Port Sud-Est, Mauritius, without success, iv. 157.
- opens fire upon enemy's ships in harbour of St. Paul's, Isle of Bourbon, which cut their cables and drift ashore, iv. 144.
- QUEDA, possession of, secured to Siamese by treaty with English, v. 104.
- repeated engagements of British government to King of, v. 190.
- Capt. Light receives Pulo Penang from the King of, and transfers it to East-India Company, v. 192, 193.

- QUEDA, arrangements made with King of, for payment of annual sum in compensation of loss of revenue from transfer of the island, v. 193.
- further cession of territory made by King of; consequent increase of annual payment, v. 193.
- King of expelled by the Siamese, takes refuge in Prince of Wales Island; subsequently removes to Province Wellesley; prevailed on to return to Prince of Wales Island, v. 193.
- remarks on conduct of British government in relation to King of, v. 194, 195.
- opinion of Lord William Bentinck on the treatment of the King of, v. 195.
- Siamese expelled from capital of, v. 196, 197.
- remarks on conduct of British authorities in respect to the attack on Queda, v. 197, 198.
- disputes of King of with British government; remarks; King removed to Malacca, v. 198, 199.
- British resident aids Siamese in recapture of Queda; his conduct disapproved by government of Bengal, who forbid British authorities to interfere, v. 199, 200.
- prohibition arrives too late; Siamese repossess themselves of Queda; just observations by Court of Directors on the subject, v. 200.

RAFFLES, Mr., first suggests reduction of Dutch settlements to Lord Minto, iv. 182.

—— appointed Lieutenant-Governor by Lord Minto, iv. 195.

—— proceeds to court of Sultan of Djoejocarta, his reception, treaty concluded, iv. 200.

RAIGURH, seat of Mahratta government, falls to Aurungzebe, i. 65.

RAINIER, Admiral, requested to proceed to Trincomalee, iii. 119.

—— refuses to co-operate in attack on Mauritius, his reasons, iii. 120, 121.

RAJAHMUNDY, M. Conflans flies thither after his defeat by Col. Forde, i. 300.

RAJAH Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib, with 150 French from Pondicherry, joins detachment of 4,000 sepoys sent by his father to act against Clive at Arcot, i. 103.

- RAJAH Sahib, terror of, at ball passing through palace at Arcot, i. 105.
- intelligence reaches him of the communications between Clive and the Mahrattas, becomes apprehensive of the result, sends a flag of truce with proposals for surrender of the fort, Clive's reply, i. 107.
- surprises the camp of the Mahrattas, i. 113.
- makes a forced march to join reinforcements from Pondicherry, i. 113.
- RAJPOOT states, treaties concluded with, iv. 460.
- RAJPOOTANA, duties of allotted to Sir Charles Metcalfe, v. 134.
- RAM Dos (son of Ummer Sing) intimates his father's desire to negotiate (Nepaul war), iv. 316.
- RAMGURH, surrender of (Nepaul war), iv. 290.
- RAM Narrain (Governor of Behar), on approach of the Shazadar's army, marches out of the city, and encamps under its walls; is warned by Col. Calliaud not to come to action, disregards the warning, and is totally defeated, i. 383.
- is distrusted by Meer Jaffier, who seeks to assassinate him; is assured by Clive that if he present himself to the Nabob, and acknowledge his authority, he will be continued in government, i. 417.
- tenders his submission to Nabob, and is confirmed in appointment, i. 417.
- evades demand of Meer Cossim for settlement of accounts; designs formed against his power and life by Meer Cossim, i. 417, 418.
- promises accounts, does not produce them, i. 418.
- renders accounts, which are unsatisfactory, i. 420.
- is seized, and his effects confiscated, i. 420.
- is eventually murdered, i. 420.
- place and manner of his death, i. 446.
- RANGOON entered by the English (Burmese war), v. 21.
- fired by the Burmese, v. 46.
- RATCLIFF, Major, commands column at siege of Deeg, iii. 459.
- RAWDEN, Lord, denounces in unmeasured terms establishment of British government in India, iv. 497, 498, *note*.
- See also Hastings, Marquis of, and Moira, Earl of.

- RAYMOND, M., his indefatigable labours to increase the influence of the French in the Deccan, ii. 554, 555.
- puts down rebellion against the Nizam, takes prisoner Ali Jah, who destroys himself by poison, ii. 555.
- death of; his character; is succeeded by M. Peron, iii. 30, 31.
- RAYNAL, his estimate of the importance of the Mauritius, iv. 162, *note*.
- READ, Capt., offers to put Nizam in possession of the lower fort of Goorumconda if allowed the management of attack, his offer accepted; carries the fort and delivers it to Nizam (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 455, 456.
- Lieut.-Col., appointed to escort supplies to army advancing on Seringapatam (last war with Tippoo), iii. 39.
- REVELL and Glass, two British officers, spared by French from massacre of their companions, near Conjeveram, and made prisoners, i. 114.
- required to write to Clive, informing him that if the pagoda of Conjeveram were attacked, they would be exposed on the walls, i. 114.
- they desire that no regard for them may induce Clive to discontinue his operations, i. 114.
- REYNELL, Gen., commands column of attack at second siege of Bhurt-pore, v. 157, 158.
- Sir Thos., result of his observations on native troops, v. 116.
- REZA Saib, army of defeated and dispersed by Capt. Little (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 463.
- RICHARDS, Col., clears Assam from Burmese, v. 57.
- advances upon Rungpore, carries stockade and various posts (Burmese war), v. 58.
- Buddhist priest admitted to conference with; surrender of Rungpore on terms the result, v. 58, 59.
- Gen., succeeds in attack upon enemy's right, at Arracan (Burmese war), v. 64.
- Major, his success in attack upon position of the enemy near Jyetuck (Nepaul war), iv. 277.
- attacks and puts to flight a body of enemy in Nag-pore, iv. 538.

- RICHMOND, Duke of, reads, in House of Lords, an article from a newspaper, announcing prevalence of report that the King had withdrawn his approbation from the India Bill of the coalition ministry, and his confidence from its authors, ii. 348, 349.
- ROBERTS, Mr., Mr. James, and Mr. Becher, appointed by Court of Directors to make inspection of Col. Maclean's papers, with reference to his authority to tender Hastings's resignation; their report, ii. 95, 96.
- Lieut.-Col., appointed to command detachment from Madras to co-operate at Hyderabad with British troops against French force at that place; arrives there, iii. 32.
- dispatched with Major Hearsey to confer with Mooftie during Bareilly riots, iv. 373.
- ROBINSON, Capt., surrenders at Vaniambaddy under parole, breaks his parole; obeys order of Capt. Orton to surrender Erood; perishes in a dungeon at Seringapatam, i. 569, 570.
- W., dispatched with summons to Gen. Janssens to surrender Dutch possessions in Java, answer brought back by, iv. 186.
- Mr., secretary to the treasury under Lord North, his conversation with Col. Maclean, agent of Warren Hastings, ii. 121, *note*.
- (M. P.), remarks on conduct of members of committee of House of Commons, 1831, v. 276.
- ROE, Sir Thomas, arrives at the Mogul court, deputed by James I., i. 32.
- ROHILCUND, curious particulars of state of society in, iv. 352.
- remarkable and characteristic feature in criminal statistics of, iv. 352, 353.
- crimes by which distinguished, iv. 354.
- state of, at different periods, compared; habits of the people of, iv. 358—360.
- grievances and discontent of the people, iv. 361, 362.
- fanatical attachment of people to their chiefs; their fidelity, iv. 362.
- ROHILLA chiefs, fears entertained of insurrection of, iii. 6.
- ROHILLAS, Vizier desirous of attacking; his reasons, ii. 39.

ROHILLAS, defeat of by the English brigade, ii. 46.

———— their origin and conquests, ii. 47, 48.

ROSE, Lieut., storms Holkar's battery before Delhi, gains possession of it, spikes the guns, and retreats with small loss (siege of Delhi), iii. 447.

—— Capt., leads storming party at Donobew, which fails; his gallant example and fall (Burmese war), v. 52, *note*.

ROSS, Lieut., gains possession of heights above Belaspore, after defeating body of Kuhloora troops (Nepaul war), iv. 289.

———— makes proposals to three sirdars commanding enemy's troops, who accept them and pass with their troops into his rear (Nepaul war), iv. 315.

ROUGHSEGE, Major, dispatched to reinforce Col. Bradshaw (Nepaul war), iv. 297.

ROUS and Bolton, Messrs., appointed to chairs of East-India Company, i. 482.

ROUSSEL, Col., fourteen officers, and a number of troops, made prisoners by Col. Forde, near Chinsurah (Clive's operations against the Dutch), i. 377.

ROWLEY, Capt., ordered to blockade French islands in Indian Seas, iv. 142.

—— Commodore, makes unsuccessful descent on Isle of Bourbon, iv. 142, 143.

———— appoints a vessel with Cartel flag to convey widow and children of Gen. Des Brusels to Mauritius, iv. 146, 147.

———— sails with squadron to resume blockade of Mauritius, takes Gen. Abercrombie with him, proceeds to Rodriguez, iv. 159, 160.

ROYDOOLoor (Dewan of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah) engaged in conspiracy against his master, i. 234.

—— advises Sooraj-oo-Dowlah to retire to Moorshedabad, i. 242, 243.

—— is alienated from Meer Jaffier, i. 360.

ROYLE, Capt., commands a detachment from Agra, falls in with the cavalry of Bappoogee Scindia and totally routs it (Lord Lake's campaign against Holkar), iii. 480.

—— attacks and defeats Hernaut Singh, iii. 480.

RUGHOOJEE Bhooslay (Rajah of Nagpore) invariably resists attempts of British government to establish subsidiary alliance with state of Berar, iv. 465.

_____ is succeeded by his son Pursajee Bhooslay, iv. 465.

RUGONATH Row, negotiations with, by the English; succeeds to office of Peishwa, his foreign and domestic troubles; engaged in war with Nizam Ali, meditates an expedition into Carnatic, ii. 157, 158.

_____ makes peace with Hyder Ali, who engages to pay tribute to him; relinquishes his design upon Carnatic, ii. 158.

_____ commences march towards Poonah, his success, want of funds, returns, ii. 159.

_____ never disputes the birth of child of Gunga Bye, ii. 159, *note*.

_____ his difficulties and distress, has recourse to the English, ii. 159, 160.

_____ negotiation with English, refuses to give up Salsette and Bassein, ii. 160.

_____ negotiations with English renewed, concludes treaty; East-India Company agree to aid him with considerable force; he agrees to surrender Bassein, to procure grant from Guicowar for Company of that prince's revenue in Baroda and to make certain payments, ii. 161, 162.

_____ is bound not to make war in Carnatic, to assist ships of East-India Company and protect cargoes, ii. 162.

_____ defeated and his forces dispersed; effects junction with Col. Keating; action takes place and ends in favour of the English, ii. 164.

_____ required by treaty between English and Mahrattas to disband his army, on compliance with which condition he was to have an establishment at Kopergoam; he refuses, expresses determination to appeal to Court of Directors, retires to Surat, ii. 169.

_____ remarks on the proceedings of the governments of Bombay and Bengal with regard to him, ii. 170—174.

_____ new agreement made with, under which he is to be regent only, ii. 176.

RUGONATH ROW seeks to stimulate his European allies, his exertions have contrary effect; committee of field deputies become despondent and open negotiations with authorities of Poonah, ii. 177, 178.

———— in vain invokes committee to pause before deciding on retreat, ii. 178.

———— his surrender demanded by Poona ministers, he provides for his own safety, ii. 179.

———— escapes from Scindia, with whom he had taken refuge, is received by Col. Goddard with little cordiality, ii. 186.

RUMBOLD, Mr., appointed President and Governor of Madras by Court of Directors, ii. 213.

———— complains that French troops are entertained in Guntoor notwithstanding Nizam's promise to procure their removal, ii. 217.

———— Sir Thomas, proposes recal of Mr. Hollond from court of Nizam; quits India, leaving minute recommending Mr. Hollond's suspension from the service, his recommendation carried into effect by Mr. Whitehill, ii. 223, 224.

———— returns to England, with immense fortune and tainted character, is dismissed the service by Court of Directors, and threatened with penal proceedings by the House of Commons, ii. 223, 224, *note*.

———— assures Court of Directors that every thing was quiet in Carnatic at the time of his departure from India, ii. 225.

———— is succeeded by Mr. Whitehill, ii. 226.

RUNGPORE, possession of obtained by Col. Richards; his justification of the concessions granted to the inhabitants (Burmese war), v. 59, 60.

RUNJEET Singh, British government first become connected with by treaty, conditions of, iv. 132.

———— gradually extends his power and influence over whole country between Sutlege and Jumna, v. 145.

———— difficulties of throwing his power back beyond Sutlege, v. 146.

RUNJORE Sing Thappa, recommended to put himself in communication with Col. Bradshaw (Nepaul war), iv. 267.

RUSSELL, Mr., proposed as British resident at Tanjore by Lord Pigot, proposal resisted, ii. 201, 202.

——— Lieut.-Col., his brilliant service at battle of Mahidpore (Mahratta and Pindarrie war), iv. 493.

RUTTENPORE, military preparations at by Rajah of Barar, iii. 501.

RYACCOTTAH surrenders to Major Gowdie; its strength (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 440.

RYAN, Lieut.-Col., proceeds to attack gateway to left of principal battery at Bhurtpore, iii. 464.

——— altercation of with Col. Maitland as to relative situation of breach and trenches, iii. 465.

——— compels enemy to quit their post, but is prevented by a deep drain from pursuing his successes, iii. 466.

RYVES, Capt., frustrates attempts of enemy to drive British vessels from the station at Rangoon by fire-rafts (Burmese war), v. 44.

SAADUT Ali, reputed lawful successor to musnud of Oude; his parsimony and unpopularity, ii. 562.

——— restored to his right through agency of British government, conditions of treaty with, ii. 576.

——— applies for removal of Vizier Ali from Benares, iii. 165.

——— the abuse, mismanagement, and extortions of his government, iii. 172.

——— remarks on treaty with, iii. 181, 182.

——— his removal of former Vizier's treasure, iii. 190.

——— new treaty concluded with, remarks on, iii. 212—227.

——— receives visit from Marquis Wellesley, iii. 229.

——— his unconquerable aversion to Col. Scott, iii. 231.

See also Oude.

SADLEIR, Mr., communicates with Tippoo Sultan, is ready to assent to Tippoo's agent's demand for surrender of Mangalore previously to release of English prisoners, ii. 285.

——— involved in dispute with Lord Macartney; hostile meeting ensues, in which Lord Macartney is wounded, ii. 387, 388, *note.*

SADRASS and Pulicat taken by the English soon after arrival of Lord Macartney in India, ii. 263.

SALABUT Jung chosen by the French as new ruler of the Deccan, i. 96.

———— assistance rendered him by M. Bussy, i. 181.

———— advance of, demands Mogul's tribute, i. 181.

———— removes his brother by poison, i. 168.

———— forges edict of emperor confirming Dupleix in office of Nabob, i. 168.

———— dismisses Bussy; desirous of obtaining aid from English; makes proposals to Bussy of peace and restoration to favour, i. 216.

———— applied to by M. Conflans for assistance; advances to Hyderabad, i. 302.

———— commands Anunderauze to quit the English and repair to his lawful master, i. 304.

———— intelligence of his advance received by the English; their situation, i. 305.

———— is disposed, by fall of Masulipatam, to negotiate; concludes treaty; its conditions, i. 309, 310.

———— seeks to prevail on Col. Forde to grant assistance against Nizam Ali; Col. Forde refuses, i. 310, 311.

———— after unsuccessfully contending for sovereignty of the Deccan, becomes prisoner of Nizam Ali, i. 542.

———— recognized as lawful Soubahdar of the Deccan by treaty of Paris, being then prisoner of his brother, by whom he is eventually murdered, i. 542, *note*.

SALE, Major, the first man who appeared on the top of the works at Kemendine (Burmese war), v. 26.

———— kills Burmese chief of high rank in single combat (Burmese war), v. 31.

———— leads detachment against Burmese intrenchments, v. 43.

———— leads column of attack on Burmese army, v. 45.

—— Col., wounded in boat at Melloon, v. 76.

SALMOND, Col., his representations of the character of native soldiers, v. 116.

- SALSETTE and Caranja fall into hands of English, ii. 160.
- capture of, a questionable act; possession of long desired by East-India Company, ii. 170.
- said to be included with Bombay in marriage portion of Princess Catharine, wife of Charles II., ii. 171.
- restored by convention with Mahrattas, ii. 179.
- SAMOGA taken possession of by Capt. Little, conditions of capitulation; cruel treatment of prisoners by Mahrattas, ii. 463, 464.
- retaken by Kummer-oo-Deen, ii. 464.
- SANFORD, Mr., commissioned from Ava to ascertain terms of peace, v. 76, 77.
- SARUN, serious disturbances at, created by the Nepaulese, iv. 257.
- SATTARA becomes the residence of the Mahratta Rajah, and principal seat of Mahratta power, i. 65.
- falls into the hands of Aurungzebe, i. 65.
- explosion of a mine at destroys two thousand of the besiegers, i. 65.
- Chunda Sahib made prisoner and marched there, i. 83.
- Chunda Sahib obtains his freedom and departs from, i. 84.
- Rajah of falls into hands of English, i. 503.
- Rajah of, motives of Gov.-Gen. for restoring him to sovereignty, iv. 555.
- Rajah of, portion of territory assigned to, iv. 555.
- SATTUMUNGUL taken by Col. Floyd (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 409.
- SAUNDERS, Mr., Governor of Madras, manages negotiation for peace with French, i. 180, *note*.
- SAVANDROOG, conduct of siege of intrusted to Col. Stuart (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 451.
- taken by storm, ii. 451—453.
- SCHEENAAS (station of pirates infesting Persian Gulf) stormed and carried by English, aided by force sent by Imaum of Muscat, iv. 174.
- SCINDIA, his influence, separate agreement concluded with, fort and government of Broach to be delivered up to him, two English hostages left, ii. 179.
- translation of agreement with, ii. 179, 180, *note*.
- aided by Holkar, approaches with force; retires; his friendly

professions towards the English; releases hostages; negotiation commenced and broken off; is attacked by Gen. Goddard with success, ii. 187.

SCINDIA, his army approaches Col. Carnac's camp at Seronge, and cannonades it; Col. Carnac retreats, ii. 196.

——— harasses Col. Camac's retreating force, is attacked by Col. Camac and defeated, makes overtures of peace, separate treaty concluded with; promises his influence to procure peace with Peishwa, ii. 197.

——— surety for due performance of treaty with Peishwa, rewarded for his mediation, and guaranteed by cession of Broach to, ii. 198.

——— predominant influence of at Poona, iii. 5.

——— his forces, combined with those of the Peishwa, defeated by Holkar at Poona, iii. 277.

——— meets evasively overtures of British resident, addresses Gov.-Gen., announces his march towards the Deccan, iii. 290, 291.

——— his letter to Col. Close, iii. 292, 293.

——— his reply to Col. Collins, refers discussion of communication to personal conference; meeting of Col. Collins, with result of, iii. 293, 294.

——— declares his surprise at conclusion of defensive alliance between British government and Peishwa, iii. 294.

——— points pressed on the notice of by Col. Collins, his answer, iii. 297.

——— his dislike to march of British troops to Poona, his request that it may be stopped, iii. 298.

——— grounds of suspicion against; repeated conferences among Mahratta chiefs; missions to Rajah of Berar and to the Peishwa; arrival of vakeels from Holkar, iii. 298.

——— required to disavow imputation of confederacy with Holkar and Rajah of Berar, iii. 299.

——— admits that treaty of Bassein contains nothing at variance with his rights, but declines promising not to disturb it until after the conference with the Rajah of Berar, iii. 300.

——— his insulting remark at the close of the conference with Col. Collins, iii. 301.

——— meeting of with Rajah of Berar, iii. 301, 302.

- SCINDIA, his continued evasions and insulting conduct, iii. 302.
- decline of his local authority in Hindostan, iii. 310.
- entertains suspicions of Perron, iii. 318.
- rescues the Emperor, Shah Allum, from Gholaum Kaudir, iii. 323.
- with Rajah of Berar, enters territories of Nizam; confederates retire, are joined by body of infantry under French officers, iii. 326.
- his Deccan Invincibles entirely defeated by Gen. Lake, iii. 334—340.
- makes overtures of negotiation to Gen. Wellesley, mission received from; mission disavowed and subsequently confirmed; suspension of arms agreed upon, conditions of, iii. 344, 345.
- withholds compliance with terms of armistice, iii. 347.
- is attacked and defeated by Gen. Wellesley at Argaum, iii. 347—349.
- determines to seek peace; treaty of peace concluded by; conditions of, iii. 359—362.
- treaty of alliance signed by; conditions of, iii. 379—383.
- promises to adopt measures suggested by Gen. Wellesley, iii. 424.
- his aid called for in support of the common cause of the allies, iii. 424.
- agrees to receive British force for protection; vakeel from Holkar arrives in camp of, professes readiness to assist British government, but does not dismiss Holkar's vakeel, iii. 482.
- demands restoration of fort of Gwalior and country of Gohud, iii. 483, 484.
- remarks on demand, iii. 484—489.
- discussion with British government on claim, iii. 489, 490.
- engages to lend all aid in his power for prosecuting war against Holkar, to renounce his pretensions, and confirm treaties with minor states, iii. 490.
- suggestions offered to, on part of British government; declaration of his ministers in reply to suggestions, iii. 490, 491.
- further discussion of; suggestions as to his taking the field, iii. 492.
- his proposed reliance on British government for pecuniary assistance; arrival in his camp of Shirzee Rao Ghatgay, iii. 492.

- SCINDIA, narrative of his marriage with daughter of Shirzee Rao Ghat-gay and its circumstances, iii. 492, 493.
- dismisses Shirzee Rao from employment, and causes him to be arrested; his release and subsequent acts, iii. 493, 494.
- great influence of Shirzee Rao over, iii. 495.
- marches from Borhampore; indications of his feelings towards British government, iii. 496, 497.
- marches in direction of Bhopal, iii. 498, 499.
- his design to levy contributions on Nabob of Bhopal; remark upon, by Mr. Webbe, iii. 500.
- his advance into territories of Rajah of Berar, iii. 502.
- his answers to the resident's inquiries as to his views, iii. 503.
- new ground of remonstrance with; his intention of levying contributions on the territories of the Peishwa opposed by Mr. Jenkins, iii. 504, 505.
- affects to comply with demands of Mr. Jenkins, iii. 505.
- advances to and invests the fort of Saugur, assumes tone of arrogance and defiance towards British representative, iii. 506.
- applies to the resident to postpone his departure, makes solemn promise of prosecuting his march to Oujein, iii. 507.
- further remonstrances to, from British resident, iii. 508, 509.
- his dismay at departure of Mr. Jenkins; entreaties for his return, iii. 509, 510.
- his direct violation of conditions of resident's return, iii. 510, 511.
- his vacillating and treacherous conduct towards Mr. Jenkins, his Pindarries attack and plunder the British camp, iii. 511, 512.
- his reply to Mr. Jenkins's request to withdraw, iii. 512.
- his hypocrisy and audacity, iii. 514.
- remarkable history of letter from to Gov.-Gen., remarks upon letter, iii. 515, 516.
- statement of grounds of complaint; his abuse of Mr. Webbe, iii. 517—519.
- conclusion of his letter to Marquis Wellesley, iii. 518—520.
- answer to complaints of, iii. 521—530.

- SCINDIA expresses sorrow and regret at continuance of war between Holkar and English, his plan for putting an end to it by marching to Bhurtpore and assuming character of mediator, iii. 531.
- further illustrations of his duplicity, iii. 532.
- communication of one of his servants to Col. Close, iii. 533, 534.
- professes pacific feelings, retires to Subdulghur; one of his ministers waits on Mr. Jenkins to announce movement of Shirzee Rao towards Bhurtpore, iii. 538.
- audience demanded of by resident, which is granted, explanations and professions offered, iii. 538, 539.
- repeats request to Mr. Jenkins that hostilities may be suspended with Holkar, iii. 539.
- repeats removal of Col. Martindell, iii. 541.
- renews his request for the removal of Col. Martindell, suggestion of Mr. Jenkins, iii. 542, 543.
- visit of to Bappoojee Scindia, iii. 543.
- his visit to Holkar, iii. 544.
- his letter to Lord Lake, answer to, iii. 546, 547.
- receives memorial from British resident, suddenly retires to Shoopore, iii. 547, 548.
- letter from Lord Lake to, further communications of with British resident, iii. 552, 553.
- sacrifices to, proposed by Marquis Cornwallis, iv. 7.
- his right to that which he was to receive not admitted by British government, iv. 23.
- to be invited to consent to surrender certain advantages and concede sundry points, iv. 26.
- expresses a hope of obtaining portion of territory conquered from Holkar, which is not encouraged, iv. 28.
- very submissive letter to, framed by Marquis Cornwallis, iv. 28—30.
- his endeavours to wrest territories from Rajahs of Machery and Bhurtpore expected to lay foundation of interminable contests, iv. 34.
- aspect of affairs in the camp of, becomes less indisposed to peace, negotiation opened by with Col. Malcolm, iv. 38.

- SCINDIA, successful close of negotiation with, treaty concluded by Col. Malcolm, iv. 49, 50.
- transfer of Gwalior and Gohud to, relinquishes claim to pensions ; personal allowance to be paid agreed to by East-India Company, and jaghires assigned to his wife and daughter, iv. 50.
 - extraordinary article of treaty, by which he agrees never to admit Shirzee Rao to his councils, &c., iv. 51.
 - disappoints policy of Sir George Barlow by not consenting to accept Tonk Rampoorra in place of pension, iv. 52, 53.
 - his treatment of Kurreem Khan Pindarrie, iv. 409—413.
 - makes treaty with Cheeto Pindarrie, iv. 416.
 - assents to passage of British troops through his territories, iv. 451.
 - correspondence of with Nepaul detected, iv. 451, 452.
 - treaty concluded with by Capt. Close, articles of, iv. 452—460.
 - remarks on his conduct and character, iv. 482.
 - difficulties attending formation of contingent to be furnished by ; his collusion with Pindarrie leaders, his waverings, &c., iv. 483.
 - recalls Jeswunt Rao Lar from Asseergurh ; order disregarded, iv. 568.
 - directs that Appa Sahib should be given up, repeats his command for immediate appearance of Jeswunt Rao Lar at Gwalior, iv. 569.
 - presses for the punishment of Jeswunt Rao Lar without reducing fortress of Asseergurh ; furnishes subsidiary aid for its reduction, iv. 570.
 - evidence of his perfidy discovered in Asseergurh, iv. 576, 577.
- SCOTT, Col., succeeds Mr. Lumsden as resident at Lucknow, suggests preparation of statement of number and expense of troops, &c., iii. 170, 171.
- his opinion on state of the country (Oude), iii. 173.
 - not satisfied with honest intentions of the Vizier ; his advice to him, iii. 177.
 - his suspicions of Vizier lulled, his account of his change of feelings, iii. 178.
 - his remonstrance against scandalous breach of honesty of Vizier, his appeal to Gov.-Gen., iii. 179.

SCOTT, Col., his description of Vizier's character, iii. 180.

———— suggests that, by following his advice, the affairs of the country might be administered for the benefit of the people and the reputation of the prince, iii. 189.

———— his report to Gov.-Gen., his suggestions, iii. 189, 190.

———— his appeal to the Vizier, iii. 197.

———— his construction of Vizier's intentions of appropriating the property of Bho Begum acknowledged to be true, iii. 202.

———— exposes avarice and dishonesty of the Vizier, iii. 203.

———— desires that suspected persons may be pointed out, but condemns vexatious and indiscriminate accusation, iii. 204.

———— his injudicious conduct with regard to certain aumils, iii. 209.

———— orders affecting him received from home, iii. 239.

———— Hopetoun, measures taken by, in Nagpore, iv. 472.

———— attacked by Arabs at Seetabuldee, general action follows, iv. 473.

———— attack on city of Nagpore conducted by, iv. 479.

———— Lieut., appointed to command storming party at Chanda, iv. 542.

———— effects his escape, severely wounded, from slaughter of British force at Ramoo (Burmese war), v. 41.

———— Major, overtures made to by Ducaral on behalf of Francis, for reconciliation with Hastings, ii. 130.

———— procures a seat in Parliament, presents petition from Hastings to be heard in defence, ii. 360, 361.

SCRAPTON and Walsh, Messrs., appointed deputies to Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, searched for concealed arms, called upon to part with their swords, refuse, deliver their proposals, i. 209.

———— Mr., exerts himself to divest of suspicion the mind of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 229, 230.

———— receives two lacs for services to Meer Jaffier, i. 248.

———— undeceives Omichund as to his reward, i. 258.

SEETABULDEE, battle of, iv. 472—475.

———— hill of annexed to British residency, v. 174.

SELIM, only son of Akbar, after a brief struggle ascends the throne, i.

SELIM assumes the names of Jehangir, Conqueror of the World, i. 29.

See Jehangir.

SENIOR, Mr., receives one lac twenty-two thousand rupees on elevation of Noojum-ad-Dowlah to musnud of Bengal, i. 473.

SERINGAPATAM, Tippoo retires with his main army to, ii. 404, 405.

_____ advance of Lord Cornwallis upon, ii. 422.

_____ plan and operation of attack upon by Lord Cornwallis, ii. 426—431.

_____ description of its strength, &c., ii. 465.

_____ closely invested on its two principal sides, preparations for siege, ii. 481.

_____ preparations suspended, ii. 490.

_____ retirement of British army from, ii. 511.

_____ British army under Gen. Harris appear before, iii. 43.

_____ taken by storm; account of conquest, iii. 48—51.

_____ account of loss sustained in capture, iii. 65.

_____ permanent command of intrusted to Col. Wellesley, iii. 67.

_____ fortress and island of transferred to East-India Company, iii. 81.

_____ documents and evidence of secret intercourse between Tippoo, Mahomet Ali, and son, found there, iii. 135.

_____ advantage of conquest of, iii. 287.

_____ discontent at, iv. 139.

SERINGHAM, French abandon their posts, and retreat thither with loss, i. 123.

_____ taken possession of by Capt. Dalton, French troops marched to Fort St. David, i. 136, 137.

_____ D'Autueil retires to, i. 272.

_____ taken by Crillon, i. 325.

SEVAJEE, Mahratta leader, son of Shahjee, i. 57.

_____ Aurungzebe opens a correspondence with, i. 57.

_____ proposes submission to Aurungzebe; a Brahmin dispatched to confer with him, i. 58.

_____ embraces the plan proposed by the Brahmin for getting rid of his employer, i. 58.

_____ treacherously kills Afzool Khan, i. 59.

- SEVAJEE, succession of disasters compels him to submit to Aurungzebe, his submission graciously received, invited to Delhi, permission promised him to return to the Deccan, i. 60.
- proceeds to Delhi, reception unsatisfactory, Emperor declines seeing him, i. 60.
- placed under restraint by Aurungzebe, effects his escape, i. 60.
- applies himself to establish his power and influence, procures from Aurungzebe recognition of his title of Rajah, i. 60.
- resumes his warlike habits, takes several important places, plunders Surat, i. 60, 61.
- fits out a powerful fleet to co-operate with his troops by land, determined to assume the style of an independent prince, i. 61.
- enthroned with the reverence and grandeur of eastern potentates, i. 61.
- continues his predatory system of warfare; Beejapoor and Golconda chief sufferers, i. 61.
- dies; is succeeded by his son Sumbhaje, i. 61.
- throne of restored by Marquis of Hastings, iv. 563.
- SEVERNDROOG (pirate fort on coast of Concan), attacked and captured by Commodore James, i. 182.
- SHAFTESBURY, Earl of, proposes to move that East-India Company be heard by counsel at bar of the House of Lords, v. 341.
- SHAH Allam (son of Aurungzebe) ordered with an army to Concan to reduce Mahratta forces on sea-coast, his army suffers from pestilence, compelled to return, i. 64.
- succeeds to the throne of his father, i. 68.
- Allum (Emperor) succeeds to the throne; defeats Ram Narrain at Patna, i. 383.
- defeated by Col. Calliaud, marches for Bengal, pursued by Col. Calliaud; returns to Patna, which he attacks without success, compelled to withdraw by arrival of Captain Knox, i. 383—385.
- defeated by Major Carnac, i. 415.
- accepts overture of Major Carnac; friendly intercourse with English established; confers khelaut on Meer Cossim, i. 415.

SHAH Allum (Emperor) saved by Major Carnac from death during insurrection in his camp; marches in direction of Oude, i. 416.

_____ in camp with vizier at Allahabad, i. 449.

_____ addresses a letter to Major Munro soliciting protection, i. 459.

_____ marches in same direction with English, and pitches his tent every night within short distance of British detachment, i. 459.

_____ seeks interview with Major Munro, and renews request, i. 459.

_____ is received under British protection, i. 460.

_____ reflections on his situation, i. 460.

_____ name of, employed by Vizier to extort money from Meer Cossim, i. 461.

_____ takes up his residence at Allahabad, i. 475.

_____ Clive meditates settlement with, i. 494.

_____ transfer of Vizier's dominions to, contemplated; transfer disapproved by Clive and Court of Directors, i. 494.

_____ compelled to abandon his claim to jaghire and arrears of tribute, i. 496.

_____ bestows Dewanny of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa on East-India Company, i. 496.

_____ his applications to English for assistance to enable him to march to Delhi meet with refusal, ii. 35.

_____ receives aid from the Mahrattas, ii. 35.

_____ transfers to Mahrattas districts assigned for his support by British government, British government resume the districts, ii. 35.

_____ payment of tribute to by British government discontinued; motives, ii. 35, 36.

_____ further particulars as to discontinuance of tribute; remarks, ii. 37, 38, *note*.

_____ territories of, ceded to vizier, ii. 38, 39.

_____ many years a suffering captive, remarks upon his life, iii. 321, 322.

_____ his audience with Gen. Lake, whose protection he solicits; his wretched state and fortune, iii. 324—326.

- SHAH Bay Khan (Pindarry), attaches himself to service of Scindia, iv. 406.
- Jehan succeeds to the throne; his cruelties, i. 32.
- prosecutes war in the Deccan, takes possession of several fortresses, extorts money or an acknowledgment of supremacy from various princes, i. 34.
- his intercourse with the Portuguese, i. 38.
- his revenge of the insult received from the Portuguese commander at Hooghly, i. 38.
- carries on warlike operations on a large scale, takes measures for subjugation of the Deccan, immense force collected, i. 39.
- delivers up country and people of the Deccan to fire and sword; one hundred and fifteen towns and castles taken, i. 40.
- compels the Kings of Beejapoor and Golconda to propitiate him by the most humiliating submissions, i. 40.
- Jehan grants commissions to Kings of Beejapoor and Golconda, after reducing them from the rank of sovereign, i. 40.
- afflicted with illness, government devolves upon Dara, his seal to be considered as valid as that of the Emperor, i. 43.
- recovers; Dara returns the government into his hands, i. 43.
- victory of Aurungzebe and Morad excites alarm in the court of, i. 44.
- made prisoner by Aurungzebe, i. 45.
- dies, suspicion entertained as to cause of his death, i. 56.
- Maddun, his testimony as to promise of vizier to give up bond of Hafiz Rehmud, ii. 42, *note*.
- SHAMLEE, arrival of Col. Burn there; he takes possession of a mud fort, his gallant defence, iii. 450.
- SHAMROW Madik, his designs in bringing Toolsee Bye to notice of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, iv. 484.
- SHAPOOREE, disputes with Burmese respecting, v. 8, 9, 10.
- SHEER, obtains imperial throne, i. 25.
- public works attributed to him, i. 25.
- death of succeeded by a struggle for the crown, i. 26.

SHEFFIELD, petition from, against exclusive trade of East-India Company, iv. 215, 216, *note*.

SHEORAJ lands in dispute with Nepaulese occupied by British government, iv. 260.

SHERIDAN, Right Hon. R. B., sums up evidence on charge against Hastings relating to Begums of Oude in an exciting speech, ii. 366.

SHIEL, Mr., moves a clause for extending support in India to Roman Catholic Church and others, withdraws it, v. 339.

SHIKARPOOR, captured by the English from Dhowndia Waugh, iii. 95.

SHIRZEE Rao Ghatgay, his atrocious character, origin of his appointment as Scindia's dewan, iii. 492, 493.

_____ dismissed and arrested by Scindia, released; his new career of intrigue and crime; his vengeance, pursuit of plunder, iii. 493, 494.

_____ repairs to Poona, sits in dhurna at the door of the minister, is inveigled into the house for the purpose of seizing him, but escapes, iii. 494, 495.

_____ his influence over Scindia, iii. 495.

_____ attacks Cheonee, iii. 498.

_____ his inveterate hatred of the British government, iii. 532.

_____ marches towards Bhurtpore, iii. 538.

_____ intimates to Lord Lake that he is dispatched to Bhurtpore to negotiate at request of British resident, iii. 539.

_____ solicits conference with Rajah of Bhurtpore, which is declined; returns to Weir, is joined by Holkar, iii. 540.

_____ Scindia precluded by treaty from employing him, iv. 51.

SHITABROY, accompanies Capt. Knox to Patna, i. 385.

_____ apprehended by W. Hastings, is acquitted, his death and its presumed causes, ii. 32.

SHOOJA, son of Shah Jekan, administers the government of Bengal, i. 43.

_____ advances towards the capital to claim the crown, i. 43.

_____ disbelieves report of the Emperor's recovery, continues to advance, is met by a force commanded by Soliman, son of Dara, and defeated, i. 43.

SHOOJA, besieged by Soliman, i. 44.

——— reinstated in government of Bengal, under promise of fidelity, i. 44.

——— solicits from Aurungzebe commission continuing him in the government of Bengal, i. 48.

——— takes the field at the head of a numerous army, marches on the capital, passes Allahabad, takes up a position thirty miles from that city, waits the approach of Aurungzebe, i. 48.

——— engages united army of Aurungzebe and Mohammed; his decisive defeat, i. 49.

——— report that he had fallen; flight becomes universal, i. 50.

——— flies in the direction of Bengal, pursued by Mohammed, i. 50.

——— bestows his daughter on Mohammed, son of Aurungzebe, i. 51.

——— Mohammed passes over to, after abandoning the cause of his father, i. 51.

——— his affections alienated from Mohammed by the detestable policy of Aurungzebe, i. 51.

——— yields no belief to protestations of Mohammed, i. 51.

——— suffers Mohammed to depart with his wife and vast amount of wealth, i. 52.

——— compelled to quit his dominions, seeks safety in Arracan, i. 53.

——— murdered with two sons; his wife and two daughters destroy themselves, i. 53.

SHOOJAH-AD-DOWLAH, remark of Major Munro on his generalship, i. 458.

——— Emperor's complaint against, i. 461.

——— his treatment of Meer Cossim, i. 461—468.

——— refuses to surrender Meer Cossim to the English, i. 464.

——— proposes to withdraw protection from Meer Cossim, and allow his escape; refuses to surrender Sumroo, but suggests a scheme for his assassination, i. 465, 466.

——— endeavours to get in rear of British army, attempt unsuccessful, continues to approach, i. 466.

——— agrees to pay 50 lacs of rupees for indemnification of war, i. 495.

SHOOJAH-AD-DOWLAH, is desirous of obtaining aid of English government in invading Dooab and attacking Rohillas, ii. 39.

————— various accounts of his transactions with the Rohillas, ii. 39, *note*.

————— his indecision of conduct, lays claim to assistance of British government; his dastardly pusillanimity; refuses Col. Champion use of cannon, and urges him to decline the fight, ii. 46.

————— promises to assist Col. Champion, but remains inactive till news of the enemy's defeat reaches him; then pushes into the camp and carries off immense plunder, ii. 46, 47.

————— placed in possession of conquered territory, ii. 47.

————— begins to diminish his debt; his health declines, his death; is succeeded by his son Azoff-al-Dowlah, ii. 65.

See also Oude and Vizier.

SHORE, Mr., recommends inquiry before declaring land settlement in Bengal perpetual, ii. 524.

————— his view of the information required before concluding permanent settlement, ii. 530, *note*.

————— Sir John, succeeds Lord Cornwallis as Gov.-Gen.; his character, &c., ii. 549.

————— his attention directed to circumstances and position of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, ii. 549.

————— his policy as Gov.-Gen., ii. 552, 553.

————— addresses Nizam without effect, on his encouragement of the French, ii. 544.

————— the effects of his ultra pacific policy, ii. 554.

————— dispatches assistance to put down rebellion of Ali Jah, ii. 555.

————— his fear of offending the Mahrattas, ii. 556.

————— compelled to depart from his ordinary policy; interposes to put down rebellion following the death of Fyzoolla Khan, ii. 559.

————— recognizes title of Vizier Ali to musnud of Oude, ii. 560.

————— report reaches him hostile to claims of Vizier Ali

SHORE, Sir John, proceeds to Oude, his meeting with Hussein Reza Khan, results of meeting, ii. 561, 562.

————— result of his investigations of claims of Vizier Ali, ii. 562, 563.

————— effect produced on his mind by evidence which he collected relative to birth of Vizier Ali, ii. 564, 565.

————— presumed causes of his apathy to the question of the right of succession to the throne of Oude, ii. 567.

————— his account of the succession of intrigues which followed the death of Azoff-al-Dowlah, ii. 568—572.

————— characteristic remark of, as to his own inclinations, ii. 570.

————— his views as to the government of Oude, ii. 570—572.

————— discussion by, of the question of supporting the claim of Saadut Ali, ii. 572, 573.

————— his personal objection to acting against Vizier Ali overcome by sense of public duty, ii. 575, 576.

————— is elevated to Irish peerage by title of Lord Teignmouth, and quits India, ii. 576.

SHULDHAM, Gen., attempts to march force through Cachar and Manipur to the Burmese frontier; undertaking abandoned, v. 60.

SHUMSHEER Bahadur, submission of, iii. 372.

————— articles and conditions of his submission, iii. 372—375.

SIAMESE, treaty concluded with by British government, v. 101.

————— illustration of the jealousy of, v. 103.

————— possession of Queda secured to Siamese by treaty concluded with Lord Amherst, v. 189, 190.

————— territories of King of Queda invaded by, and quickly subdued, v. 193.

————— expelled from capital of Queda by Tuanko Kudir, v. 196, 197.

————— cruelty and oppression of, excite universal hatred, v. 197.

————— aided by blockading force of English, repossess themselves of Queda, v. 200.

————— measures taken by British government and its agents to conciliate, v. 199, 200.

- SIBBALD, Capt., killed by a cannon-shot in command of party at siege of Seringapatam (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 477.
- SIBLEY, Capt., killed in Nepaul war, iv. 299.
- SINFRAY (French officer in service of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah) advances with guns at battle of Plassy, i. 239.
- finding himself unsupported, retires, i. 241.
- SINGAPORE, rights of Dutch government there ceded to English, v. 169, 170.
- its commercial advantages, v. 171.
- its situation under native rule, v. 171.
- factory erected at by English, v. 171.
- cession to East-India Company of rights of native princes in, v. 172.
- SLEIGH, Gen., intercepts the escape of, and secures Doorjun Saul (second siege of Bhurtpore), v. 158.
- SMITH, Adam, remarks on his claim to the discovery of the principles usually ascribed to him, iv. 210.
- influence of the school of, iv. 213.
- remarks of Mr. C. Grant on his objection to the union of governor and merchant, iv. 237.
- Capt., his answer to D'Autueil's demand of surrender of Trichinopoly, i. 270.
- draws out part of the garrison of Trichinopoly to protect reinforcement, i. 271.
- takes Gingee, i. 359.
- Col. A., supports Clive in repressing mutinous movement, i. 512.
- Col. Joseph, his suspicions of Nizam Ali, his opinion of the intentions of Nizam Ali and Hyder Ali; his want of acquaintance with the country subjects him to surprise, i. 546.
- attacked by Hyder Ali, whom he defeats, moves to Trinomaly, is joined by Col. Wood, his expectation of finding stores disappointed, removes his troops eastward, i. 547.
- discovers stores subterraneously concealed, efficiency of his troops increased, attacked by the enemy, struggle ensues for possession of a hill, i. 548, 549.
- half-encircled by Hyder Ali's force, turns his guns

upon enemy's cavalry, who fly in confusion, forty-one pieces of artillery captured, i. 550, 551.

SMITH, Col. Joseph, follows Hyder Ali, who retires, secret communication opened with by Nizam Ali, i. 553.

_____ surrender of Kistnagherry to, i. 557.

_____ takes means for effectually meeting an expected attack of Hyder Ali, which are rendered unnecessary by Hyder's retirement, i. 560.

_____ proceeds to the presidency, i. 565.

_____ lays before government Major Fitzgerald's report relating to Col. Wood, i. 566.

_____ returns to the field, watches movements of Hyder Ali, i. 572.

_____ Col., attacks pagoda of Kyloo without success (Burmese war), v. 34.

_____ Cornet, charges round base of hill at battle of Seebabuldee, iv. 474.

_____ Gen., British army reinforced by his arrival at Bhurtpore (first siege), iii. 467.

_____ his pursuit of Ameer Khan, iii. 471.

_____ summoned by Mr. Elphinstone, arrives at Poona, iv. 441.

_____ resolves upon reducing Sattara and effecting junction with Gen. Pritzler, which objects are effected, iv. 502.

_____ resumes pursuit of Peishwa; defeats Peishwa's army, iv. 502, 503.

_____ Mr., voted acting president at Madras, ii. 249.

_____ Culling, receives one lac and thirty thousand rupees after elevation of Meer Cossim, i. 402.

_____ W., his remarks on propagation of Christianity in India, iv. 246, *note*.

SNEYD, Capt., with Gov.-Gen.'s body-guard, charges amongst elephants (Burmese war), v. 54.

SNODGRASS, Major, his account of the operation of the Burmese, their mode of approach and of throwing up retrenchments, v. 42, 43, *note*.

_____ his accounts of rafts dispatched to drive British vessels from their station (Burmese war), v. 44, *note*.

SNODGRASS, Major, his account of the critical situation of the British army at Rangoon, v. 46, 47.

———— his description of Donobew, v. 53, *note*.

———— striking instance of the energy of Burmese discipline related by, v. 54, *note*.

———— his account of meeting and conference between King of Ava's ministers and Sir A. Campbell, v. 67—69, *note*.

———— his account of female warriors aiding the Burmese, v. 71, *note*.

———— his description of the horrors of the march of the British army through the Burmese country, v. 73, 74, *note*.

———— his statement as to the King of Ava's want of confidence in the good faith of the British, v. 82, *note*.

———— his opinion on the policy of abstaining from the occupation of Ava, v. 96, 97, *note*.

SOLIMAN, son of Dara, with a force meets Shooja, and defeats him, i. 43.

———— besieges Shooja, i. 44.

———— marches to effect a junction with Dara, advancing against Aurungzebe and Morad, i. 44.

———— unable to effect the junction with Dara, i. 46.

———— abandoned by greater part of his army, i. 47.

———— falls into the hands of Aurungzebe, i. 56.

SOODRA, Hindoo caste, account of, i. 7, 8, *note*.

SOOLABGUE falls into the hands of the English, i. 346.

SOORAJ-OO-DOWLAH succeeds Aliverdi Khan as soubahdar of Bengal, i. 184.

———— his unhappy character and education, i. 185.

———— his hatred of the English, i. 186.

———— addresses letter to President of Calcutta requiring Kishindoss to be given up; messenger dismissed without answer, i. 186, 187.

———— requires the English to desist from strengthening their fortifications; enraged by the answer received; presents himself in arms before English factory at Cossimbazar, which surrenders, i. 187.

———— advances on Calcutta, refuses to accept sum of money tendered to induce him to retire, i. 189.

- SOORAJ-OO-DOWLAH enters Calcutta, assures Mr. Holwell that no harm shall come to the prisoners, i. 192.
- _____ confines one hundred and forty-six persons in the Blackhole, results, i. 193—196.
- _____ subsequent conduct of, i. 196.
- _____ his absurd conception of the importance of his conquest, i. 200.
- _____ his disappointment as to booty, i. 201, 202.
- _____ leaves garrison in Calcutta and departs, sends hostile messages to French and Dutch to replenish his treasury, i. 202.
- _____ receiving news of approach of English force, orders his whole army to assemble at Moorshedabad, i. 203, 204.
- _____ advances towards Calcutta after its recapture by the English, desires deputies from English camp to be sent to him, i. 208, 209.
- _____ attacked by Clive, retires ; negotiations, treaty concluded, i. 210.
- _____ forbids advance of British force against French settlement of Chandernagore, i. 214.
- _____ holds correspondence with the French, i. 215.
- _____ assists the French with money and prepares to assist them with troops ; alarmed by intelligence of Affghan invasion of Delhi, i. 217.
- _____ his answer to letter from Admiral Watson, i. 219.
- _____ assumes an appearance of cordiality towards the English, sends letters of congratulation to Clive and Watson on the success of the English at Chandernagore, but protects the French, i. 222, 223.
- _____ corresponds with Bussy and urges him to repair to the relief of his countrymen, i. 223.
- _____ his letter addressed to Bussy, i. 223, 224, *note*.
- _____ his unfriendly conduct towards the English and attempt to evade the pecuniary provisions of the treaty, i. 224.
- _____ his universal unpopularity, i. 225.
- _____ reinforces large division of his army lying at Plassy, i. 228.

SOORAJ-OO-DOWLAH hesitates to withdraw his army, but finally yields, i. 229.

_____ prepares to attack palace of Meer Jaffier, abandons hostilities, invites Meer Jaffier to a conference, and is satisfied of his fidelity, i. 232.

_____ addresses a letter of defiance to Clive, and orders his whole army to assemble at Plassy, i. 232, 233.

_____ his army discovered in motion, i. 238, 239.

_____ general cannonading commences from his artillery, i. 240.

_____ sends for Meer Jaffier and implores his assistance, receives from him advice which he follows, i. 242.

_____ flies with rapidity, i. 243.

_____ wanders through the country, i. 245.

_____ made prisoner by Meer Cossim, is taken to Moorshedabad, treated with great indignity and cruelty, and finally murdered, i. 246, 247.

_____ remarks on the conduct of the British authorities towards him, i. 263—265.

SOTHEY, Mr., assistant at Nagpore, his noble conduct and honourable death at the battle of Seetabuldee, iv. 475.

SOUPIRES, Marquis de, holds chief military command in French expedition, i. 274.

_____ receives command of French force from Lally, remains inactive, i. 296.

SPAIN, Manilla restored to at general peace, i. 523.

_____ court of, resist payment of ransom stipulated for at surrender of Manilla, i. 523, *note*.

SPENCER, Mr., occupies the chair at Calcutta in place of Mr. Vansittart; his fortune improved thereby, i. 472.

_____ ceases to be head of British government at Bengal, i. 475.

STABLES, Capt., proceeds to vizier's camp, rejects the proposal of vizier for murder of Sumroo, and an offer of a bribe to himself, i. 465, 466.

STAUNTON, Capt., attacked by Peishwa's infantry at Corygaum, gallant defence of; compels enemy to abandon village, and retires to

Seroor, which he enters with drums beating and colours flying, iv. 500, 501.

STAUNTON, Capt., services of, acknowledged by grant from East-India Company, iv. 501, *note*.

STAUNTON, Sir George, motion of, relating to China trade, v. 315.

STEDMAN, Lieut. J. O., drives a large body of enemy from stockade (Burmese war), v. 28.

————— Capt. J. O., killed in attack upon Sitang, v. 81.

STEWART, Capt., death of (expedition from Bombay in support of Rugonath Row), ii. 177.

————— high character of, by Capt. Duff, ii. 177, *note*.

————— Col., succeeds in attack at siege of Malligaum, is joined by Major Macbean, their united force obtain possession of the entire town (Pindarrie and Mahratta war), iv. 550.

————— Mr., vouches for Col. Maclean's authority to tender Hastings's resignation, ii. 96.

STEVENS, Adm., arrives at Fort St. David, i. 277.

STEVENSON, Col., ordered to march to Gardoor (war under Marquis Wellesley with Mahrattas), iii. 288.

————— takes Asseergurh, iii. 332.

————— marches for Assye, obtains possession of several fortresses, iii. 341, 342.

————— prepares to attack Gawilghur, marches to Bellepoor, joined by convoy; joins Gen. Wellesley at Parterly, iii. 345—347.

————— breaks ground and erects batteries against Gawilghur, iii. 351, 352.

STRACHEY, Mr., curious particulars respecting state of society in Rohilcund, communicated by, iv. 352—358.

————— views of confirmed by report of commissioners, iv. 358.

————— W., curious illustrations of the state of native society and feelings in statement of to Register of the Nizamut Adawlut at Calcutta, v. 187—189, *note*.

STRATTON (member of Madras government), suspended by Lord Pigot, ii. 202.

————— prosecuted by Attorney-General, convicted; his sentence, ii. 212, 213.

ST. DAVID, Fort. *See* Fort St. David.

ST. DENIS (Isle of Bourbon), captured by British force, iv. 152.

————— ordnance found at, loss sustained in conquest of, iv. 154.

ST. LEGER, Col., march of cavalry under (war with Mahrattas under Marquis Wellesley), iii. 312.

————— his brilliant success in Travancore, iv. 127, 128.

————— his reprehensible conduct in regard to the discontent in the army of Madras, iv. 134.

————— suspension of, iv. 138.

ST. LUBIN, Chevalier, his intrigues, ii. 174, 175.

ST. PAUL's (Isle of Bourbon), ordnance found at, iv. 154.

ST. SUSANNE, Col. (commandant in Isle of Bourbon), escapes with difficulty, iv. 152.

————— allowed to depart to France or Mauritius on parole, iv. 153.

ST. THOME (near Madras) taken possession of by Admiral Boscawen, i. 79.

STUART, Col., supported by majority of board for appointment as British resident at Tanjore, in opposition to the governor, Lord Pigot; disputes concerning, ii. 201, 202.

————— detached to attack Palligaut, falls back without effecting object, attacks Dindigul, which surrenders to him (Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo), ii. 407.

————— returns to Coimbatore, again dispatched to attack Palligaut, which capitulates, ii. 408.

————— prepares to resist Mahrattas, mistaken for Tippoo's cavalry, ii. 435.

————— lays siege to Savandroog, which is carried, ii. 450—453.

————— assumes command of all British troops on the island of Seringapatam; attacked by enemy, ii. 476.

————— favours escape of prisoners of Tippoo confined by him in violation of treaty, ii. 509, *note*.

————— Gen., command of army of Madras devolves on, by departure of Sir Eyre Coote, ii. 270.

————— refuses to march against enemy after death of Hyder Ali, ii. 272, 273.

- STUART, Gen., his differences with Lord Macartney; points in which they agreed, ii. 273.
- attacks French under M. Bussy with success, ii. 274.
- requests that corps under Col. Fullarton be placed under his orders, request complied with reluctantly; gives instructions to Col. Fullarton which are at variance with those of the government, ii. 278.
- his conduct gives offence at presidency; he is summoned to repair thither and dismissed; expresses intention to retain command of King's troops; is arrested and kept prisoner till sent to England, ii. 279.
- engaged in a duel with Lord Macartney, wounds the latter, grounds for duel, ii. 386, 387, *note*.
- ascends into Coorg with army from coast of Malabar (last war with Tippoo Sultan), iii. 39.
- dispatches battalion to strengthen brigade of Col. Montresor, iii. 39.
- marches to aid Col. Montresor, and defeats division of enemy, iii. 40.
- description by the Rajah of Coorg of the battle fought by, iii. 41, *note*.
- marches with Bombay army from Seringapatam, iii. 69.
- his instructions from Lord Clive as to march of British troops into Mahratta country, iii. 286.
- Hon. Frederick, proposed as resident at Oude by Hastings, majority of Council refuse to concur, ii. 89.
- Mr. (Secretary to council of Bengal), action brought by against his successor, Mr. Auriol; extraordinary proceedings arising from, ii. 134, *note*.
- Mr. John, his testimony to fairness of report of committee of House of Commons on affairs of East-India Company, v. 271.
- SUFFREIN, M., French fleet under, encountered by Sir E. Hughes, who captures six vessels; lands at Porto Novo three thousand men; overtaken by Sir Edward Hughes, sanguinary battle; results of, ii. 266—277.
- again engaged by Sir E. Hughes without decisive re-

- sults, takes Trincomalee ; another indecisive engagement, returns to Cuddalore ; his character as a naval commander, ii. 268.
- SUFFREIN, M., proposes cartel for exchange of prisoners to Lord Macartney, proposal referred to Sir E. Coote, who wishes English prisoners in custody of Hyder Ali to be included ; proposal rejected, ii. 268.
- lands prisoners at Cuddalore, and transfers them to Hyder Ali ; his countrymen interpose in vain, ii. 268, 269.
- another action of with English fleet without decided advantage to either party, ii. 274, 275.
- SULIVAN, Mr., (Director of East-India Company), contest of with Clive, i. 476, 477.
- expresses himself ready to co-operate with Clive, i. 480.
- secures his election against Clive's interest by majority of one, i. 481, 482.
- produces counter-proposals to be submitted to ministers instead of those of Directors ; is defeated on a ballot, ii. 6.
- Right Hon. John, his claims for money upon Oparrow, ii. 243, *note*.
- SUMBHAJEE succeeds Sevajee, i. 61.
- receives Akbar with distinction after his flight, i. 63.
- Mahratta power declines in the hands of ; abandoned to sensual indulgence, i. 64.
- plan laid to obtain possession of his person executed with success, he is tortured and publicly beheaded, i. 65.
- SUMNER, Mr., after elevation of Meer Cossim, receives two lacs and twenty-four thousand repees, i. 402.
- questioned as to circumstances of country when payment of Meer Cossim's bounty was made, his answer, i. 402.
- dismissed service for signing offensive letter to Court of Directors ; restored, i. 483, *note*.
- SUMROO undertakes the murder of the European prisoners of Meer Cossim, carries it into effect, i. 447, 448.
- account of, and remark of native historian on his conduct, i. 447, 448, *note*.
- his delivery demanded by the English as a condition of peace with vizier, i. 451.

- SUMROO heads the mutinous troops of Meer Cossim, i. 462.
- refuses to furnish cannon, arms, and accoutrements demanded by Meer Cossim, and enters service of vizier, i. 463.
 - his assassination proposed by vizier, i. 465, 466.
 - the formal infliction of the punishment of death upon, demanded by British government, i. 474.
 - seeks a new service on vizier's flight before English, i. 475.
- SURAT taken by Sevajee and plundered, i. 61.
- station at established by East-India Company for the trade of the Indian continent, i. 73.
 - superseded as Company's station by Bombay, i. 74.
 - Nabob of claims tribute from Nabob of Broach, ii. 156.
 - commercial importance of, iii. 104.
 - inhabitants of invite English to take possession of castle and fleet, iii. 103.
 - defence of transferred to English, iii. 106.
 - remarks on the transaction, iii. 106—109.
 - British government determine to assume entire civil and military administration of, iii. 111.
 - abuses prevailing there, iii. 111, 112.
 - review of events there, iii. 113, 114.
 - new arrangements at embodied in treaty, iii. 114, 115.
- SUTHERLAND (Englishman of that name), commands brigade of French force under De Boigne in service of Scindia, iii. 309.
- aspires to succeed De Boigne in chief command, iii. 309.
- SWAINSTON, Lieut., wounded at victory of Corygaum, iv. 502.
- Capt., makes Trimbuckjee Dainglia prisoner, iv. 564.
 - Mr., assistant to collector at Midnapore, rule granted against by Supreme Court of Calcutta, ii. 144.
- SWARTZ (Missionary) requested to assist British commissioners at camp of Tippoo Sultan as interpreter, ii. 285.
- his remark to Col. Fullarton respecting Tippoo, ii. 285.
 - forcibly prevented from joining the commissioners, ii. 287, *note.*
- SYAGEE succeeds to the throne of Tanjore; his authority but nominal, afterwards deprived of name and power of a sovereign, i. 80. *note.*

SYDENHAM, Capt., his report of remarks made by the Peishwa on the character of the Mahrattas, iii. 556, *note*.

———— his statement of the conduct of the Pindarries and the governments they serve, iv. 406.

SYED Ahmed (Mahometan reformer), his doctrines, and effects of their propagation, v. 179.

SYEF-AL-DOWLAH succeeds his brother Noojum-ad-Dowlah as Nabob of Bengal, i. 515.

———— death of, succeeded by Mobarik-al-Dowlah, ii. 31.

SYKES, Col., opinion of, concerning the prevalence of the Bhuddist religion in India, i. 4, *note*.

———— Mr., testifies to recognition of Meerun's son by Meer Jaffier, i. 467, *note*.

SYMES, Col., his mission to Ava, v. 4.

SYMONDS, Ensign, at Cawnpore, advances to reconnoitre, is challenged by the enemy, answers in French, and being mistaken for a French officer is suffered to pass, i. 119, 120.

———— makes necessary observations, returns, rejoins his detachment, results of his information, i. 120.

SYRIAN and Bactrian dynasties, monarchs of, governed the provinces bordering on the Indus for two centuries, i. 10.

TAGÉPORE, party of British sepoy at, attacked by body of Meer Cosim's horse, i. 438.

TALNIER, fort of attacked (Pindarrie and Mahratta war), iv. 507.

———— ambiguity of circumstances attending the attack, iv. 507—509.

———— fort taken, garrison put to the sword, iv. 509.

———— killadar of hanged, by order of Sir T. Hislop, iv. 509.

———— defence of the act by the Marquis of Hastings and Sir Thomas Hislop, iv. 511—525, *note*.

———— examination of the defence, iv. 525—532.

TALYNE, fort of, attacked and captured by Capt. J. Grant (Pindarrie and Mahratta war), iv. 486.

TANJORE, throne of, claimed by Mahratta Prince, who solicits the aid of the English, which is granted, i. 79, 80.

———— British expedition dispatched against, difficulties and dis-

asters, British troops return to Fort St. David, new expedition fitted out; Devi Cottah taken, arrangement made with the reigning sovereign, i. 81.

TANJORE invaded by Chunda Sahib, relieved by advance of Nazeer Jung, i. 86.

———— Lally approaches to enforce payment of a bond; alarm; negotiation, treaty concluded; fresh disputes, i. 279, 280.

———— city of, besieged by Lally; siege raised, Lally attacked, but defeats assailants, retreat of French from, 280—282.

———— involved in hostilities with government of Madras, peace concluded; hostilities recommenced, and again terminated, ii. 27, 28.

———— war with; Rajah of, made prisoner; the country transferred to Mahomet Ali, ii. 30.

———— conquest of, and deposition of Rajah, condemned by Court of Directors; Lord Pigot instructed to restore the Rajah, ii. 199.

———— disputed succession to the throne of, iii. 97—102.

———— adopted heir of deceased Rajah placed on throne by Earl of Mornington, iii. 103.

———— British government assume entire civil and military administration of, iii. 103, 104.

TANNAH, taken by storm by the English, ii. 160.

TARAGURH, capture of (Nepaul war), iv. 281.

TAYLER, Mr., arrives at Calcutta to represent to government of Bengal necessity of giving support to government of Bombay, in the war undertaken in support of Rugonath Row, ii. 166.

TEGNAPATAM, purchased by Company from a native prince, fortified, becomes an important station under the name of Fort St. David, i. 74.

TEIGNMOUTH, Lord, his retirement from the office of Gov.-Gen., is succeeded by Lord Mornington, iii. 1.

———— his view of the position of the British government in India, iii. 2.

———— reference to his being selected for office of Gov.-Gen. with approbation of Ministers of the Crown, iv. 103.

See also Shore, Mr. and Sir John.

TELLICHERY, brave defence of, reinforcements arrive at under Major Abington, siege raised, ii. 264, 265.

TEMPLE, Earl, admits in the House of Lords, that the king had honoured him with a conference in which he gave certain advice, which he would not divulge, ii. 349.

————— result of interview of, with the king, in the defeat of the coalition ministry on the India Bill, ii. 349.

————— seals of office delivered to, ii. 350.

TEMPLETON, Lieut., his gallant conduct and fall, at the siege of Bhurt-pore, iii. 475.

TERRAIE, ravaged by and falls into hands of enemy (Nepaul war), iv. 302.

THACKERAY, Lieut., gallant charge made by, to cover retreat of British force from unsuccessful attack on stockade near Jyetuck; his death (Nepaul war), iv. 278.

THAKIA WOONGYEE, dispatched to take chief command of Burmese army, with distinct orders to attack the British, v. 27.

THIAGUR, capitulates to Major Preston, i. 359.

THOMPSON, Lieut.-Col. W. A., movement of leads to the abandonment by the enemy of all positions to left of Ramgurh (Nepaul war), iv. 287, 288.

————— Mr. Powlett, his remarks in Parliament on the conduct of Mr. Bright on the East-India question, v. 263.

————— defends duties imposed in Great Britain on productions of India, v. 339.

THONGBA WOONGHEE (Burmese commander), killed in flight by one of his own people, v. 94, *note*.

THORN, Major, his description of the miseries of the march of Lord Lake's army, after abandonment of the pursuit of Holkar, iii. 426 —428, *note*.

————— his remark on the effect of Lord Lake's surprise of Holkar's camp, iii. 454.

————— his account of the inspection of the ditch at Bhurt-pore, iii. 468, *note*.

THORNTON, Mr. R., his observations in Parliament on the American trade with China, iv. 222, *note*.

————— opposes motion of Lord Castlereagh for substituting select committee for committee of whole house, on affairs of East-India Company, iv. 229.

TIERNEY, Mr. his observations on the privileges of East-India Company, iv. 241.

TIMANY, summoned by Clive to surrender, yields, i. 113.

TIMINS, Capt., pecuniary and honorary rewards bestowed on him by East-India Company, Court of Directors, and patriotic fund, iii. 377, 378, *note*.

TIMOUR, his origin, i. 18, 19.

——— crosses the Indus, advances towards Delhi, i. 20.

——— puts to death, in cold blood, nearly one hundred thousand prisoners, i. 20.

——— enters Delhi, and proclaims himself emperor; massacre and pillage follow, i. 21.

——— returns to the capital of his Tartar dominions, i. 21.

——— his authority virtually ceases on his departure, i. 22.

TINLEY PASS, seizure of, by Col. G. Carpenter (Nepaul war), iv. 270.

TIPPOO, Sultan, force dispatched under, by Hyder Ali, to frustrate junction between Sir H. Munro and Col. Baillie, ii. 228.

——— attacks Col. Baillie unsuccessfully, ii. 229.

——— makes assault upon Arcot, is repulsed, ii. 247.

——— renews siege of Wandewash, failure of attempt at escalade, confusion of his troops, indications of mutiny, decamps from Wandewash, ii. 260.

——— surrounds army of Col. Braithwaite, which he destroys, ii. 265.

——— compels Col. Humberstone to retreat; sudden departure of, eastward, caused by death of Hyder Ali, ii. 271.

——— his arrival in his father's camp, and assumption of sovereignty, ii. 272.

——— returns from Carnatic, obtains possession of Bednore by capitulation; charges English officers with plundering, marches them off in irons; besieges Mangalore; embarrassed by loss of his French allies; consents to armistice, ii. 277, 278.

——— disregards stipulations of convention, ii. 280, 281.

——— British commissioners proceed to court of, to negotiate, ii. 283.

——— agents of, demand that surrender of Mangalore should precede release of English prisoners; Mr. Staunton refuses to comply, his view adopted by government, ii. 284, 285.

- TIPPOO, Sultan, murder of Gen. Mathews and British prisoners by, ii. 286.
- arrogance and insolence of, encouraged by the timid submission of Madras government; treaty signed with, ii. 288, 289.
- atrocious treatment of English prisoners by; Capt. Rumley, Lieut. Fraser, Lieut. Sampson, Gen. Mathews, and many others, perish in captivity of, ii. 291, 292.
- treaty with disapproved by government of Bengal; reasons, ii. 293.
- receives favourably the proposal of Nizam for alliance; requires the connection to be cemented by intermarriage; Nizam refuses, ii. 391.
- excluded from list of British allies delivered to Nizam, ii. 394.
- affords grounds for apprehension to the British government, ii. 394.
- Sir John Malcolm's opinion that precautionary policy on the part of the British government was necessary to frustrate the ambitious designs of, ii. 396.
- meditates conquest or dismemberment of Travancore, ii. 397.
- endeavours to prevail on the Zamorin of Calicut to invade Travancore, in prosecution of antiquated claims, ii. 397.
- seeks assistance of the Rajah of Cochin, instigates him to reclaim territory on which lines of Travancore formed, ii. 397.
- is warned that any act of aggression upon Travancore will be regarded by English government as violation of treaty; professes desire to maintain relations of amity, ii. 398.
- commences march in direction of Travancore; remonstrates against transfer of two forts from the Dutch to the Rajah of Travancore; falsehood of the grounds of remonstrance, ii. 398, 399.
- marches to attack lines of Travancore, troops defending them retreat; a sudden attack throws the assailants into confusion; panic and disorderly flight ensue, ii. 400.

TIPPOO, Sultan, numbers of his troops perish, he is thrown down in the struggle, bearers of his palanquin trampled to death, is rescued by vigorous exertions of his followers, but sustains serious injuries, ii. 400.

———— arrival and assumption of office as governor of Madras by Gen. Medows formally announced to, his answer to the announcement, ii. 403.

———— further correspondence of, with Gen. Medows, ii. 404.

———— on receiving decisive communication from Gen. Medows, retires with his main army to Seringapatam, ii. 404, 405.

———— remarks on his character, ii. 405, 406.

———— cruelty exercised on the Nairs by, ii. 408.

———— defends with his army the pass of Gueghutty, ii. 409.

———— action of, with English, ii. 409, 410.

———— withdraws his army; on Col. Floyd's retreat, orders his troops to be put in motion for pursuit, ii. 410, 411.

———— hears of death of Burkar-oo-deen, draws off his army, ii. 411.

———— evades general action, repossesses himself of Sattimungul, Erood, and Daraporam; alarmed by progress of English army, in Bramahal, dispatches force there, ii. 412.

———— makes overtures of negotiation; seeks assistance from French governor at Pondicherry; moves to defence of passes into his territories, ii. 413.

———— astonished and irritated at result of attack on Bangalore, gives orders to killadar of fort to recover possession of the Pettah at all risks, unsuccessful attempt for the purpose, ii. 414, 415.

———— encounters army of Lord Cornwallis, with difficulty effects his escape, ii. 420.

———— his apprehension at approach of Lord Cornwallis; orders removal of treasure, harem, and families of officers to Chittledroog; abandons intention on advice of his mother, ii. 424.

———— causes caricatures of English in Seringapatam to be

- obliterated ; murders twenty English youths and other prisoners, ii. 425.
- TIPPOO, Sultan, attacked and defeated by Lord Cornwallis, ii. 429—431.
- good conduct of his infantry, ii. 432, 433.
- rapid movements of his cavalry, his troops intercept messengers dispatched to Col. Stuart, ii. 435.
- further proofs of his perfidy and cruelty, ii. 439, 440.
- his mission to Constantinople ; results of the mission, ii. 442, 443.
- congratulates his officers on the infatuation of the English in attacking Savandroog, ii. 450.
- affected the reputation of a man of science ; his library, ii. 468, *note*.
- learns that his camp is penetrated by the English ; flies into the city ; his narrow escape, ii. 473, 474.
- desertions from him of natives and Europeans, ii. 475.
- greatly disappointed by his ill success, passionately demands if he has no faithful servants to retrieve his honour, ii. 478.
- convenes his principal officers, exhorts them to make a bold effort to drive English from the island of Seringapatam, and recover the tomb of Hyder Ali, ii. 480.
- resolves to renew attempt at negotiation, employs English prisoners as instruments of appeal to Governor-General, ii. 482, 483.
- sends letters to Governor-General by Lieuts. Chalmers and Nash, his false assertions, ii. 483, 484.
- forcibly dispossesses Lieut. Chalmers of counterpart of articles of capitulation of Coimbatore, ii. 484, 485.
- attempts to deprive the English camp of water, defeated, ii. 488.
- endeavours unsuccessfully to drive English posts to greater distance, ii. 489.
- submits to the demands of the allies ; conditions ; his appeal to his officers, whether it should be peace or war ;

signs articles and dispatches them to Lord Cornwallis, ii. 491, 492.

TIPPOO, Sultan, disregards stipulation for cessation of hostilities, ii. 493.

————— his two sons dispatched as hostages to the British camp; their reception by Lord Cornwallis; graceful appeal of head vakeel, who accompanied them to the British general, ii. 496.

————— orders royal salutes to be fired in testimony of his satisfaction at the reception of his sons, ii. 497.

————— forwards crore of rupees in partial payment of the sum stipulated in preliminaries, ii. 497.

————— rage of, on learning the demand of the English for the surrender of Coorg; questions in relation to it, ii. 501.

————— his insolent answer to the remonstrances of Lord Cornwallis against his continuance of hostile operations, in violation of subsisting arrangements, ii. 502.

————— remonstrates against breach of armistice by Mah-rattas, ii. 504.

————— ratifies the treaty, ii. 505.

————— his shameful infraction of former treaty in regard to inhabitants of Coromandel, ii. 509.

————— his vengeance and mutilation of prisoners, ii. 509, 510.

————— his plans to provide for contributions required by treaty, ii. 511.

————— restoration of hostage princes to; his councillors' opinion on admittance of British officer to his presence; his reception of his sons, ii. 514.

————— untameable hostility of; seeks means for regaining his lost power and influence; his intrigues; co-operation of French officers, Hyderabad, iii. 6, 7.

————— dispatches an embassy to France; his mission fails, iii. 7, 8.

————— disgraces his ambassadors; makes communications through agency of government of Mauritius, iii. 9.

————— overture to, from master of French privateer; his arrangement with, iii. 10, 11.

- TIPPOO, Sultan, his credulity, iii. 111.
- dispatches embassy to Mauritius, iii. 12.
- reception of his ambassadors, iii. 12, 13.
- his letters transferred from Mauritius to France, iii. 13.
- his probable disappointment at the number and character of the force received from the Mauritius, iii. 14.
- encourages Jacobin club, and becomes a member of it, iii. 15.
- preparations of the Earl of Mornington for attacking him, iii. 23.
- allowed time for concession; his disputes between Rajah of Coorg; Governor-General addresses letters to, his answers, iii. 34, 35.
- his assent to mission of a British officer to his court, iii. 37.
- his frivolous letter, iii. 37, *note*.
- attacks the British line at Sedasseer, and is defeated, iii. 40.
- his efforts directed to resist advance of Gen. Harris, iii. 41.
- is defeated by Gen. Harris at Mallavelly; he retires, iii. 42.
- is deceived by route taken by Gen. Harris; his despondent exclamation; demands the determination of his principal officers; their reply, iii. 42, 43.
- his tardy overture to negotiate, replies to, iii. 45.
- purport of his letter to Gen. Harris, with reply to, iii. 44.
- articles of negotiation proposed to, by Gen. Harris, iii. 45, 46.
- returns no answer to demands of Gen. Harris, iii. 46, 47.
- dispatches reply to Gen. Harris's proposals; offers of Gen. Harris, ii. 47.
- passes through an agony of grief into silent stupor, iii. 48.

- TIPPOO, Sultan, continuation of operations against ; his capital taken ; discovery of his lifeless body, iii. 51—60.
- _____ circumstances of his death, iii. 62—64.
- _____ burial of, iii. 64, 65.
- _____ his library and private papers fall into the hands of captors ; their nature, iii. 66, 67.
- _____ distribution of his conquered dominions, iii. 71—77.
- _____ his intrigues with Mahomet Ali and Ormdut-ul-Omrah, iii. 130—136.
- _____ extravagant revenue placed at disposal of sons of, iv. 70.
- _____ two sons of, implicated in atrocities at Vellore, iv. 72.
- _____ family of, removed to Bengal, retrenchment of allowances to, iv. 81.
- TITTOO MEER.—*See* Meer Niser Alee, v. 179.
- TOD, Capt., instructed to open negotiation with Toolsee Bhye, iv. 485.
- TONDIMAN, men furnished by, in aid of the cause of Mahomet Ali, at Trichinopoly, i. 269.
- TONJOLLY, Mon., his action with Sir E. Vernon, is put to flight and takes refuge in Pondicherry ; escapes from and leaves Pondicherry to its fate, ii. 213, 214.
- TONK RAMPOORA, attack of, by Col. Don, iii. 424, 425.
- TOOLSEE BHYE (Mistress of Jeswunt Rao Holkar), early history of, iv. 484.
- _____ succeeds to regency, on Holkar becoming insane ; adopts Mulhar Rao Holkar ; her secret message expressing desire to place him under British protection, iv. 484, 485.
- _____ she is arrested and beheaded, iv. 488, 489.
- TUONE, Brig. Gen., posted near Ooctaree (Pindarrie and Mahratta war), iv. 443.
- TOREE, striking description of its condition, by Mr. Neave, v. 202.
- TRANT, Mr., expresses hope that parliamentary committee would especially consider Indian affairs with reference to natives, v. 270.
- TRAVANCORE, connection of East-India Company with, iv. 117, 118.
- _____ scandalous misgovernment of ; remonstrances of British resident, iv. 118.

- TRAVANCORE, communications between dewan of the Rajah of, and Americans, followed by overtures to Rajah of Cochin, iv. 119.
- extensive military preparations in ; government of Fort St. George take measures for commencing hostilities, which are subsequently countermanded, iv. 119, 120.
- house of resident surrounded by armed men, his escape, iv. 120.
- atrocious murder of a party of Europeans in, iv. 121, 122.
- various operations in, iv. 122—126.
- advance of troops destined for service in ; arrangements for command, iv. 126.
- defeat of dewan's troops in, by Colonel Chalmers, iv. 127.
- storming of lines of Arumbooly by Major Welsh, acting under command of Colonel St. Leger, iv. 127, 128.
- enemy dislodged from Colar and Nagrecoil by Colonel Macleod ; dewan flies, iv. 128, 129.
- further successes of the British troops in ; negotiations commenced ; affairs return to former state ; dewan destroys himself, iv. 129, 130.
- remarks, iv. 130, 131.
- TREMWITH (a British officer), to save Clive from death drags him aside, is shot through the body by the man whose aim he had defeated, i. 104.
- TRICALORE, falls into hands of English, i. 346.
- TRICHINOPOLY, Rajah of, dies (1732) ; his first wife aspires to succeed to the government ; is opposed by Commander-in-chief ; Queen seeks assistance from Nabob of Arcot, who dispatches an army to her assistance under command of his son, aided by Chunda Sahib, i. 81, 82.
- Queen dethroned and imprisoned by perfidy of Chunda Sahib, i. 82, 83.
- Mahomet Ali, younger son of Nabob of Arcot, flies thither, i. 85.
- British troops engaged in aiding Mahomet Ali take refuge under walls of, i. 97.

TRICHINOPOLY, detachment under Clive and Clark arrive safe at, after a skirmish with French force, i. 101.

_____ proceedings as to promised transfer of, to Mysore, i. 138, 140.

_____ British troops march from, to establish authority of Mahomet Ali in other parts of the Carnatic, i. 143.

_____ return thither, i. 144.

_____ again march, leaving garrison under command of Capt. Dalton, i. 145.

_____ disputes at, i. 153.

_____ supplies for, intercepted by Nunjeraj, i. 166.

_____ menaced by force of D'Autueil, amount of his force, i. 269.

_____ amount of English force in, i. 269.

_____ bombarded; surrender of demanded by D'Autueil, i. 270.

_____ relieved by arrival of Captain Calliaud, i. 270, 271.

TRIMBUCKJEE DAINGLIA, intrigues of; his character, iv. 380, 381.

_____ reports of Gungadhur Shastry being seized by; his avowal to the Shastry, iv. 385, 386.

_____ his answer to request for inquiry into assassination of the Shastry, iv. 389, 390.

_____ takes extraordinary measures for his own safety, iv. 390.

_____ strong guards placed at house of, iv. 391.

_____ public voice unanimous in accusing him as instigator of the murder of the Shastry, iv. 392.

_____ grounds of suspicion against, iv. 394.

_____ his profligate character and notorious hostility to the Shastry, iv. 394.

_____ his scandalous services to the Peishwa, iv. 396.

_____ sent off to Wassuntghur; unqualified surrender of to British government insisted on, iv. 398.

_____ delivered to a British detachment; conducted to Bombay, placed in strict confinement in fort of Tannah, iv. 399, 400.

TRIMBUCKJEE DAINGLIA escapes; deficiency of vigilance in custody of, iv. 427.

————— version of the circumstances of his escape, by Bishop Heber, iv. 427, 428, *note*.

————— reputed the prime agent in military preparations within Peishwa's dominions, iv. 429.

————— reward offered for apprehension of, his property confiscated, his guilt and the obligation to punish him admitted by article of treaty with the Peishwa, iv. 436, 437.

————— joins Peishwa with reinforcements, iv. 499.

————— retires and conceals himself near Nassick, is taken without resistance and sent to Tannah; lodged in fort of Chunar, iv. 564.

TRINCOMALEE, added to conquests of the English, ii. 264.

————— assemblage of troops at, iii. 122.

TRINOMALY, and other forts, acquired by the French, i. 276.

TRIPASORE, surrenders to Sir E. Coote (war with Hyder Ali), ii. 261.

TRIVATORE, garrison of, surrenders to Major Brereton, i. 317.

TRIVELANORE, falls into hands of English, i. 346.

TUANKO Kudir, expels the Siamese from capital of Queda, v. 196, 197.

TUCKER, Capt., holds chief command of naval force employed in reduction of Amboyna, iv. 176.

———— Mr. H. St. George, his judgment of the difficulty of ascertaining rights of parties, &c., in making permanent settlement of revenue, ii. 532, 533, *note*.

————— records his dissent from certain parts of letters addressed to president of Board of Commissioners, by Court of Directors, v. 307.

————— letter from, stating objections to parliamentary bill for making arrangement with East-India Company, v. 347, *note*.

————— difficulties in the way of free trade with China, pointed out by, v. 355, 356, *note*.

UMMER Sing Thappa (Nepaulese general) makes communications to Col. Ochterlony; his supposed disaffection to Nepaulese government, iv. 266.

UMMER Sing Thappa, his scornful rejection of the invitation of Col. Ochterlony; fresh communications with, iv. 268.

———— failure of attempt to shake allegiance of, iv. 269, 270.

———— apprehension of his designs to retreat with his army to the eastward, iv. 282.

———— concentrates his force on the heights of Ramgurrh; enabled to draw supplies from Rajah of Belaspore, iv. 283.

———— marches to Malown, leaving garrisons in Ramgurrh, &c., iv. 289.

———— conditions of convention signed by, iv. 316, 317.

URTON, Col., dispatched to Poonah by government of Bengal; reaches that place, and enters on the business of his mission; is instructed to stipulate for possession of Salsette and Bassein; compliance to refused; his mode of accounting for refusal, ii. 167.

———— demands final determination of ministers at Poona; answer, war; preparations of Bengal government in consequence; informs Bengal government that differences are arranged, and treaty in progress; treaty concluded and accepted, ii. 168, 169.

———— first learns at Poona that Bassein is not in possession of the English, ii. 170.

———— appears to have been the sport of those with whom he was sent to negotiate, ii. 173.

———— vague terms of treaty concluded by; his retirement from Poona; is succeeded by Mr. Mostyn, ii. 174.

VAISYAS, Hindoo caste, their duties, i. 7, *note*.

VALDORE, falls into hands of English, i. 346.

VANSITTART, Mr. (Governor of Fort William), his incorrect and exaggerated account of the number of persons cut off by assassination during reign of Meer Jaffier, i. 387.

———— arrives from Madras, and assumes office of governor in place of Mr. Holwell; finds much cause of annoyance and disquiet, i. 339, 340.

- VANSITTART, Mr., finds his treasury exhausted, the trading investments of Company suspended, i. 390, 391.
- _____ adopts the views of Mr. Holwell as to change in Bengal government, i. 394.
- _____ letters addressed to, by Meer Cossim, i. 395.
- _____ undertakes mission to Meer Jaffier; arrives at Cosimbazar; receives a visit from Nabob; expatiates on evils of Meer Jaffier's government, i. 397, 398.
- _____ hastens to palace on Col. Calliaud taking possession of the gates, and assures Meer Jaffier that his person is safe, and his government, if he so pleased, &c., i. 400.
- _____ receives from Meer Cossim offer of a note for twenty lacs of rupees for the use of the members of the select committee, which is declined; on repetition of offer, promises to accept such marks of friendship as the prince may be pleased to bestow, when the country should be settled and its finances flourishing, i. 401.
- _____ solicits donation of five lacs for the Company, which is granted, and applied in aid of operations against Pondicherry, i. 402.
- _____ consents to receive five lacs for his private use, i. 402.
- _____ his removal from Madras to take chief place in government of Calcutta, a prejudice of Mr. Amyatt and all below him, i. 403, 404.
- _____ his complaint that he had unhappy tempers to deal with, and that there were mischievous people in the settlement, i. 403, 404.
- _____ failure of to make arrangement for admitting the members of Council, not of the select committee, to share in Meer Cossim's bounty, i. 404, 405.
- _____ his policy open to strenuous resistance on its merits, i. 405.
- _____ frames memorial setting forth Meer Jaffier's crimes, i. 406.
- _____ part of his policy to make terms with the Emperor; execution of this interrupted, i. 415.

VANSITTART, Mr., though disposed to support Meer Cossim, not disinclined to protect Ram Narrain, i. 419.

_____ extract of minute recorded by, i. 421, *note*.

_____ his denunciation of Mr. Ellis, i. 422, 423.

_____ his remarks on the mutually hostile feelings of the British and the Nabob, i. 425.

_____ proposes special mission to Meer Cossim be intrusted to Hastings; council consent; Hastings instructed to apply to Nabob for payment for the use of the Company of the twenty lacs of rupees promised to the governor and others; remarks, i. 425, 426.

_____ well disposed to abate evils arising from the private trade, but possesses no influence with the council; inclined to regard the period during which the East-India Company's servants had been engaged in private trade, as giving to their claim the force of prescription, i. 429, 430.

_____ applies himself to bring about compromise; proceeds to Moorshedabad to try his personal influence with Nabob, finds the prince incensed; body of regulations agreed upon, i. 430.

_____ expresses himself unwilling to give up an advantage enjoyed by East-India Company's servants for several years, i. 430, *note*.

_____ publication of regulations to be postponed till after arrival of, at Calcutta, i. 430, 431.

_____ spirit in which his colleagues meet his views of accommodation, i. 432.

_____ appears to have been doubtful of his own powers to make a final settlement, i. 432.

_____ refers to certain words used by council as evidence of his authority to make full settlement with Nabob, but expresses displeasure at the Nabob having regarded the agreement as final, i. 432, *note*.

_____ remarks that the views of the violent party in Calcutta were seconded by Nabob's officers, i. 433.

_____ proposes Company's dustuck be granted only for goods imported by sea, or intended for exportation by sea, i. 434.

VANSITTART, Mr., adheres to former opinion, as embodied in regulations, arranged with Meer Cossim, that nine per cent. should be paid on all articles in private trade, i. 435.

———— his letter to Nabob, respecting the former regulations, demanded back by council, i. 436.

———— complaints to, from the Nabob, of breach of the regulations, i. 437.

———— retirement of, from government of Fort William ; succeeded by Mr. Spencer, i. 472.

———— proceeds with Mr. Scrofton and Colonel Forde on commission to Bengal ; ship in which commissioners sail never heard of, ii. 17.

———— George, present when instructions given to Colonel Maclean by Hastings, ii. 96—101.

VASCO DE GAMA, sails from Lisbon, and reaches Calicut ; returns to Portugal, i. 36.

VASSEROT, Capt., arrives at Major Calliaud's camp with treasure (siege of Madras), i. 291.

———— gallant conduct of his small force, i. 291, *note*.

———— his danger and escape, i. 292.

VEDAS, privilege of studying them, i. 5, *note*.

VELLORE, enemy before Arcot, receive a reinforcement from, i. 104,

———— insubordinate in garrison there ; causes, iv. 59, 60.

———— report of commanding officer at, announcing re-establishment of discipline, conveyed to Commander-in-chief, iv. 61.

———— mutiny breaks out at ; native troops rise against and massacre European, iv. 61, 62.

———— Col. Gillespie arrives at ; disperses mutineers and restores legitimate authority, iv. 63.

———— murderous proceedings at, impress commanding officers at other stations with undue degree of apprehension, iv. 63, 64.

———— events which preceded mutiny at ; information given by Muley Beg ; consequent inquiry, iv. 64—66.

———— chief conspirator at, questioned by commanding officer as to objection to new turban ; offers to swear that there is none, iv. 69.

———— the seat of deep and dark intrigues ; residence of sons of Tippoo, iv. 70.

VELLORE, 3,000 Mysoreans settled in the town and its vicinity, subsequently to its becoming residence of Tippoo's sons; vast number of servants and retainers of the princes; increase of general population, iv. 71.

- authority at, too much divided, iv. 72.
- two of Tippoo's sons implicated in atrocities at, iv. 72.
- lesson conveyed by mutiny at, iv. 75.
- mutiny at, characterized by baseness, treachery, and murderous cruelty, iv. 76, 77.
- differences between governor and Commander-in-chief as to treatment of the mutineers; ultimate determination, iv. 77.
- remarks, iv. 77, 78.
- further disputes between governor and Commander-in-chief; results, iv. 79.
- change consequent upon mutiny at; Tippoo's family removed to Bengal, iv. 81.
- conduct of native officers at, iv. 82.
- references to, in relation to mutiny at Barrackpore, v. 114—118.

VELLUM, fortress of, attacked and taken, ii. 27.

VERELST, Mr., succeeds Clive in government of Bengal, ii. 30.

- interferes to protect Emperor and vizier from invasion by Abdalee Shah; projects unsuccessful expedition to Nepal; concludes treaty with vizier, ii. 30, 31.
- is succeeded by Mr. Cartier, ii. 31.

VERNEY, Sir Harry, moves amendment on East-India bill, appointing Governor-General governor of the whole province of Bengal, with two Lieutenant-Governors; withdraws amendment, v. 334.

VERNON, Sir Ed., opposed by French squadron under M. Tronjolly, whom he defeats and puts to flight, ii. 213, 214.

VIGIE, M., commander of European corps of Tippoo Sultan; leads attack upon British post at Seringapatam; seeks safety in flight; his narrow escape through British columns, ii. 479.

VILLAPORE, fort of, falls into possession of English, i. 346.

VIZAGAPATAM, French gain possession of, i. 272.

VIZIER Shoojah-ad-Dowlah, entertains designs of invading the Dooab,

and attacking the Rohillas; is desirous of assistance of English government; grounds for invasion, ii. 39.

See also Shoojah-ad-Dowlah.

VIZIER Azoff-ad-Dowlah, succeeds Shoojah-al-Dowlah, ii. 65.

——— Ali, succeeds Azoff-al-Dowlah, and is recognized by the British government, ii. 560.

——— inquiry into his title, ii. 561—567.

——— recommends withdrawal of elder begum to Fyzabad, ii. 567.

——— heavy complaints made against by Almas, ii. 567, 568.

——— series of intrigues connected with his succession, and proposed deposal, ii. 569.

——— views and arguments of the Gov.-Gen. Sir John Shore, in regard to his claim to the throne; determination of Gov.-Gen., ii. 570—576.

——— compelled to withdraw to a private station with an allowance for his support, ii. 576.

——— allowed to reside at Benares; Gov.-Gen. determines to remove him from thence, iii. 165.

——— his unwillingness to depart, iii. 166.

——— his hatred to Mr. Cherry, the British agent, whom he assassinates with Captain Conway; his attempts upon the life of Mr. Davis, judge and magistrate, iii. 167.

——— finds refuge with Rajah of Bhotwul at Nepaul, and is hospitably received, iii. 168.

——— quits Bhotwul; advances into Goruckpore; skirmish with detachment of Company's troops; arrives at Jyneghur, where he is placed under restraint; negotiations for his surrender which takes place on conditions; he is plundered by the Rajah of Jyneghur, iii. 168, 169.

——— Saadut Ali, ascends the throne of Oude, ii. 576.

——— receives letter from Vice President of Bengal on necessity of military reform, and avows concurrence in its views, iii. 170.

——— his mysterious deportment, iii. 171—173.

——— dispute with part of troops; his character illustrated thereby, iii. 175.

——— requires discontented troops to proceed to treasury

to receive payment and deliver up their arms ; troops apprehend deception ; interference of British resident, iii. 176, 177.

VIZIER Saadut Ali, scandalous dishonesty of ; further interference of British resident ; troops receive their pay and deposit their arms, iii. 179.

_____ declares advantages of military reform strongly impressed on his mind, promises to communicate on the subject with British resident ; fails to perform his promise ; his character by Col. Scott ; communication of Gov.-Gen. with, iii. 180.

_____ state of his army, iii. 184—186.

_____ communicates to Col. Scott his desire to retire from the cares of government, iii. 189.

_____ removes treasure of former vizier ; declines to write to Gov.-Gen. ; various communications follow, iii. 190.

_____ rejects proposed condition of abdication ; retains charge of government, iii. 191.

_____ intimates probability of failing in his engagements with British government, iii. 192.

_____ admits the miserable condition of his revenue administration, iii. 194.

_____ draft of proposed treaty submitted to ; his reception of it ; displays repugnance to relinquishing government to the Company, iii. 196, 197.

_____ his neglect of the advice of Lord Cornwallis to his predecessor, iii. 197.

_____ refers to his own punctuality of payment, and objects to proposed demand for security, iii. 198.

_____ extract of letter from Gov.-Gen. concerning hesitation of payments of subsidy by, iii. 198, *note*.

_____ formally and distinctly rejects both branches of alternative submitted to him, the relinquishment of the government, or the assignment of territory as security for claims of British government, iii. 199.

_____ his pretended expectations of bringing the country into a flourishing condition, iii. 199.

_____ proposes conditions and stipulations, iii. 201, 202.

_____ remarks on the conditions proposed by, iii. 201—206.

- VIZIER Saadut Ali, overtures rejected by Gov.-Gen., iii. 206, 207.
- _____ his declaration on being apprized of determination of Gov.-Gen., iii. 207.
- _____ expresses desire to go on pilgrimage, and that one of his sons should be invested with office of deputy during his absence, iii. 208.
- _____ further grounds of difference with British resident, iii. 209, 210.
- _____ memorial presented to, by Mr. Wellesley, recounting motives and determination of Gov.-Gen., iii. 210, 211.
- _____ further discussion with, new difficulty interposed, iii. 211.
- _____ treaty with, concluded and ratified, iii. 211.
- _____ conditions of treaty with, iii. 212.
- _____ remarks on proceedings of British government towards him, iii. 213—227.
- _____ meets Gov.-Gen. at Cawnpore, iii. 229.
- _____ various communications of, with Gov.-Gen., iii. 232.

See also Oude.

- WAHAB, Major, destroys stockade at Negrais, and brings away guns and ammunition (Burmese war), v. 28.
- WALKER, Major, successful attack by, upon enemy near Rangoon; his death (Burmese war), v. 45.
- WALLACE, Col., engaged in successful attack on Gawilghur, iii. 352, 353.
- _____ to move with detachment from the Peishwa's subsidiary force, to join Col. Haliburton in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad, iii. 460.
- _____ moves from Poona, crosses the Godavery, and storms a small fort called Lasselgong, iii. 461.
- _____ occupies Chandore without opposition; arrives before Galna, takes possession of the pettah, garrison surrenders fort; Holkar thus deprived of all his possessions to the southward of the Taptee, iii. 461, 462.

- WALLACE, Col., proceeds to take up a position at Borenaire, iii. 462.
 — anecdote of, iii. 462, *note*.
 — commanding subsidiary force at Poona, orders to, iii. 536, 537.
- WALLAJAHBAD, symptoms of insubordination of battalion stationed there; native soubahdar summarily dismissed the service, iv. 60, 61.
 — symptoms of disaffection at, suppressed, iv. 63.
 — dismissals at, iv. 83.
- WALSH, Mr., appointed to proceed with Mr. Scrofton on deputation to Sooraj-oo-Dowlah; called upon to part with swords, refusal; deliver proposals, i. 209.
 — receives five lacs from Meer Jaffier, i. 248.
 — proceeds with Mr. Rous to East-India House, to procure interpretation of Clive's letters, written in cypher; acts upon instructions contained therein, i. 492, *note*.
- WANDEWASH, fired by the English, i. 272.
 — attack on, meditated by British government, i. 317.
 — unsuccessfully attacked by Major Brereton, i. 317—
 320.
 — town of, taken possession of by Major Brereton, almost without resistance, i. 327.
 — fort of, taken by Col. Coote, i. 328.
 — town of, attacked and taken by Lally; fort assailed, i. 337.
 — Colonel Coote advances to relief of; great battle, English victorious, i. 339.
 — Lieut. Flint dispatched for defence of; finds ramparts manned with troops, and gates shut; extraordinary means by which he obtains admittance for himself and his detachment, ii. 252.
 — invested by Hyder Ali; his preparations; failure of stratagem by; successful sally of British garrison; siege raised, ii. 254, 255.
 — siege renewed by Tippoo; failure of escalade; Tippoo decamps, ii. 260.
- WANGENHEIM, Col., commander of Hanoverian troops in English service, near Cuddalore; romantic incident connected with, ii. 275, 276, *note*.

WARBURTON, Mr., complains in Parliament of the impediments thrown in the way of Europeans desirous of visiting India, of the want of sufficient protection for the natives against such persons, and of the constitution of the Board of Commissioners, v. 255.

WARD, Mr., his remarks in Parliament on the report and evidence on the affairs of the East-India Company, v. 271.

WARE, Major-Gen., with detachment from Futtighur, joins army of Gen. Lake, iii. 312.

WATLING, Lieut., takes possession of heights near St. Denis, Isle of Bourbon, iv. 149.

———— services of, in capture of Isle du Passe, iv. 155.

WATSON, Adm., fleet of, employed in suppressing system of piracy carried on by family of Angria, i. 181.

———— sails with his fleet to attack Gheriah, aided by Clive; English successful; place falls into their hands, i. 182, 183.

———— resists Clive's claim to larger share of booty than naval officers disposed to yield; proposes to make up deficiency from his own share; offer declined by Clive, with expression of his sense of the admiral's generosity and disinterestedness, i. 183, *note*.

———— co-operation of his squadron requested, in aid of recapture of Calcutta, granted; difficulty arises, and is arranged, i. 198.

———— forwards to Nabob's commanding officer in Calcutta letters addressed to Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 204.

———— his tenacity of his rights, and of those of the naval service, i. 206.

———— appoints Capt. Coote governor of Calcutta; dispute; on Clive's suggestion comes on shore and takes the command, which he subsequently resigns to Clive, i. 207.

———— opposes attempt at settlement of disputes between East-India Company and Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, without recourse to arms, i. 211.

———— letter from, to Clive previous to treaty, its characteristic style, i. 211, *note*.

———— opposes giving effect to any treaty with French at Chandernagore till treaty confirmed from Pondicherry, i. 215.

WATSON, Adm., states that he invites the French to enter into treaty of neutrality, i. 215, *note*.

_____ is unwilling to attack the French without permission of Sooraj-oo-Dowlah; his bold and menacing letter to the Nabob, i. 219.

_____ claims share in the bounty of Meer Jaffier; dies soon afterwards; legal proceedings commenced by his representatives against Clive, but discontinued, i. 253, *note*.

_____ refuses his signature to mock treaty, prepared to deceive Omichund, i. 256.

_____ his name attached by another hand, i. 256.

_____ question as to authority for subscribing his name to treaty, i. 256, *note*.

_____ remarks on scandalous means by which his signature was attached to treaty, i. 263.

_____ his opinion as to probable success of war with Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 265.

_____ his caution to Clive, i. 265, *note*.

_____ Mr. E., illustration afforded by, of the mode in which the functions of police in India are rendered accessory to injustice and violence, v. 189—191, *note*.

WARTS, Mr., secret conference requested of, by Yar Lootief, i. 226.

_____ new overture for dethroning Soorja-oo-Dowlah made to, i. 226.

_____ communicates overture to Clive, i. 227.

_____ conducts negotiation with Meer Jaffier on behalf of British government, i. 228.

_____ sudden departure of; its effect on Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, i. 232.

_____ receives eight lacs from Meer Jaffier, in addition to his share as one of the committee, i. 248.

_____ apprizes Omichund of confederacy of English with Meer Jaffier, i. 254.

_____ declines complying with Omichund's demands to their full extent, i. 256.

WEBBE, Mr., urges danger of making preparations for war with Tippoo Sultan, iii. 24, *note*.

WEBBE, Mr., and Col. Close, intrusted with examination of documents discovered at Seringapatam, iii. 135.

———— insist on seeing the will of Omdut-ul-Omrah, iii. 139.

———— conferences of, with the Khans, iii. 139—142.

———— his remarks upon explanation by Scindia of his designs as to Nabob of Bhopal, iii. 500.

———— death of; his duties devolve on Mr. Jenkins, iii. 502.

———— Scindia's abuse and complaints of, iii. 518, 519.

———— refutation of Scindia's imputation upon, iii. 518, 519, *note*.

WELCH, Capt., dispatched to bring in a convoy of provisions on its way from Muttra, attacked by Ameer Khan; takes possession of village, and keeps off assailants till arrival of Col. Need; enemy defeated with loss of guns and colours (first siege of Bhurtpore), iii. 470.

WELLESLEY, Col., commanding in the trenches at Seringapatam, dislodges enemy from exterior entrenchments, iii. 47.

———— intrusted with permanent command of Seringapatam, his vigorous exertions to restrain excess and restore tranquillity, iii. 67, 68.

———— takes the field against Dhoondia, his success, iii. 116.

———— defeats and disperses army of Dhoondia, iii. 118.

———— Gen., selected by Lord Clive for command of army assembled in Madras territory, his reputation and influence among Mah-ratta chieftains, iii. 286.

———— commences his march to Hurryhur, effects junction with force from Hyderabad under Col. Stevenson; Holkar retreats before him, iii. 287, 288.

———— continues march towards Poona, receives intelligence leading to apprehension for the safety of the city, iii. 288, 289.

———— advances to relief with British cavalry, takes possession of Poona, iii. 289.

———— requests Scindia to separate his army from the Rajah of Berar, and retire, iii. 303.

- WELLESLEY, Gen., affairs of Deccan committed to; his march from Poona; under authority conferred upon him by Gov.-Gen., exercises general superintendence over diplomatic intercourse with Scindia and Rajah of Berar, iii. 304.
- _____ gives orders for attack of Scindia's fort of Baroach, issues proclamation explaining grounds of hostilities, iii. 304, 305.
- _____ demands surrender of Ahmednuggur: Killadar refuses; Pettah attacked and taken; fort surrenders, iii. 306.
- _____ receives intelligence of the capture of Baroach, i. 304.
- _____ progress of British arms under, iii. 326, 327.
- _____ attacks enemy at Assye, and gains complete victory, iii. 328, 329.
- _____ his share in labours and dangers of conflict; two horses killed under him, iii. 329.
- _____ his rapid and harassing marches, his situation painted by himself; arrives at Aurungabad in pursuit of Rajah of Berar, iii. 342, 343.
- _____ overtures of negotiation to, from Scindia; arrival in English camp of mission from that chieftain; letter received disavowing the mission; opinion of on Mahratta diplomacy; qualified powers produced by members of mission; suspension of arms agreed upon, iii. 344, 345.
- _____ general rule laid down by, as to cessation of hostilities; reasons for deviating from it, iii. 345, 346.
- _____ descends the Ghauts; his reply to Vakeel's entreaty to refrain from attacking force of Rajah of Berar; is joined at Parterly by Col. Stevenson, iii. 346, 347.
- _____ attacks enemy at Argaum, and gains signal victory, iii. 347—349.
- _____ determines to proceed to siege of Gawilghur, arrives at Ellichpore, his description of Gawilghur, iii. 350, 351.
- _____ his plan and operations at siege of Gawilghur; its fall, iii. 352—354.
- _____ concludes treaty with Rajah of Berar, articles of treaty, iii. 355—359.

WELLESLEY, Gen., letter from Marquis Wellesley to, iii. 358, 359, *note*.

_____ concludes treaty of peace with Scindia, conditions of treaty, iii. 359—362.

_____ his views and remarks on the power, reputation, and military resources of Scindia as compared with those of Holkar, iii. 362—364.

_____ receives orders to commence hostile operations against Holkar both in Hindostan and the Deccan, iii. 423.

_____ receives menacing letter from Holkar, demanding cession of certain provinces in the Deccan as the condition of peace, iii. 423.

_____ his habitual caution and forethought, iii. 423.

_____ places the troops under his command in a state of equipment for active service, and reinforces corps in Guzerat, iii. 423.

_____ directs Colonel Murray to march in aid of Commander-in-chief, and calls for aid from Scindia against Holkar, iii. 424.

_____ remarks of, with reference to Col. Monson's retreat, in letter to Col. Wallace, iii. 442, *note*.

_____ opinion of, in letter to Gen. Stuart, on the proper mode of carrying on the war against Holkar, iii. 443, 444, *note*.

_____ resigns political and military powers which he had exercised in the Deccan, iii. 460.

_____ suggests to the residents at Poona and Hyderabad a plan of operations against Chandore and other possessions of Holkar, and his partisans in the Deccan, iii. 460.

_____ makes admirable arrangements for securing supplies of money and provisions, for the use of the detachments marching against Holkar in the Deccan, iii. 460.

_____ plan formed by, containing various suggestions for effective co-operation of Scindia, iii. 483.

_____ his impression in regard to the state of Gohud, iii. 488.

_____ his warning to the Mahratta negotiators, iii. 489.

_____ regrets that the destination of Gwalior was not

clearly explained before treaty with Scindia was signed, iii. 489, *note*.

WELLESLEY, Gen., his dissatisfaction with authorities at home; statement by Col. Gurwood illustrative of his character, iii. 535, 536, *note*.

————— return of, to Madras, iii. 535.

————— Sir Arthur, anxious to proceed to Europe; causes of his anxiety, iii. 535, 536.

————— evidence of, on point of treaty concluded with Scindia, iv. 26.

See also Wellington, Duke of.

————— Hon. Henry, arrives at Lucknow, presents memorial to vizier, iii. 210.

————— intrusted with settlement of government at Furruckabad, his views; proposes transfer of dominions to Company; Nabob reluctant, but yields, iii. 234, 235.

————— remarks on his mode of dealing with Nabob of Furruckabad, iii. 236—239.

————— performs duty of settling provinces acquired from vizier, and departs for Europe, iii. 239.

————— his appointment condemned by Court of Directors, peculiar circumstances of, iii. 239—241, *note*.

————— declines offer of Himmud Bahudhur for surrender of Bundelcund, iii. 370.

————— Marquis, proposes to concentrate strength of squadron in Indian seas with military force at Trincomalee, iii. 119.

————— meditates despatch of expedition against Mauritius; relinquishes design in consequence of refusal of Admiral Rainier to co-operate; his elaborate answer to Admiral Rainier's objection, iii. 120—123.

————— his views turned to Batavia; attack on that colony suspended; suggests employment of force from India against French in Egypt, expedition dispatched thither; remarks, iii. 123, 124.

————— his vain attempts to obtain consent of Nabob of Arcot to necessary reforms, iii. 125.

————— further communications with Nabob of Arcot

WELLESLEY, Marquis, communicates to Lord Clive his determination as to final adjustment of affairs in the Carnatic, iii. 136, 137.

————— decides that Company should assume government of Carnatic, iii. 138.

————— addresses letter to Nabob, referring him to Lord Clive for information, iii. 138.

————— concludes treaty with Nizam, effect of; benefits secured by, iii. 156—158.

————— noble conduct of, during negotiation of treaty with Nizam, iii. 158—161.

————— view of affairs in Oude at commencement of his administration; his views, iii. 162—164.

————— determines to remove Vizier Ali from Benares, iii. 165.

————— views of, previously propounded to the resident at Lucknow, directed to be pressed upon attention of Vizier, iii. 169.

————— his conclusion as to the necessity of military reform in vizier's dominions, iii. 170.

————— his answer to representations of resident in Oude as to the advancing ruin of the country, iii. 174.

————— necessary military reform, the great object of his solicitude in Oude, iii. 175.

————— represents to vizier Company's obligations to defend his dominions; the insufficiency of the force within them; the danger of invasion, and the necessity of additional troops; intimates immediate addition of force, iii. 180, 181.

————— remarks on his measure for the defence of Oude, iii. 181—187.

————— transmits instructions and draft of treaty to Col. Scott, resident in Oude, iii. 190, 191.

————— represents to vizier the evils of his government and the cause of the wretched state of the country, iii. 192, 193.

————— instructs Col. Scott to prepare draft of treaty with Oude, on model of that concluded with Tanjore, and in case of its rejection to demand territorial security for payments to

- WELLESLEY, Marquis, addresses letter to vizier tendering again former proposals for his acceptance, and answering objections, iii. 199—201.
- _____ rejects conditions proposed by vizier; grounds of rejection, iii. 206, 207.
- _____ dispatches Mr. Henry Wellesley to Lucknow to co-operate with Col. Scott; motives to this step, iii. 208, 209.
- _____ instructions issued by, to suspend for a time all proceedings towards establishing Company's authority in the districts required to be ceded, iii. 209, *note*.
- _____ ratifies treaty with vizier; conditions of, iii. 212.
- _____ review and examination of his proceedings in regard to Oude, down to ratification of treaty with vizier, iii. 213—229.
- _____ his view of the obligations of the British government in reference to Oude, iii. 226.
- _____ his policy respecting Oude attacked in Parliament, iii. 227, *note*.
- _____ his services to Mr. Paull, and the return made for them, iii. 227—229, *note*.
- _____ his high-minded refusal of office while charges pending against him, iii. 229, *note*.
- _____ his progress through northern provinces; met at Cawnpore by vizier; private conference with vizier; subsequent interview; results, iii. 229—232.
- _____ views of, on settlement of Furruckabad, iii. 237, 238.
- _____ intimates his desire to resign office; reasons for this step, iii. 242—245.
- _____ reflections upon the policy and administration of, and on the causes of the hostile feelings entertained towards them in England, iii. 245—257.
- _____ various grounds of difference with Court of Directors, iii. 258—261.
- _____ minute of, on education of civil servants, iii. 261—264.

- WELLESLEY, Marquis, proposes and establishes a college at Calcutta ; rules for ; college abolished by order of Court of Directors ; remarks, iii. 265—274.
-
- _____ requested by Court of Directors to prolong his stay for a year ; he consents to remain, iii. 274.
-
- _____ his invitation to Peishwa to co-operate in war against Tippoo ; invitation disregarded ; his proposal nevertheless to bestow on Peishwa part of conquered dominions, iii. 275.
-
- _____ receives proposals from Peishwa which he deems to require considerable modification, iii. 276.
-
- _____ engagement of Peishwa transmitted to, and ratified by, iii. 278.
-
- _____ approves arrangements of Col. Close, with respect to the Peishwa, iii. 279.
-
- _____ ratifies treaty with Peishwa ; articles of treaty, iii. 280—284.
-
- _____ remarks on his policy towards the Peishwa, iii. 284, 285.
-
- _____ his labours to procure accession of principal Mahratta states to great confederation, of which the British government in India was the head, iii. 290.
-
- _____ his doubts of existence of Mahratta confederacy against British government ; his caution ; his instructions to Col. Collins, iii. 299.
-
- _____ makes preparations for hostilities ; his plan of operations, iii. 304.
-
- _____ his remarks on combined results of Scindia's absence in the Deccan and Holkar's success, iii. 311.
-
- _____ letter of, to Gen. Wellesley, iii. 358, 359, *note*.
-
- _____ his views as to Bundelcund, iii. 367.
-
- _____ points out evils of separating Ceylon from government of India, and suggests its annexation thereto, iii. 391—399.
-
- _____ reference to his opinion on the position of Ceylon with respect to government of India, iii. 414, 415.
-
- _____ receives first intelligence of war with Candy

- from proclamation in *Ceylon Gazette*; measures taken by, for strengthening the British power in Ceylon, iii. 416, 417.
- WELLESLEY, Marquis, further remarks of, on separation of Ceylon from government of India, iii. 417—419.
-
- answers of, to complaints of Scindia, iii. 520—530.
-
- takes measures for frustrating designs of Scindia; his instructions to Commander-in-chief, iii. 534.
-
- resolves to invest Col. Close with same powers as Gen. Wellesley, iii. 534, 535.
-
- suspends further operations against Mahrattas; cause of change of policy, iii. 549, 550.
-
- signs his last despatch to Secret Committee of Court of Directors; superseded in his functions by arrival of Marquis Cornwallis, iii. 557.
-
- review of his policy in reference to Mahratta war, iii. 557—570.
-
- his reply to address from inhabitants of Calcutta, iii. 570, 571.
-
- remarks on his character, written on occasion of his death, iii. 571—575.
-
- his lot contrasted with that of Marquis Cornwallis, iv. 37.
-
- motion of, in House of Lords; delivers opinions favourable to privileges of East-India Company; importance of his testimony, iv. 230, 231.
-
- compelled to declare treaty with Nepal dissolved, iv. 253.
-
- noble contrast of his conduct towards an unsuccessful commander, as compared with that of the Earl of Moira in a similar case, iv. 345, 346, *note*.
-
- charge relating to districts ceded by vizier brought against, by Mr. James Paull, iv. 356, *note*.
- WELLINGTON, Duke of, Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of East-India Company invited to an interview with, v. 271, 272.
-
- suggests probability of Company being permitted to retain government of India, but deprived of monopoly of China trade, v. 272.

WELLINGTON, Duke of, resignation of his administration, v. 273, 274.

mode of supplying deficiency by reduction of expenditure vaguely hinted to Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of East-India Company by, v. 275.

his opinion upon the plan brought forward by Earl Grey's ministry for the government of India, and on the merits of the East-India Company, v. 328—330.

See also Wellesley, Colonel, General, and Sir Arthur.

WELSH, Major, storms the lines of Arumbooly (war in Travancore), iv. 128.

Col., brings Rajah of Calapore to submission, v. 165, 166.

WEYCONDA, capture of, courage and devotedness of both European and native troops at, i. 177.

WHEELER, Mr., nominated to vacant seat in council of Bengal, ii. 90, 96.

circumstances attending appointment of, ii. 121—123, *note*.

arrival of, takes seat in council, affects to maintain neutral part, but almost invariably supports Francis against Hastings, ii. 124.

proposes to suspend acting upon the application of Mobarik-ul-Dowlah to be admitted to the exercise of the rights of Nabob till decision of Court of Directors obtained; motion carried in absence of Barwell; rescinded on his joining council; supported by Francis, ii. 126.

objects to mode suggested by Mobarik-ul-Dowlah for disposing of salary of Mahomed Reza Khan, and to addition proposed to be made to amount of expenditure, ii. 127.

opposes proposal of Hastings to nominate Sir Elijah Impey Judge of Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut with a salary, ii. 150.

Hastings's account of his conduct in council, ii. 337, 338.

dead at time of Hastings' resignation, ii. 378.

WHITEHILL, Mr., dismissed the service by Court of Directors, ii. 223, *note*.

adopts and carries into effect recommendation of Sir Thomas Rumbold, and suspends Mr. Hollond, ii. 224.

WHITEHILL, Mr., threatened with penal proceedings in Parliament, ii. 224, *note*.

———— his want of vigilance; his apathy on approach of Hyder Ali, ii. 226.

———— informs the select committee that he thought, in case of any disputes in the Carnatic, the detachment under Col. Baillie should recross the Kistna, ii. 226.

———— his calm reply to Lord Macleod's representations of the necessity of taking measures to oppose Hyder Ali; receives intelligence of Hyder Ali having plundered within fifty miles of Madras, ii. 227.

———— Gov.-General and council resolve to suspend him, ii. 242.

———— accused of malversation at Masulipatam; included in threatened bill of pains and penalties; the "Nozeed affair;" his claim upon Oparrow, ii. 243, 244, *note*.

———— announcement of his suspension received at Madras; he protests against it, and calls upon his colleagues in council to support him; a majority vote against him, ii. 248.

WHITMORE, Mr., his motion in Parliament for inquiry into trade with India and China negatived, v. 250, 251.

———— his statement of total amount of manufactured cotton; extracts from printed speech of, v. 251, 252, *note*.

———— his opinion that enough was known to enable the House to take steps for laying open the China trade, v. 274.

———— complains that Directors of East-India Company had thrown impediments in the way of obtaining information, v. 275.

———— is charged by Mr. Astell with causing confusion, v. 275.

———— presents petitions to House of Commons from British and native inhabitants of Calcutta, v. 279.

WIGRAM, Mr., Deputy-Chairman of the East-India Company, dissents from resolution recommending compliance with the proposal of ministers for regulating the trade and government of India, v. 314.

———— again dissents, v. 344.

———— copy of his dissent, v. 344—348, *note*.

WILBERFORCE, Mr., his reply in Parliament to Sir H. Montgomery, on the character of the missionary Swartz, iv. 245, 246, *note*.

WILBRAHAM, Mr., submits a motion in favour of abolishing salt monopoly, v. 336.

WILKS, Col., opinion of, on motives of Monackjee for murdering Chunda Sahib, i. 134.

———— description of nature of ground and singular arrangement of combatants at action between English and Hyder Ali at Mulwágul, i. 562, *note*.

———— narrative of, relative to meditated escape of British commissioners from camp of Tippoo, ii. 287—289, *note*.

———— inquiry into accuracy of his statement, ii. 289—292, *note*.

———— his remarks on conduct of Lord Cornwallis, ii. 395, 396.

———— high character of Col. Moorhouse given by, ii. 415.

———— his account of Nizam Ali's cavalry, ii. 420, 421, *note*.

———— his views on the extraordinary conduct of Nizam Ali's cavalry at battle of Arikerá, ii. 432.

———— his remarks upon Lord Cornwallis's success before Seringapatam, ii. 434.

———— his lively picture of bazaars of Mahratta camp, ii. 436, 437, *note*.

———— his description of the proceedings of the French Jacobin adventurers in the service of Tippoo Sultan, iii. 15, 16.

WILKINSON, Col., takes possession of defile of Armagawal, and occupies passes of Shincottee and Achincoil (war in Travancore), iv. 130.

———— Lieut., dangerously wounded at Kemendine (Burmese war), v. 23.

———— capture of number of war-boats and large quantity of arms by division of flotilla under (Burmese war), v. 23.

WILLIAM III., projects for supporting the government of, creation of new East-India Company, i. 74.

WILLOUGHBY, Capt., occupies battery, and opens fire upon shipping in harbour of St. Paul's, Isle of Bourbon, iv. 144.

———— brilliant exploit achieved by, in Mauritius, iv. 146—148.

WILLOUGHBY, Capt., assists in renewed attacks on Isle of Bourbon, iv. 150.

— receives charge of Isle du Passe; storms and carries Pont du Diable, puts to rout strong party which attacks him, destroys signal-house and staff, blows up works, iv. 155.

— fortitude and courage displayed by himself and his crew in attack upon French squadron in Port Sud-est, Mauritius; is dreadfully wounded; refuses to abandon his ship or strike his flag while there should be a man on board able to support it; his whole crew either killed or wounded, iv. 157.

WILSON, Capt., receives orders from Clive to demand from Dutch commodore restitution of English persons, vessels, and property seized and detained by him; on refusal, attacks the enemy; Dutch commodore strikes his colours, i. 375.

— extraordinary number of prisoners taken by, i. 376.

— Mr. H. H., Boden professor of Sanscrit in University of Oxford, explanation suggested by of delay in transmission of letter from Scindia to Marquis Wellesley, iii. 516, *note*.

— contemplated advantages of territorial arrangements made by virtue of treaty with Burmese government enumerated by, v. 98—101, *note*.

WINDHAM, East-Indiaman, captured by the enemy, iv. 156.

— recaptured by Capt. Pym, iv. 157.

WOMBWELL, Mr., Chairman of East-India Company, intimates intention of submitting series of resolutions on events at Madras; moves that the powers claimed by Lord Pigott were neither known in constitution of Company, nor authorized by Charter, nor warranted by orders or instructions of Court of Directors, motion carried, ii. 210, 211.

— moves further, that the proposition to send Mr. Russell to Tanjore was not warranted by the orders of the Company, nor necessary for carrying them into execution, motion lost; other propositions postponed, ii. 211.

WOOD, Capt., enters Arcot without opposition, takes possession of Nabob's palace, remains several days, anticipating arrival of Col. Coote; makes preparations for attack on forts, but retires on approach of Bussy, i. 330, 331.

- Wood, Col., advances with British troops from Trichinopoly to form junction with Col. Smith, which he effects, i. 547.
- deceived as to number of passes into Mysore; his astonishment at advance of bodies of horse, i. 557.
- ascends from Bâramahâl to join Col. Smith; his imprudence in firing a salute in honour of Col. Smith's approach frustrates design of the latter against Hyder Ali, i. 559, 560.
- makes a movement to relieve Mulwâgul; is too late; is repulsed with loss; reconnoitres; forces a passage through the enemy; is compelled to retreat, i. 560, 561.
- relieved by stratagem of Capt. Brooke; makes better disposition of his force; foils repeated attacks of enemy; remains in possession of field, i. 563, 564.
- moves to relieve Oossoor incautiously; unhappy consequences, i. 564.
- returns to Oossoor; resumes his march; assailed by Hyder Ali; frustrates design of enemy; conflict resumed; enemy withdraws on approach of Major Fitzgerald, i. 564, 565.
- his despondency; representation of, transmitted to Col. Smith by Major Fitzgerald; ordered to proceed under arrest to Madras, i. 566.
- Gen. George, appointed to succeed Gen. Morley in command of division of army against Nepaul, iv. 303.
- joins division; marches eastward to Goruckpore and back without seeing an enemy; suspends operations for the season, iv. 306.
- John Sullivan, commands division of army against Nepaul; political negotiations committed to; arrives at Goruckpore, iv. 265.
- proceedings of division of army under; delays, iv. 291.
- led into error by unfortunate advice of a brahmin, iv. 292.
- his proceedings and operations before Jeetgurh; his advance, partial success, and retreat; remarks, iv. 292—294.
- proceeds in a westerly direction, objects of movement; his progress arrested by enemy, iv. 294, 295.
- avows his inability to carry on offensive operations, and solicits instructions for his guidance; answers to, iv. 295.

WOOD, Gen., marches upon Bootwul, without producing any effect; retires towards Goruckpore; his army attacked by sickness; breaks up precipitately, iv. 295.

WOODAGHERY, fort of, surrenders to Col. Macleod (war in Travancore), iv. 129.

WOODINGTON, Col., captures Baroach (Marquis Wellesley's administration), iii. 306.

_____ instructed to take measures to defend Guzerat from invasion, and attacks forts and possessions of Scindia, iii. 537, 538.

WORTLEY, Stuart, Mr., defends report of Committee of House of Commons on East-India affairs, v. 271.

_____ proposes question to Mr. C. Grant, on functions of sub-committees, v. 282.

WYNCH, Mr., removed from government of Madras by Court of Directors; is succeeded by Lord Pigot, ii. 199.

WYNNE, Mr. Williams, Board of Commissioners during presidency of; remonstrates against diminution of British exports to India, v. 267.

_____ approves of opening China trade, but wishes further changes in mode of governing India, v. 318.

_____ protests against any comparison between government of India and government of colonies by European nations, v. 319.

_____ objects to confining patronage of India to Directors, v. 319.

_____ further remarks of, on ministerial bill, v. 319, 320.

_____ states the plan of putting up a certain number of appointments for competition at the universities and public schools, to have been tried, v. 319, 320, *note*.

_____ moves clause relating to patronage, to be added by way of rider to the India bill; motion negatived, v. 339.

_____ moves amendment to dispense with necessity of candidates for writerships passing through Haileybury, v. 340.

YAR Loottief opens his views as to a meditated revolution in Bengal to Omichund, i. 226, 227.

YATES, Major, gallantry of British force under, at Kemmendine (Burmese war), v. 44.

YEKBAL, an ambitious and intriguing omrah, succeeds to the imperial throne, i. 20.

YORKE, Capt., division of European troops led by, at siege of Masulipatam; joins division under Capt. Fischer; his gallantry; generosity and clemency; his men run back; his firmness recalls them to duty, i. 307, 308.

YOUNG, Fred. Lieut., takes command of irregular troops raised by Mr. Fraser, at Delhi (Nepaul war), iv. 264.

_____ marches to intercept reinforcement of enemy proceeding to Jyetuck; flight of his troops, iv. 319.

ZAMORIN, Rajah, receives Portuguese admiral, Vasco de Gama, i. 36.

_____ Portuguese aid King of Cochin in opposition to, i. 37.

_____ exhorted by Dewan of Rajah of Travancore to rise against British; notice of further communication to, iv. 125.

ZEHSEEN Ali Khan, clear, positive, and circumstantial evidence of, to the spurious birth of Vizier Ali, ii. 565.

ZEMAUM Shah (Affghan prince), alarm caused by, iii. 38.

_____ in communication with Tippoo, iii. 6.

_____ danger to be apprehended from, urged on vizier, iii. 169—180.

ZEMINDARS, in the Doab, attempt of Rajah of Bhurtpore to prevail on, to intercept the supplies forwarding to the English army, iii. 457.

GLOSSARY.

ADAWLUT—A court of justice.

AMEER—A title of sovereignty or nobility among the Mahometans.

AMIR, AMEEN, or AUMEEN—A judge or referee.

AYEEN—Laws, regulations, institutes; as Ayeen Akbery, the Institutes of Akbar.

BAHADUR—A designation of rank used in regard to sovereigns and princes; and in this relation towards the East-India Company.

BANG—An intoxicating spirit.

BANYAN—The general manager of a large establishment, whether mercantile or private; a financier.

BATTA—Field allowance to troops; discount or abatement on inferior coin or currency.

BAZAAR—A market.

BEGUM—A Princess; any lady of rank.

BETEL NUT—A hard nut, chewed by the natives of India of all classes and of both sexes, and presented on occasions of state or ceremony in token of respect.

BIRT—A charitable allowance.

BUCKSHEE—A paymaster.

CHOULTRY—A house for the accommodation of travellers.

CHOUT, or CHOUTH—Tribute.

CIRCAR, or SIRKAR—The head; the chief; government. Also a large division of a country.

DAROGAH—An officer of police ; the chief of a tannah, or police station.

DERVISE—A Mahometan devotee.

DEWAN—The usual title of the officer who, under native governments, has charge of the revenue, and generally, of the civil administration of the state.

DEWANNY—The office of Dewan. This office, with respect to the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, was conferred on the Company in 1765, by the Emperor of Dehli.

DHURNA—A form of extortion practised originally by Brahmins, subsequently by others ; performed by taking post at the door of the party from whom any thing is sought, under a threat of self-destruction if molested, or should the party against whom the *dhurna* is directed quit his house, and thus remaining till the request be obtained. During the continuance of the ceremony neither party must eat.

DOAB, or DOOAB—Two waters. The country between the Ganges and Jumna is called the Doab, but the term is applicable to any country similarly situated.

DOOLY—A litter.

DURBAR—A native court.

DUSTUCK—A passport, permit, or order.

FAKEER—A devotee ; a religious mendicant.

FIRMAN—A mandate ; a royal or imperial order.

FOUJDAR, or FOOJEDAR—A native police or criminal judge.

FOUJDAREE—Any thing appertaining to the office of Foujdar ; belonging to criminal jurisdiction.

FRAUSH—A native menial servant.

GHAUT—A landing-place on the bank of a river ; or a pass through mountains.

GOMASTA, or GOMASHTA—A commissioner ; factor ; agent ; also an assistant in official or commercial business.

GUICOWAR—The sovereign of Baroda, the chief of one of the states of the Mahratta confederacy.

HAREM—The female apartments in a Mahometan house.

HEFT HUZAR—The seven thousand.

HUK—Dues ; claims ; fees ; perquisites.

HUZAR HUZAREO —A thousand. Pergunnahs or districts are often distinguished according to their revenues, as the Beest Huzaree 20,000, Baees Huzaree 22,000 division.

JAGEER, or JAGHIRE—A grant of land or revenue by the native governments, conferred generally for military service.

JAGHIRE DAR—The holder of a jaghire.

JEMADAR—A native military officer of inferior rank. Also the head of a body of peons.

JUNGLE—Dense forest, the trees being interlaced with thick shrubs and underwood ; woody thickets. The term is also applied to large fields of coarse grass.

KHAN—A title of honour amongst the Mahometans.

KHELAUT—An honorary dress, bestowed by a superior as a mark of favour or investiture with office.

KILLADAR—The commandant of a fort.

KILLAH, or KELLAH—A fort.

KORAN—The sacred book of the Mahometans, containing their religious and legal code.

LAC—One hundred thousand.

LASCARS—Camp followers, particularly those attached to artillery.
The term is also applied to native sailors.

LOOTIES—Plunderers.

MALGOOZAR, or MALGUZAR—A payer of revenue.

MALIC—Master ; lord ; proprietor ; owner of land.

MOCUDDUM, or MOKUDDUM—The chief cultivator of a village, or headman of a tribe.

MOFUSSIL—The country as opposed to the town ; the outlying provinces as distinguished from the presidency ; and generally, the subordinate divisions of a district, in contradistinction to the sudder, head or seat of government.

MOHUR—A seal ; also a gold coin worth sixteen rupees.

MOONSIFF—A native civil judge of the lowest grade.

MOSQUE—A Mahometan place of worship.

MUSNUD—Throne.

NABOB, or NAWAUB—Properly a viceroy, or governor of a province as deputy to the emperor; but during the decline of the empire, a title assumed by, and conceded to, almost every person of rank or influence.

NAIB—A deputy; one who manages the affairs of a superior.

NAZIM—See NIZAM.

NIZAM—An arranger; composer; adjuster; regulator; administrator; the chief magistrate, exercising all the functions of the government not intrusted to the Dewan.

NIZAM-ool-Moolk—Regulator of the state.

NIZAMUT—The office, duties, or department of the Nizam; the administration of criminal justice.

NUZZUR—A gift or present at a visit of ceremony.

OMRAH—A Mahometan title of nobility.

PAGODA—A gold coin of the Madras presidency. A "Star" pagoda is equivalent to about eight shillings English. The word is also applied by Europeans to the temples of the Hindoos.

PALANQUIN—A vehicle for travelling, borne on men's shoulders.

PATAN—An Affghan.

PEONS—Messengers; inferior officers of police.

PERGUNNAH, or PURGUNNAH—A small district or subdivision of a country.

PERWANAH, or PURWANAH—A license, order, written permission.

PESHCUSH, or PEISHCUSH—Tribute.

PETTAH—The suburbs of a fortified town; that part of a fortified place lying beyond, below, or around the fortress or citadel.

PROUSDAR—See FOUJDAR.

POLIGAR, or POLYGAR—Head of a district; a military chieftain.

POONAH, or POONNYA.—The ceremony with which the Zemeendary accounts for the year are opened.

POTTAH—A lease.

PUNDIT—A learned Brahmin or expounder of the Shasters; a Hindoo teacher of languages.

RAJ—A principality, or large landed estate.

RAJAH—A title of sovereignty or of dignity.

RANA—The title of the ruler of several petty native states.

RANEE—The feminine of the foregoing, but the term is applied to the wives of Rajahs and of chieftains who bear other designations.

RUPEE—A coin in use throughout India. The value of the sicca rupee formerly circulating in Bengal, considerably exceeded that of other descriptions of this coin, among which there is for the most part little difference. The Company's rupee, now forming the usual currency and the standard of account, is worth about two shillings.

RYOT—A cultivator.

RYOTWAR, or RYOTWARY—Relating to ryots. A ryotwar settlement is one between the cultivators and the government, without the intervention of any middle party.

SAIB, or SAHIB—Sir; master; a title of respect.

SALIS.—An arbitrator or umpire.

SAMIRI—See ZAMORIN.

SEPOY—A native soldier.

SHASTER—The sacred books of the Hindoos.

SHASTRY—An expounder of the Shasters; a learned Hindoo.

SHAZADA—The son of a King or Shah; the eldest son of the Emperor of Delhi.

SIRDAR—The head or chief.

SOOBAH—A large division of territory ruled by a soobahdar.

SOOBABDAR—An officer in charge of a soobah, or large division of a country, over which he exercised sovereign authority, subject to the emperor; also a native officer of the Company's troops, superior to a jemadar.

SUDDER—Chief; head; principal.

SUDDER DEWANNY ADAWLUT—The Company's chief court of civil jurisdiction.

SUDDER NIZAMUT ADAWLUT—The Company's chief court of criminal jurisdiction.

- SULTAN**—A title of sovereignty.
- SUNNUD**—A royal or imperial mandate.
- SUTTEE**—The act of a Hindoo widow devoting herself to death on the funeral pile of her deceased husband.
- TAHSILDAR**—A native collector of revenue.
- TALOOKDAR**—An inferior zemindar. See **ZEMINDAR**.
- TANK**—A reservoir for water.
- TOPASSES**—Literally, wearers of hats; applied to the descendants of the Portuguese in India.
- TUNCAW**—An assignment on the revenue.
- VAKEEL**—An agent, envoy, minister, or ambassador. In courts of justice, an attorney, pleader, or advocate.
- VIZIER**—Prime minister. The ruler of Oude was so called from holding that office under the emperor.
- ZAMORIN**—The ruler of Calicut.
- ZEMINDAR, or ZUMEENDAR**—A landholder, or a person accountable to government for the land revenue.
- ZEMINDARY**—The holding of a zemindar; that which appertains to the functions of a zemindar, or is connected with his employment; as zemindary settlement, a settlement in which the government recognize no one but the zemindar, who is accountable for the amount of assessment upon the entire district under his administration.
- ZENANA**—The portion of a house allotted to the females of the family.
- ZILLAH**—A district.